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OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS**

**AT THE SIXTY-FIFTH ANNUAL
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WASHINGTON · JUNE 26-JULY 2, 1938**

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FOREWORD

THE Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work presents to the membership this volume containing the proceedings of the annual meeting for the year 1938.

The Editorial Committee, charged with the responsibility for the selection of manuscripts to be included in these *Proceedings*, consisted of Maude Barrett, Washington, D.C., Russell Kurtz, New York City, Florence R. Day, Cleveland, and ex officio Solomon Lowenstein, president of the 1938 conference, and Howard R. Knight, editor of the *Proceedings*. Mr. Paul Benjamin served on the Committee this year in the place of Florence R. Day, and Mr. Robert P. Lane, of New York City, substituted for Solomon Lowenstein, both of whom were unable to be present.

The National Conference of Social Work as a forum before which problems in the field of social work are presented and discussed is not a legislative or action group. The selection of a manuscript for publication in no sense implies indorsement of the subject matter, nor does exclusion reflect upon the value to the field of social work of a paper presented at the Conference.

It has been the objective of the Committee to present to the membership papers which have permanent value in reflecting the current trends in social work and which contain new material or in which a new approach to the subject has been made. Special consideration was given to manuscripts presenting material having a general rather than entirely local significance. Space in the volume necessarily limited the selection, and the Committee has made an effort to select those manuscripts which seemed to make a new contribution to the field of social-work literature.

The Editorial Committee is deeply indebted to the authors who submitted manuscripts and to the section chairmen who assisted in the selection of papers included in this volume. Mr. Stanley Lawrence has been of great assistance in editing the manuscripts for publication and in reading the proofs.

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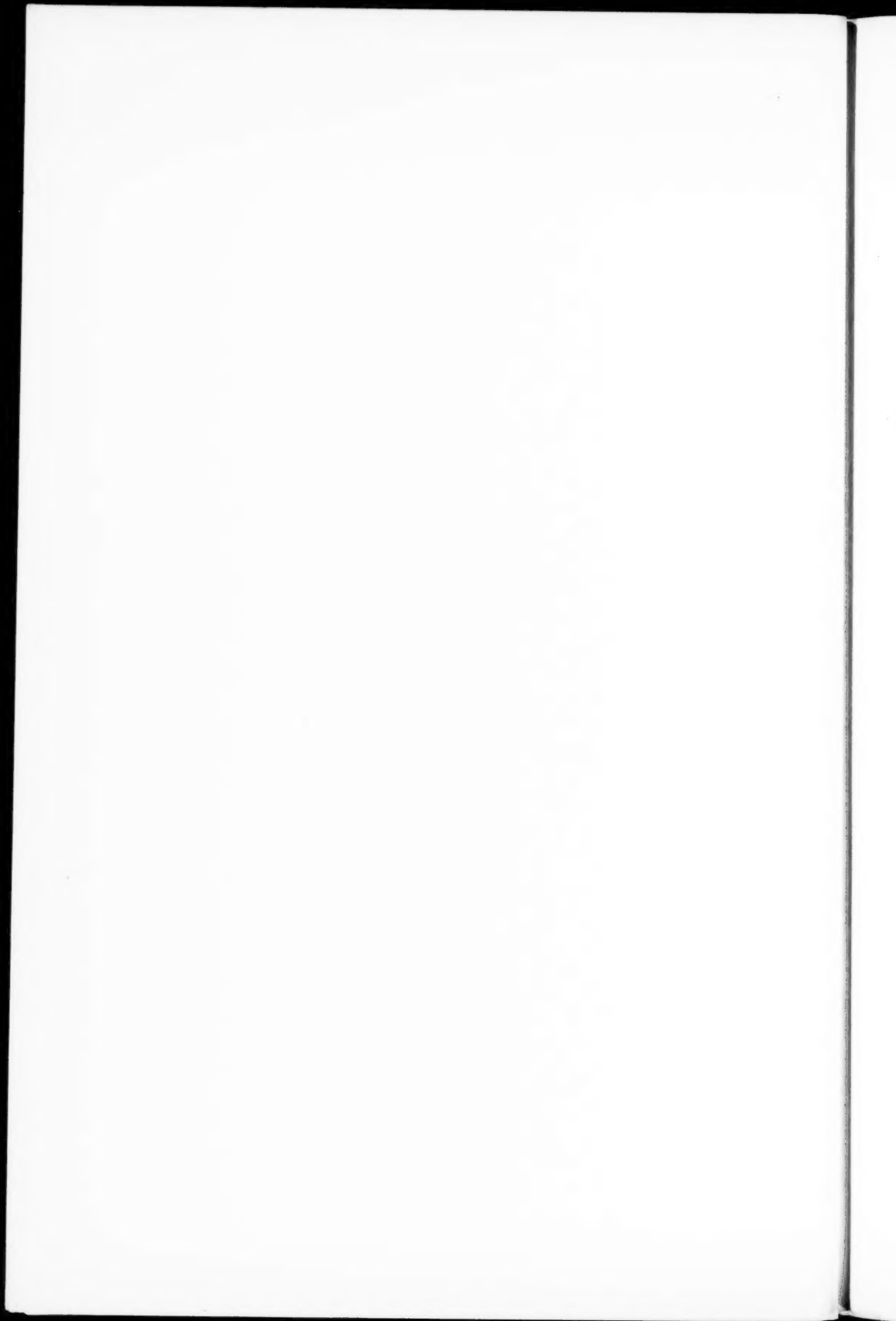
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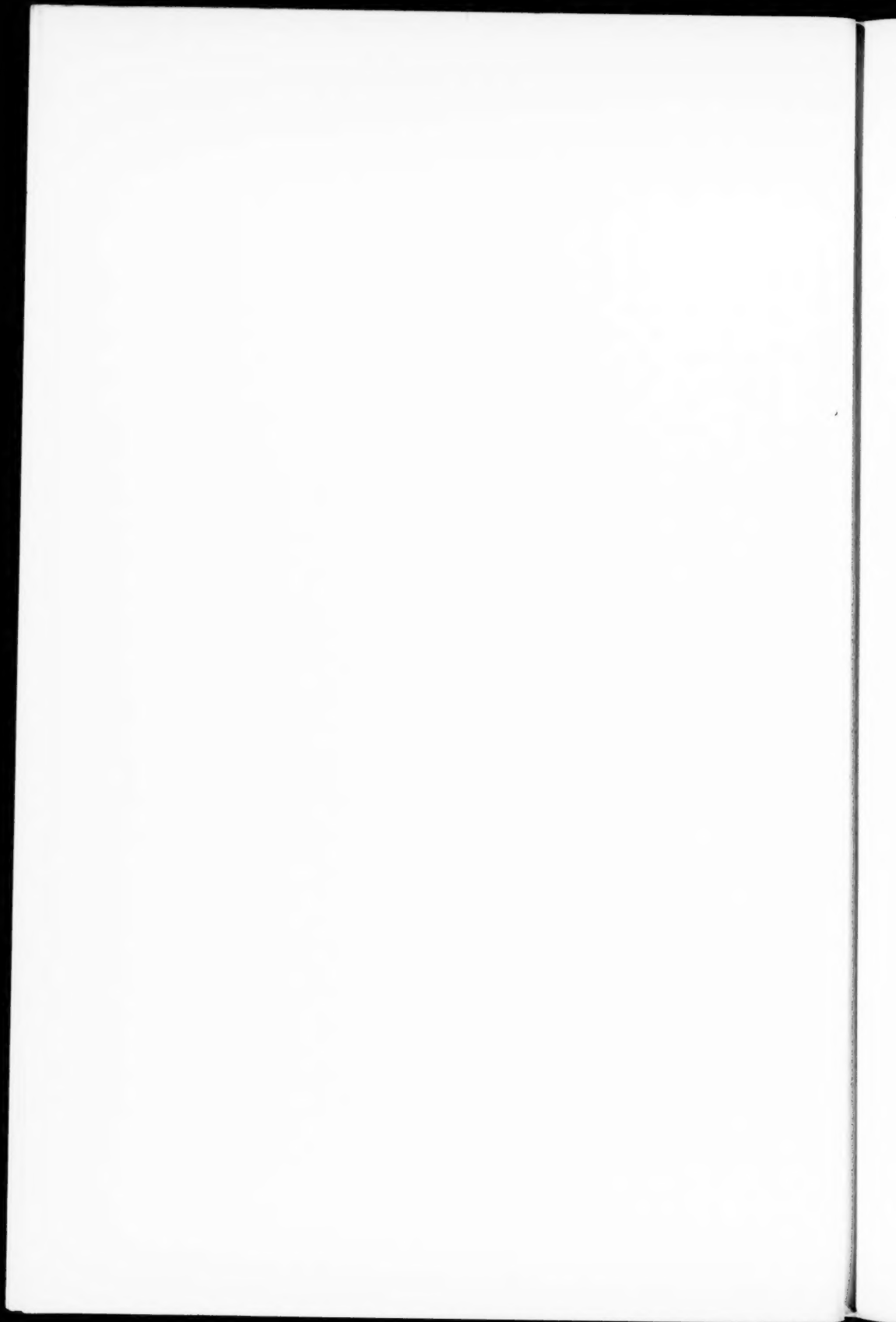
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GENERAL SESSIONS



THE TEST OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

*Solomon Lowenstein, Executive Vice-President, Federation for
the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies
New York City*

FOR the three hundred years that European man has settled within the boundaries that now comprise the United States of America, he has come here for freedom—freedom of conscience, to worship God as appears to him right and proper; freedom from political tyranny, to live as a free man under the order of law protecting every individual in his self-development so long as he did not infringe upon the rights of his fellow-man; freedom of industrial and social opportunity, that he might provide a living for himself and his family at a higher standard than had ever before been achieved by mankind. This was the American way. No one questioned its rightness. It was as natural a social and intellectual environment for us, as essential to our proper development, and as much taken for granted, as the air we breathed or the food we ate to nourish our bodies. No one doubted that freedom was good and tyranny was evil.

Today, however, new forces are abroad in the world, let loose as a result of the post-war maladjustments affecting both the so-called victor and defeated nations. A new spirit, or rather the revival of one long since thought dead, has come about. We are told that tyranny and oppression and intellectual and spiritual slavery are good; that man is not fit to rule himself; that he must be controlled by an élite made up from one party which has seized power on the theory that might is right, that operates under the influence of a divinely inspired leader who alone is competent to direct the affairs of man; that no longer should

the state exist for the well-being of the individual, restraining him only as much as is necessary to protect all men in the enjoyment of their liberty, but that rather the individual exists for the sake of the state; that he is subject at all times, in every act and in every thought, to its control, to its regimentation; that he shall have no freedom of thought, no freedom of expression, no freedom of assembly or worship, except to the extent that the overruling state in the wisdom and judgment of its dictators shall permit him to indulge in these luxuries.

The challenge has been thrown down. The state has been exalted into a totalitarian, corporative body controlling the last detail of the lives of its citizens, promising them in return the security and the satisfaction resulting from being a part of one great, united, organized group.

To bring about this change in the thinking of man was not an easy task. Only nations or peoples in the depths of despair as the result of deprivation of all that was dear to mankind, hopeless of any future improvement, could have embraced so terrible a doctrine. Even then, to carry it into effect entailed a reversion to cruelty and terror, a practice of espionage and coercion, the use of prisons, exile, and murder, to a degree that we had thought long since expelled from the lives of civilized peoples. Yet such changes have occurred among peoples highly cultivated and but recently in the van of humanitarian, scientific, and social progress.

Faced with this denial of all that we hold dear and that seems to us to make life worth living, we must ask ourselves, "Has democracy as a way of life failed? Has it ceased to live up to its promises of the enfranchisement of man's soul? Is it better to be a slave, subject to the absolute control of an all determining state, or has man still the power to live a good life in freedom and liberty?"

Now what is this democracy of which we speak? By democracy we mean the right to be free to live our own lives under the protection of the government, with as little interference by the government as may be necessary in order to preserve that same

degree of freedom to all its citizens. We mean a relationship between the states of our federal union and the central government, again to provide the largest measure of freedom of individual action consonant with the well-being of the whole; a relationship of the executive, legislative, and judicial functions of our government, so that by a series of wisely designed checks and balances no one department may be supreme at the expense of the others, and all may work together to bring about that good life which the government is designed to create and foster; for the individual we mean those rights embodied in the Constitution as the Bill of Rights—freedom of speech, of the press, the right to assembly, freedom of worship, and the various concepts of justice and of education that grow out of these rights.

Now without any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of any people or nation, without expecting them to accept our principles of government and of life, but concerned sincerely with a challenge that their changed concepts of human dignity and human worth operating in an all-powerful state may have for us, let us examine briefly the extent to which we have lived up to these principles of ours and the extent to which we have failed and perhaps thereby endangered the cause of democracy everywhere.

At the time of this writing one cannot fail to be concerned at the serious efforts being manifested in parts of our country to prevent the constitutional guaranty of freedom of assembly. In the latest presidential election various attempts were successfully made to prevent the appearance of candidates of the Socialist and Communist parties, to prohibit their undoubted legal right to appeal to the electorate for support. Today we find in the large industrial state of New Jersey, directly opposite to the largest city in the Union, a similar attempt to deny the right of free assembly and free speech to those who would advocate political and social doctrines unacceptable to the temporary rulers of those communities. This is an issue of the highest importance. It would seem so elementary as to require no statement whatever, that the rights denied to one unpopular minor-

ity today may with equal tyranny be withheld from another group of quite different kind tomorrow; that the right to free speech and to free assembly within the law as laid down in the Constitution of the United States is the only test that may be applied; that the officers responsible for the peace and safety of the community owe it to every element in their community to see that the people are safeguarded in the preservation of these rights, and that the fear or the alleged fear of organized violence to uproot these rights shall never be tolerated.

As to freedom of the press, we find a happier situation. This doctrine, handed down to us by our English forebears and preserved by centuries of unceasing vigilance from the time of Milton, has suffered little attack and practically no restriction. Every shade of doctrine that is struggling to be heard has absolute freedom of expression within the laws governing libel and sedition. From extreme capitalist Right to extreme communist Left, no attempt has been made seriously to prohibit full freedom of expression. The best of our press, whatever its own editorial attitude toward controversial questions, may be relied upon for full and fair reporting of all legitimate news—in fact, if there be any suppression of this right, it would seem to come, not from governmental agencies endeavoring to exert coercive pressure, but from some elements of the press itself, unconscious or unresponsive to its high function, which for reasons peculiar to their own relationship to governmental, industrial, or social theory may consciously suppress items in the news unfavorable to such position.

However, as said above, this does not generally apply. Though the conduct of a large metropolitan daily attempting to give adequate coverage of the news of all the world is a very expensive operation and in itself partakes of that "big business" of whose influence we hear so much, nevertheless it is to the credit of that same press that no matter how its editorial policy may naturally be influenced by its relationship to groups or policies of which it is a part, it has freely thrown open its columns to the full reporting of all shades of political, religious, and labor opinion, so that he who reads carefully the news as brought

to him daily by the best of our press may have a full basis of fact upon which to build his judgment and opinion.

Much has been said about the influence of advertisers and their pressure upon the conduct of the daily press. Undoubtedly this has operated to some degree with respect to legislation, such as the various food and drug acts, and with regard perhaps to local items of news or policy. But it cannot successfully be maintained that such pressure is either serious or determinative in the conduct of our journals as a whole. Opportunity is always available for the expression of the truth, and no group is so poor as to be unable to develop its own organs of expression whenever these seem to be required. In the multiplicity of our press—daily, weekly, and monthly—in the lack of governmental censorship except for reasons of obscenity, libel, or sedition, lies one of the great guaranties of American liberty.

It is impossible to compare this situation with that existing in the dictatorships, where one of the first acts of any totalitarian government is to assume control of the press; to dictate what may and may not be said; to shut off all freedom of expression; to make the various organs undifferentiated mouth-pieces for the expression of opinions and decisions of the ruling group; to distort or to suppress all criticism from without, and to deny to their readers knowledge of world-opinion and of world-action except as it approves or is made to approve of the philosophy and the conduct of the totalitarian state. In fact, one of the heaviest handicaps of the individual under a totalitarian regime is that by the control of the press he is deprived of all opportunity of knowing anything that is going on or being thought in the world which his rulers do not deem it to their advantage for him to know. Thus he has no standards for comparison and has no way of refuting the sedulously inculcated propaganda of his tyrants that he is better off than all the rest of the world because of the glorious achievements of his great leader. What has been said here of course applies, not only to the freedom of the press in its periodical sense, but also to the publication of books of every nature.

Of recent years a new area of freedom of expression has come

into being. The radio today constitutes the most powerful and the most subtle form of propaganda. It is expensive in its very nature, and we in this country have not yet completely evolved a method for its fair and adequate utilization by all elements of opinion. With our fear of governmental interference and control beyond a minimum degree, we have allowed this vital agency of communication, despite its public nature, to remain entirely in the hands of private industry on a profit-making basis.

Other governments, both free and dictatorial, have assumed control in greater or in less degree of this public service. In the totalitarian governments it is an instrument of propaganda more powerful than any other. All programs are controlled by the central government. Every effort is made to see that the obedient and well-trained citizen shall perforce listen to the government's propaganda expressions, and equal effort is made to see that he is prevented from receiving the unfavorable comment of outside agents. Whether for us the ultimate solution lies in more or less governmental control or in more or less business control does not yet appear. Both forms have their advantages and their abuses. Of the greatest importance is it to make sure that under a system of private control such as we have hitherto adopted, every opportunity shall be given for the expression of every form of lawful opinion and propaganda.

Bearing on this same problem a word should be added about the freedom of the stage, another form of expression of tremendous influence and power. It has been interesting to observe for the past few seasons a continuance in this country of the right of the stage to indulge in serious discussion of public problems in either a factual, a historical, or a satirical and ironic fashion. Political, industrial, and labor controversies have all been the subject of discussion on our stage during the past few seasons. Whether the results have been great artistic contributions to the history of our stage may be doubted; but that they have contributed to the sanity, the fairness, and the humor of public discussion is capable of no doubt. They may not live as literature, but as contributions to current discussion of all

sides of important questions they have tremendous value. No people that not only tolerate but approve such satire of its officials and its institutions as is contained in *I'd Rather Be Right, Of Thee I Sing, Pins and Needles*, and a score of other plays that suggest themselves can be ready for a dictatorship.

As a natural corollary of this freedom of expression is freedom of education—not mentioned in the Constitution, but nevertheless guaranteed by law in every state of the Union. It is essential to the development of free institutions under a democratic government, that there shall be free education available to citizens of every degree of wealth in every social group from childhood to full maturity. Thus as a matter of self-protection and of the development of a thinking electorate, our country from its earliest days has developed a nonpartisan system of free education from the kindergarten, or today from nursery school, through the university. These public systems operate parallel to private schools of all grades, and in no instance, either public or private, is there coercion as to curriculum or method of teaching, always provided that they operate within the light limitations of the law.

We cannot fail to recognize the absolute importance of this system. We must lament the fact that because of the varying degrees of wealth of our different states and regions we have not been able to attain the same high level of educational provision in every part of the country. In our wealthier, more populous, and more highly developed states, the percentage of illiteracy and the adequacy of school facilities are satisfactory; in others, the record with regard to both leaves much to be desired, but that these conditions can and will be improved is shown by the steady progress of recent years. We shall have more to say of this later on; for the moment it suffices to point out that such provision of free education is general and without partisan character.

How different is the situation in the totalitarian state! There the dictatorship, recognizing the tremendous value of indoctrinating its youth from the earliest possible years, permits only

one system of education—that enforced by the state; gives no opportunity for freedom of choice as to method or curriculum; does not recognize even in its highest university work objective truth apart from the doctrine of the state; insists that there can be no such thing as the study of truth for truth's sake, as the free and untrammelled investigation of every body of knowledge, unhampered by preconceived concepts, striving only to follow the truth where it may lead.

Of all the tragedies of the dictatorships, the saddest and the greatest is the fact that in the land which formerly stood for freedom of research and freedom of study as the embodiment of man's highest power, there is today an absolute rejection of all objective truth—the fact that all study must justify itself in the light of the party program. While, as we have said before, we entertain no desire to interfere in the internal management of the affairs of any people, it must be a source of real mourning to realize the hatreds, the prejudices, the untruths in every sphere of life that will be the product of such an educational system as now prevails in these totalitarian states.

What of freedom of worship? It can scarcely be denied that here too the American record on the whole is fine and clear and inspiring. From the beginning, freedom of worship has been guaranteed to our people and in no country has there been a wider variety of religious expression than here. In fact, so far has this freedom extended, that certain parts of our country have been noted as the birthplaces of cults or the welcome hosts to strange doctrines from abroad. Two religions, enlisting the ardent support of many, have had their birthplace in this country. The older historic religions, which have come to us with our settlers from abroad, have always had every opportunity for free expression. It is superfluous to remark that the early settlement of some of the most important parts of this country was due to the desire and a need for free expression of worship and religious belief.

It would scarcely be necessary to devote so much time to a statement of this axiomatic truth, were it not for the different conditions existing in the totalitarian states. Such an organiza-

tion of society cannot tolerate any expression of human life which cannot yield to it as a superior body. Thus in Russia religion was persecuted as the "opiate of the people." In Italy special arrangements have been worked out between the government and the church to which the great majority of its people adhere. In Germany conflict between the government and the two great Christian religious bodies—the Roman Catholic and the Evangelistic churches—has not yet been resolved. Neither church could afford to yield to the claims of the secular government over the spiritual life of their communicants, the education and the social organization of their people. Thus there has been unceasing conflict from the beginning, and no one can foretell the result. As a consequence we have seen a repetition of the persecutions and relations between church and state which we thought had long since been outgrown. Churches have been despoiled of their property; their leaders have been sent to prisons and concentration camps; reversion to paganism has been advocated by many; and the state has once again, contrary to the wisest and best experience of all modern government, reverted to the attempt to establish a distinctive governmental church.

All this is apart from the persecution of the Jews of Germany, whose oppression has been due in small degree to religious opposition, but chiefly to economic causes on the alleged basis of a pseudomystical, racial theory. There has been an active anti-Semitic movement in Germany for many years, so the Jews formed an easy object of attack and were easy victims of National Socialism in its formative stages. When the attainment of its other objectives—economic, social, and political—was still a matter of the future, the Nazi government was enabled to put into practice its vicious anti-Semitic program because of the years of agitation that had preceded. Thus we have witnessed a revival of sadistic terrorism, of cruel, cold-blooded oppression of a helpless group, that is without a parallel in ferocity in modern history, and for any likeness of which we must go back to the darkest of the dark ages of man's history.

No doubt the Jews, like any other group, were not a perfect

people. Undoubtedly they had faults and individual wrongdoers in fair proportion to their numbers in the population. No people is perfect; no people has a monopoly on virtue or vice; but that the Jews as a whole were faithful, loyal, law-abiding citizens of Germany can be asserted without fear of successful contradiction. That they contributed in excess of their proportion of the population to leadership in science and in art, in education and in industry, in medicine and the law, and in all other positive manifestations of the higher spirit of man, there can be no doubt. They produced an undue proportion of Nobel Prize winners. They were leaders in the great development of German industry and of German science and medicine. In the universities they were disproportionately successful. In fact, in large measure there can be no doubt that the ferocious treatment which they received at the hands of the present government was due to their marked industrial and vocational maldistribution. There were far too many of them in the intellectual and the white-collar callings. They were practically absent from agriculture and too small in their proportion of artisans and mechanics. By reason of their past history they took naturally to business and probably bore an undue share in its management. Under the republic they had been admitted to governmental positions previously denied them, and to academic and military posts from which they had previously been debarred.

All this was occurring at a time of great material difficulty in a proud people suffering from what it believed to be an unjust treatment by the victorious enemy of the late war, and when all the powers of propaganda skilfully developed by the National Socialist party declared this treaty to be a stab in the back administered by Jewish Marxians. Thus it can be understood that a violent reaction might ensue. No one would have believed, however, that in a nation supposedly Christian and undoubtedly humanitarian and highly cultivated in many of its previous activities, there could have ensued so gross and obscene an exhibition as Germany now presents to the world. A

community of about 600,000 souls was magnified far beyond that number by the inclusion in it of men and women who had considered themselves Christians and Germans for three or more generations. An abstraction utterly unknown to scientific research but the product of years of agitation, known as the Aryan race, was set up as the ideal. All other races, all other people, were necessarily inferior. The Aryan, by virtue of his superiority, should inherit the earth. The religion which had come to them from Judea and Greece, both non-Aryan, had to be distorted or translated into other terms. A neopaganism centering about the gods of the Teutonic wilderness was advocated by many. In the Youth movement, beginning with the earliest years, attention was centered on these non-Hebraic and non-Mediterranean forces in German religion. The Jew himself was accused of the most frightful crimes. He was degraded spiritually and outlawed physically. Every effort was made to drive him into exile, while at the same time depriving him of his property and the means to live.

For obvious reasons the present writer must abstain from a full treatment of the history of this tragedy, now extended by the latest advance of nazism to the neighboring country of Austria and infecting with its poisons Rumania and other countries of southeastern Europe. It is a tragedy so colossal, so hideous in its violation of every humane, ethical, and religious expression of Christian life, as to constitute a real challenge to the members of every Christian church. For the present and for generations to come harm has been done to the innocent childhood of Germany. Such hatred as is now being instilled as an object of duty and an obligation of patriotism cannot fail to distort and corrupt the soul of every member of the generation participating in such terror. This is far beyond the cruelties, physical and spiritual, inflicted upon the Jews themselves. They at least have the consciousness of innocence, the sympathy of their brethren in other lands, and the understanding and help of many not of their own race or faith.

The Germans themselves must suffer from this blight. A re-

cent writer found the only good resulting from the absolute control of culture by the Nazi party in the fact that the publication of pornographic literature had been stopped by such control. However, that did not prevent him, a few chapters later in his book, from calling attention to the fact that the anti-Semitic literature tolerated by the Nazis and controlled by its chiefs is of so filthy and obscene a nature as to prevent its publication or republication in any journal or book in America, but, nevertheless, upon completing their duties for the day in camp, the youths of the Labor Service immediately turned to this sheet for relaxation and for indulgence in the lewd material which it supplies. The same author commented upon the callousness of the German people toward this anti-Jewish virulence and the failure of the German people to realize what such conduct is doing to their own souls.

Since the anti-Semitism of Germany is generally looked upon in this country as an internal problem about which nothing can be done by outside peoples despite their abhorrence of such activity, it may be of importance at this point to call attention to our own record in this field of racial and religious discrimination. This is not one of the things in which we can take entire pride and to which the Fascists and Nazis have not been backward in calling attention. We too have been guilty of waves of anti-foreign feeling. Though all of us are in some sense immigrants or the descendants of immigrants, yet at various times of economic or other difficulty we have had our Know-Nothing movements, our Ku Klux Klan, and our A.P.A. directed against foreigners in general and against Catholics, Jews, and Negroes. Fortunately, for the most part, they have been ineffective, and as long as the spirit of America remains what it has been they will be ineffectual. Today we are being cursed with a recrudescence of some of these manifestations, undoubtedly due in part to the use of foreign funds in the propagation of Nazi ideals through various forms of organization in this country. There is a growing anti-Semitism; there is also in some parts of the country growing antagonism to Catholic or other minority

groups; but, undoubtedly, the fair-mindedness of the American people will in time subjugate these movements as it always has in the past.

The great blot on our record has been the treatment of the Negro. Originally brought here into slavery, a great war was necessary to give him his freedom. Given his freedom, he became the object of industrial exploitation and social discrimination. His position in many parts of the South has been, if possible, even worse than that of the German Jew of today, because the latter, at least until recently and for many years, has had the advantage of education and of participation as an equal in German life. While the German-Jewish position today is becoming one of constantly increasing deterioration, the position of the American Negro is beginning to show signs of amelioration. For the South, where he resides in the largest numbers, he is becoming an ever increasing industrial need. He supplies a large part of the labor needed for the development of southern industry. Because of his threat as a competitor, southern white labor has learned that inferior conditions for the southern Negro mean increasing exploitation of itself. Through the intervention of philanthropic and other funds, the condition of Negro education is constantly improving. Negroes have schools, though not adequate or in many regions competent, from the primary grades to the university. The latter are turning out teachers and leaders. Negro culture has a right to boast of musicians, of writers, and of scientists of repute and increasing distinction. Negro businessmen and professional men are becoming more numerous, remaining in the South to share their talents with their lowly brethren and to do everything possible to improve the condition of the latter. In the North, where Negro populations are growing in number, they suffer from many disadvantages. Their housing, their education, their medical conditions, their recreational opportunities are all more restricted and less desirable than those of their white neighbors; but here, too, their industrial value and the fact that they are not subject to legal discrimination in schools or other public enterprises are

leading to a gradual but general improvement in their condition.

American democracy must be conscious of this real problem. True as it was before the Civil War that this nation could not survive half-free and half-slave, so is it true of us, as of any other nation that pretends to equality and freedom of opportunity, that there cannot be in our midst a class, a group, or a people against whom there is exercised conscious and deliberate discrimination. This has been the worst failure in our democratic theory, and it is to be hoped that we are about to see in the comparatively near future the end of this injustice and cruelty.

Before proceeding to the next large division of our subject, we would like to say here a brief word about the differing conceptions of justice and its administration as seen in the totalitarian and the democratic states. In democratic theory at least, justice as enunciated in the laws and administered through the courts is general and objective. It is equal in its treatment of all, and every criminal or one accused of crime, no matter how wretched, is assumed to be innocent until he is convicted as guilty on evidence secured without coercion, torture, or any other form of punishment. He is given every right of defense, and if he himself cannot afford it, the state provides an advocate to act as his attorney. The criminal law is full of opportunities for the defense of anyone accused of crime, and frequently the state seems more handicapped in securing a conviction than helped in imposing its authority upon the one accused of crime.

How different from the principle of law introduced by the totalitarians! For them law is by no means something objective, but rather an instrumentality for carrying out the philosophy and purposes of the dictatorship. No test of objective law protects the accused. Unverified suspicion, the satisfaction of an old grudge, the attribution of opinions and prejudices, all may serve as grounds for arrest, imprisonment, exile, or concentration camp. The law has been so amended in its philosophy as to leave to the courts the determination of intention; to make criminal as of today an act that was lawful and legal when com-

mitted; to involve in the punishment of an individual accused of crime his relatives, his family, and his associates, in case the individual himself cannot be taken into custody. The whole concept of legality and justice has been transformed. There is no protection for the individual; he has no rights; the state possesses them all. To think of such concept and administration of justice and of law as possible in a modern state claiming to be civilized indicates perhaps more than anything else the distance between the democracy which we cherish, with all its defects and with all its ineffectiveness, and the supreme state with the efficiency and the power which its adherents claim for it. Truly, the price paid for this alleged efficiency and morale is tremendous and too high to be readily paid by anyone reared in the atmosphere of true freedom and liberty.

Yet we must not be understood as claiming that all virtue lies in the democracies or that the dictatorships have not conferred great benefits upon their people. To take Germany as the outstanding example of the totalitarian state, there can be no doubt that as a result of a little more than five years of its present government there has been a great improvement in morale, a great restoration to hope and confidence in the future on the part of the great masses of its population. For the first time there has been accomplished something that Bismarck and his great colleagues could not bring about—the realization of unity within the empire, the breaking-down of individual state boundaries while preserving regional attributes and loyalties. The federal system has been abolished; in its place there has been established a single, centralized authoritarian government in Berlin governing the entire empire.

Along with this there has gone a development—at the cost of all liberty it is true—of industry, of labor, of education, of law, that has truly made the Germans into one people with a morale inferior to none in this world and with a pride of race and a pride of achievement based upon the tremendous advances of the last five years, as compared with the hopelessness, the degradation, and the insecurity of the preceding post-war period. It is

true that this morale has been developed largely at the cost not only of freedom but of the development of a military spirit, of an armament industry, and of a military power on land, on sea, and in the air that is a menace to every other people to which it may be a neighbor and against which it may be directed without any scruples except those of force and of the doctrine that might is right and that if necessary for the maintenance of that right all other rights shall be wiped out.

It is the inculcation of this spirit of force that has caused the entire world to become aware of this menace to its liberties, most notably within the last few months. Gradually after the accession to power of the Nazi party there had been a succession of calculated assaults upon the morale and the ethical relationships of the peoples of the world. Unilateral denunciation of treaties and of obligations became the rule. The denunciation of clauses of the Versailles Treaty, the withdrawal from the Locarno pacts, the remilitarization of the Rhineland, the peremptory abandonment of the League of Nations—all were ominous signs of an increasing reliance upon force and of a defiance of all obligations. However, it was the final blow of the forceful destruction of the hitherto independent Austrian government and its arbitrary inclusion in the boundaries of the German Empire, that at last made the democracies of central, northern, and western Europe realize the danger in which they found themselves of being involved in another World War. That we too have been affected by this cannot be doubted, but a discussion of that must wait.

However, the final and the great test for American democracy in its competition with the totalitarian ideal will not come in the fields we have already discussed, important as they are. The test will come in the comparison of what our method of life can provide in the way of a higher standard of living, of security of condition, and of industrial democracy. For today our problems have ceased to be problems of religion, or even of government, except in so far as government is the manifestation and the organizer of our industrial life.

The totalitarian, when confronted with the accusation of virtual slavery and absence of all freedom, significantly says: "Freedom? Freedom to starve." And certainly the experience of Germany in the post-war years prior to the establishment of the Nazi government gave ample justification for this taunt. It would take too long and would add nothing to repeat that story. Inflation and deflation, unemployment by the millions, indebtedness to other nations, the payment of mass indemnities to the victors—all had reduced the German people, particularly in the middle-class groups and the youth, to a condition where they welcomed anything that promised relief, however spurious.

Today, after five years of power, this party, by methods whose end cannot yet be descried or prophesied, has subjected the entire industrial life of the people to its control. Labor strife has been abolished. Unions have been put out of existence, but the employer likewise has been shorn of his power. A labor front has been created under government control whereby strikes and lockouts are alike prohibited. Employers and employees meet with government representatives for the settlement of labor and industrial problems. Prices and wages alike are rigidly controlled. Taxes amounting in part to a capital levy are required for so-called governmental requirements, for the upbuilding of the national industrial structure, for legal and voluntary social services. All is the subject of grim despotism.

At the same time an attempt is made to create an industrial autarchy to make up for the lack of natural resources and to make the nation as nearly self-supporting as may be. By great technical skill and scientific research, substitutes are developed for natural resources in which the country is lacking or inadequately supplied. Naturally this is all very expensive; substitutes are costly and unsatisfactory, but the process results in decreased imports and, consequently, decreased necessity for foreign exchange with which to pay for the latter. It has meant a tightening of the belt, a willingness to endure that is admirable in itself, and unusual and remarkable in its achievement. Never-

theless it has not sufficed to meet the requirements of the country, and it is doubtful whether in any country of the world today an autarchic system can be worked out which will produce a standard of living, even under conditions of absolute government control, that would justify the sufferings which it entails.

The world as it exists today has been divided into "have" and "have-not" nations. We, fortunately, by reason of our great geographical extent, our variety of soil and climate, are among the most generously endowed of the "have" nations. Yet even we would find it impossible to exist under a condition of autarchy that necessitated our living to and for ourselves alone. The modern world has been brought too close together by the reduction of time and space, through the creation of means of communication making us ever and ever more interdependent one on the other, for any autarchic system to survive under any sensible organization of society. Today freedom of trade is the great essential for a peaceful world. It should be the function of the democratic nations, desirous of peace and willing to share their good fortune with their less fortunate neighbors on the basis of satisfaction to both, to look forward to the elimination of systems of tariffs, of bounties, of quotas, of restrictions of exports and imports, so that one of the greatest causes of war in the world may be removed.

But even more important, so far as our internal situation is concerned, is the democratization of our own industrial life. We have shown above how the expressions of democracy in freedom of assembly, of the press, of worship, and of opinion have on the whole been reasonably safeguarded or widely practiced in our country. During our developmental period, when there was available a large reserve of free land, when the factory system had not yet reached its final conclusion in the mass industries, when there was still large opportunity for the man of intelligence, of energy, and of industry to establish his independent business, the conflicts which we face today had not yet come into being in any serious way. But with the final occupation of our free territory, with the evolution of the single factory or the

single unit into the great trust or industry, with the creation of a permanent labor class whose opportunities for promotion into the owner class were growing more and more restricted, with the specialization of labor in the mass industries so that a man no longer completed an entire operation in the manufacture of the unit of the article on which he was working, but instead became the caretaker or the human attachment of a highly developed machine in which he performed one single operation over and over again, there grew up a form of control and of management in industry entirely distinct from the democracy which prevailed, even though with limitations, owing to our form of political organization, in the governmental field. Labor became more and more subject to the control of industry vested in large aggregations of capital usually controlled by a financial or banking group. There was nothing democratic about this form of business organization. There was no security of employment. Every betterment of condition, of wages, of hours, and the like, had to be fought for. Every recession in prosperity meant unemployment for thousands or hundreds of thousands. Thus we had side by side two forms of government, one political, conferring the blessings and the privileges of freedom and equality upon all its citizens; the other, industrial, dealing with forces upon which man's very existence depended, constructed on a feudal, arbitrary, and tyrannical control.

Obviously such a situation could not have continued under any circumstances. When, after the World War, we found ourselves involved in a series of industrial depressions whose causes as yet are obscure and the subjects of debate among our legislators and economists, there resulted a stagnation of business lasting for years, followed by a brief recovery, and now again reappearing with great and harmful force. Needless to say, along with the growing concentration of power in industry, there resulted automatically, and as a reaction thereto, the organization of labor in unions whose strength was developed in strikes and other forms of industrial development and negotiation. The individual laborer was powerless against the great aggregations

of capital by which he was employed. His only possible salvation lay in associating himself with all the others employed in his industry with whom he had common interests and with whom he might act as a unit. In effect this was a crude and bitter war; but as long as a condition of reasonable prosperity endured it was not recognized as such, and the conflicts were relatively short and adjusted with some degree of satisfaction to both sides, and with generally increasing prosperity and advances by the labor group.

Today there can be no doubt that if we are to have industrial as well as political democracy, ways must be found, under governmental compulsion if necessary, for the working-out of a common program for the control of industry along democratic lines. We have learned through mass industry, technological advance, and agricultural improvement, to develop a productive machinery that is adequate to supply all the needs of all our people at a very high standard of living. We have failed utterly to discover an equally satisfactory distribution of the products of industry and agriculture so as to produce such a standard of living. The result is that we are constantly talking in terms of overproduction. When there is not enough income generally distributed to our population to purchase the goods we are quite capable of producing, the factory will shut down, throw its workers out of employment, and thus reduce still further the possibility of consumption, until there is such a lack of available goods for distribution that after a long period of suffering again demand will be created and employment will be resumed. With similar conditions in agriculture we have resorted to the terrible expedient of destroying crops and animals, of cutting down on the crop under cultivation when men are hungry and eager for the food thus made unavailable.

Whether these reforms are to be accomplished by changes in our forms of taxation, in our schemes of industrial organization, or by other means is not for us as a group of social workers to say. Ours is not the expert's skill nor the possibility of solving these problems alone. We have our own particular knowledge,

gained in our immediate work with the underprivileged who suffer from the maladjustments in our present system, which we would gladly pool with the specialized knowledge of our legislators, our lawyers, economists, industrialists, and all others who can contribute to the solution of these problems. But one thing we can say as social workers and say with determination and conviction, and that is that if we are to remain a democracy, if we are not to become a tyranny taking over all the functions of life, regimenting and regulating every individual and every institution of communal life, we cannot permit our people to starve, to continue to go hungry and unemployed.

In the totalitarian state, at the cost of the destruction of all those elements of freedom, of culture, and of spiritual development which we hold dear, by means of perhaps unorthodox financing and a violation of all the principles which seem to us sacred, they have, nevertheless, brought about a reduction of unemployment and a creation of work, a more general equality of living opportunity which has made their people willing, under necessity perhaps, to bear the deprivations of which we have spoken. Undoubtedly tremendous activities in rearmament and preparation for war have been the most material, though necessarily temporary and unconstructive, means to this end. But their labor front and their labor service, their control of industry in all its manifestations have also helped. This is a hard fact that cannot be blinked. And with it goes the additional fact that though life be hard it apparently is healthy and has enabled them to produce an army which physically seems quite equal to any that the world has ever known. When we contrast this with our own ten or twelve million unemployed and with our general relief situation, we must recognize that we must develop a similar degree of efficiency or count ourselves, at least in this respect, outdistanced.

None of us would contemplate for a moment, even at the cost of considerable suffering, giving up those political, cultural, and spiritual values which we find in democracy; but we refuse to believe that democracy cannot find methods equally efficient to

those of the dictatorships to bring about an improved standard of living for all and the reduction or elimination of unemployment and the need for permanent relief for the able-bodied and those willing to work. This does not mean, however, and we cannot fail to emphasize it, that until those methods have been found, until peace in our industrial life has been restored, until an industrial democracy has taken the place of our industrial feudalism, we must not maintain our relief for those who require it. We cannot contemplate with equanimity the presence of so large a body of unemployed; but much less can we contemplate with any degree of acceptance the sufferings that would be imposed upon the unemployed if relief were to be withdrawn.

Relief must not only continue as long as unemployment lasts; it must continue in an orderly, an adequate, a dignified, and an honorable fashion. It must be understood that there is no stigma in such relief, and until the conditions which have produced need of relief have vanished, relief will be continued. We must eliminate the endless run-around between the federal, the state, and the local levels of relief. States and localities which are not capable of furnishing the relief needed on their own account must have help from the federal government. The fact that New York is a wealthy state and Mississippi a poor one does not mean that human need is less in the one than in the other or should receive less relief. We cannot have the needy made the victims of political controversies as to tax responsibilities between city and county and state. The present situation in a great industrial community like Cleveland, or like that in the second city in the country in wealth and population, which caused needless suffering to those requiring relief while battles were fought out between state, county, and city administrations is a scandal which must not be tolerated.

But the question is one that will not be solved by relief alone. We need a reorganization, preferably gradual and not revolutionary, which will remove anarchy from our industrial relations and make them subject to the same democratic processes as we have enforced upon the government. Labor and capital

must learn to work together and to utilize the government to determine those relationships. We must recognize that in a country of our extent and variety, with freedom of commerce between all its sectional divisions, state lines cannot determine the conditions which shall control industry. We must be willing to admit a measure of governmental control of industry that will remove its barbarities, its lawlessness, its feudalism, and substitute orderly and peaceful relationships in their stead. We have no desire for—and we hope we can avoid—the intense centralization and collectivism of the totalitarian state, whether Communist or Fascist; but we do know that there must be a measure of governmental control to bring about industrial relations which shall make for better living and more harmonious working of economic law. We must cease to consider great aggregations of capital in corporate form as comparable to an individual person and to be treated as such. Instead they must be understood for what they are—great institutions of governmental power over the destinies of the men engaged in them, and therefore to be subject to such governmental control as may be required.

We have made a beginning of such consideration in our social security legislation. Extension or development of this legislation, or other necessary reforms, will be indicated by our experience. Here too we see an essential and fundamental difference between the totalitarian and democratic methods of control. For the dictator there is no preliminary process of discussion, negotiation, and compromise which has been denominated by a recent writer as “political intelligence”—that type of compromise which arises from the discussion of varying groups representative of political parties, regional factors, economic differences.

There can be no doubt that in our great and hitherto successful country there must be enough of intelligence, of wisdom, and of statesmanship on the part of government, of capital, and of labor, to solve these puzzling and difficult questions in a spirit of good will and understanding. With such a spirit we

may hope for continued prosperity and for even greater freedom than before, for the development of the spiritual and the moral powers of man under a democratic form of life. In all the efforts we are now making in the way of regulating wages and hours; in the reform of our tax system; in the creation of better agencies to improve the relationships between capital and labor under governmental auspices, through collective bargaining and other direct sharing of management; in the desire to improve the lot of our agricultural laborer, whether owner, or tenant farmer, or sharecropper; in all the efforts for the conservation of our natural resources, the overcoming of the effects of soil erosion, the control of floods, the development of rivers and harbors; in all the development of public works, the building of great dams and bridges, of roads, public buildings, and recreation facilities; in all this there is a striving for a better life for all our people on their own initiative and in their own control.

We have spoken before of our educational system. We would not wish for a moment to take possession of the mind and soul of our children at a very early age and to keep them under mass control, regimented in their thought and their instruction, filled with hatred of their fellow-man outside the class or group to which they belong. We would, however, want to give them an education that would suit them for the type of life that they will live in the future—a free life which they may understand and control. It should be an education in which they shall have training in all the theories which the old education provided; but also an education that shall take into account the changed content of this world in which we live, the new relationships between man and man, the greater equality of opportunity in accordance with ability which we would make available to every free human being—an education with a scientific basis in knowledge of modern industry, of social relations, of economic and political environments. By such an education we would hope to increase real knowledge of life and of its problems and its opportunities. We would hope to inculcate the blessings of freedom and justice under the law. We would strive to extend

such knowledge to all mankind, so that we could not conceive of the necessity of imposing cruelty and tyranny in any land on earth. Such scenes as are daily being enacted today in Germany, in Italy, in Russia, in Spain, and in China would seem incredible; and with the lessons that have come to us since the war, what we have learned of its evils and of its destruction of all social progress and of all harmonious living between man and man and state and state, we would strive with all our power to bring about peace in the world.

For if one thing is clear and sure, it is that today America is opposed to war. No matter what the consequences, if it can possibly be avoided, this country will not participate in a future war. We realize that this may be beyond our control—that neither isolation nor so-called collective security can give us immunity. There is no isolation possible in this world as it exists today. Collective security may mean the indorsement of programs or ideals or understandings with which we are entirely out of sympathy. We are opposed to war because we realize that it must mean, for the period of the war at least, and possibly for a long time thereafter, the destruction of all forms of democratic control. Modern war requires complete, absolute subjection of every effort to the state. There is no rear nor front; no combatant and noncombatant. All social and industrial life must be co-ordinated with the needs of the military machine. In addition, as recent experience has proved conclusively, modern war will be conducted with the utmost cruelty, with utter disregard of civilian rights, with indiscriminate bombings resulting in the death of thousands of persons and possessing no military objective other than that of inducing such fear and terror as to result in surrender.

We cannot, except at the cost of national honor and safety, voluntarily expose ourselves to such conditions. We must be untrammelled, unbound by any antagonisms or commitments. To the extent that we can work freely with the other democracies in an attempt to bring about a solution of the present difficulties of the world, we certainly should wish to do so; to the ex-

tent that that would mean our being bound or entangled in the life of Europe, we must remain free. We must be strong and self-respecting; we cannot permit the invasion of this continent or this hemisphere by ideals of totalitarianism, no matter what the cost may be to us, even to war itself. But short of that this country must have its own foreign policy, its own determination not to become an instrument for the furtherance of policies alien to itself. We would have all the world free, because only in such freedom can we be free.

EFFECT OF NEW FORMS OF POWER UPON THE LIVES OF WORKERS

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THE twentieth century is witnessing the triumphal progress of power production. The Diesel engine, oil fuel, electricity, the light beam, and mass-production methods—to mention only a few results of the inventive genius of mankind—are new instruments of production which have directly affected the lives of millions of families in the world today. Take, for example, the traveling crane in the steel yards. In one area of Great Britain in which I made inquiries, I found that out of 130 men previously employed with the wheelbarrow and shovel, 128 were displaced by the instalment of the crane. In shipbuilding and ship repairing the new method of acetylene welding of ship's plates displaced six grades of skilled and semi-skilled apprenticeship men, namely, riveters, blacksmiths, caulkers, holders-up, heaters, and catchermen. In ship repairing, one man with a blow torch displaced ten men on the old rivet-cutting method. One welder will do the work of 30 or 40 angle ironsmiths.

In another inquiry made about a gas plant in London, I found that in 1903 they employed 6,500 men. In 1933 gas output had been doubled; a large chemical industry had been started out of the by-products, and a vast coking plant had been developed. Yet in 1933 a total of only 2,500 men were employed. In seven and one-half miles of belting only two men were employed as sweepers-up.

In trades which are described as expanding trades we find the

same process in operation. The boot and shoe trade, for example, which in 1914 employed 136,000 operatives, made 80,000,000 pairs of footwear. In 1935 the same area of trade employed only 112,000 operatives and turned out 119,000,000 pairs of footwear. That is a 10 per cent decrease of operatives with a 20 per cent increase of production.

When we examine heavy construction work which used to employ enormous numbers of navvies and general laborers, we find that a mechanical digger does the work of 15,000 navvies; that one man in a modern flour-mill can do by machinery as much as 8,000 hand-millers; one electrical firm has in ten years produced the man-power of 160,000,000.

In my own experience, the most complete manifestation of self-controlling power is to be found in the Battersea Power Station, which at the time of my visit handled 100 tons of coal per hour. The grabs lift the coal from the ship's hold and dump it into hoppers. It is then tipped by the hopper onto the conveyor belts and carried to the height of the building. It is then dropped into bunkers which feed down to automatic stokers that thrust the coal into the feeders. A sloped grid slides the burning coals to the bottom as it is consumed. It is drawn by suction into an ash pit. The heat extracted in its passage down the grid heats the boilers which generate steam. The hot flue gases which usually escape up the chimney are trapped through pipes to the superheater. The superheated steam rotates the blades of the high-pressure and low-pressure turbines. The steam is then caught into containers and sent back to the boilers as water. The flue gases pass from the superheater to the economizer which heats the water going into the boiler so that there shall be no check in the action of the heat from the furnaces, and this enables 84 per cent of the heat value to be used. The Battersea Power Station represented the equivalent of 2,400,000 man-power units. During the whole of this technical process not a single human is employed. Those who are employed are men to keep the machinery properly oiled and cleaned and highly skilled men in the control rooms. If you

turn to the more modern industries—those concerned with wireless sets, electric-light accessories, gramophones, and motor-cars—you will find most of these new trades are based upon mass-production methods.

Machines can now make calculations so intricate that man is no longer required to worry about sums. Machines will wrap chocolates, arrange cigars, grade fruits and vegetables faster than fingers can work and minds can grasp. They can detect flaws that escape the human eye. In 1934, I am told, a new method of using coal in the generating of electricity saved at least 18,000,000 tons in 12 months. I am quite sure that these British examples can be exceeded many times in the United States, but I will refer to only one—a report of the robot farm tractor produced by the Harvester Company of Chicago, which is controlled by short-wave radio from the house while it ploughs as guided by the operation of switches! I will supplement that by a quotation from an article by Dorothy Thompson in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* on May 2, 1938, which outlines the case more dramatically than do my statistics.

Industry and technique have created a new earth; they have pulled down fire from heaven; their ingenuity is breath-taking; they have set tons of steel swimming through the air; they have harnessed unseen waves of ether to make a voice and a song travel as fast as light from one end of the world to the other; they have turned beans into automobile bodies and air into fertilizers and acetylene gas into wood substitutes, and wood into velvet. . . .

The new forms of power have brought the possibility of abundance to the world. I think it is time we began to consider the price we have to pay.

First in the list I would put the tragedy of unemployment. Unemployment was not recognized as a disease of modern industry until a comparatively few years ago. Mr. Sidney Webb declares that the very word "unemployment" did not come into use until the last ten years of the nineteenth century. Until well in the second half of the century the periodical wagelessness of masses of men as one of the principal modern causes of destitution was either ignored or, when recognized as an evil, was re-

garded as unavoidable. This evil is most unfairly spread. In the midst of the depression there were southern divisions of Great Britain where unemployment has ranged from not more than 5.6 to 9.4 per cent; in many towns it presented no problem at all; in northern divisions from 16.2 to 18 per cent; and in Wales, where coal-mining is the main industry, it soared to 28.5 per cent. Inside those areas there is what we now call "special areas" where we have had percentages rising to as high as 95 per cent in colliery villages and Jarrow.

If we consider the numbers unemployed for various lengths of time, we find that short unemployment, i.e., unemployment up to six months, gradually improved and by 1936 was less than at the beginning of the depression in September, 1929, but long unemployment of twelve months or more was more than seven times as great. In September, 1929, the number who had been a long time out of work was 45,100. In July, 1936, when we were told prosperity was returning, that number had grown to 337,264. In Wales the cloud of chronic unemployment has hardly lifted; the percentage in February, 1938 (the last analysis which I have been able to see), was 23.8 for Wales, as compared with 8.6 for London, notwithstanding the numbers of young people transferred from Wales to other areas. Of the 1,750,000 unemployed today, 1,000,000 are from Wales and the North. Six hundred thousand are unemployed over six months, 800,000 over twelve months.

In coal mining in Great Britain there are 250,000 fewer miners employed than there were ten years ago. I think it is worth while to try to appreciate the consequences to those men and their families. Most of the miners displaced by new methods of coal cutting will be the hewers—highly skilled and the most highly paid of the pitmen. They had a pride of craft—many of them are over forty years of age with homes of their own, who have brought up their children to be fine citizens. These men have to face two alternatives: for the few, a chance to leave their homes to take up strange work if it can be found for them; for the many, when their insurance benefit is exhausted, to be

supported by the public assistance grants with their inquisitorial inquiries as to means which cover their children and their other relations. In either case, there is a sense of bitter frustration, a rooting-up with no security for a resettlement, a loss of skill, of status, and, sometimes for the nation, the loss of the good citizen through deterioration. It is no consolation to this group, as it appears to be to the economist, to be told that the new invention provides work for somebody else. He cannot forget it has shattered *his* life, while the workman now in a job wonders when *his* turn is coming.

I hold strongly the view that the incidence of unemployment is so unfair, beyond the control of either individual employers or their work people, that an enlightened public opinion will insist that the schemes of relief must take the form of a redistribution of the national income, not only properly to maintain the health of the unemployed, but because it is necessary to preserve the economic life of the country. It must be regarded far more as a stabilizing of the purchasing power than as a measure of individual relief; as a form of national insurance in which the premium is paid collectively rather than a matter depending upon an individual contribution to a specific fund. Let the individual pay a tax when in work if you like, but the allowance received when unemployed must be measured by the social importance of stabilizing the expenditure of the unemployed family.

We have seen a steady progression of disinheritance for the great mass of our British working people. From an agricultural nation they have been turned into an overurbanized people. We are told that not more than 7 per cent of our population still gets its living on the land. We have four generations of townspeople in many of our large cities. Not only are people now divorced from the land, they have been divorced from tools. In very few trades today are the skilled workmen able to control the tools they use. And now the last, and in some respects the worst, disinheritance is that men are robbed of craft interest in their job. Mass production has put an end to the necessity for -

apprenticeship men. The machine has taken over the skilled operation. The incentive to become a good craftsman no longer insures the job. That is the bitterest blow of all to the British workman—to feel that he isn't necessary to industry, that girls and boys of sixteen and seventeen years of age, who come into the factory, will learn all there is to know in about six months and turn out all the work that is required, while he has to depend on the unemployment insurance system and then, when that is exhausted, move to the public assistance board maintenance allowance.

The last figures that I am able to get of the unemployment situation are the figures shown in the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* for April, revealing a slowing-up as compared with last year. The total figures of unemployed stood at 1,750,000 in May, 1938, notwithstanding the great industrial activity owing to a revival of normal trade and the rearmament program. And it merely emphasizes the fact that as the new forms of power are used more widely and as production mounts higher, the human problem becomes more acute. When the rearmament boom is over we shall find still more dislocation in the families of the workers; more tragedies in the lives of the older men; less incentive to originality or creative power; less opportunity for the younger people to use talents. The wages system will provide for workers perhaps forty weeks in the year, if they are lucky. It fails utterly to give them security in any decent standard of life. Consider the wages of the South Wales miners: In 1924 the Wages Bill was £54,000,000; in 1936 the Wages Bill was £14,000,000; and everybody at home recognizes that in 1924 the miners were still living on a bare subsistence level. The gap that has not been filled by wages has been partially filled by unemployment payments. Originally the insurance plan was not intended to cover all the needs of the family, but merely to fill the short period of unemployment between one job and the next, or short time in the industry. Today large numbers of our people couldn't exist at all if they hadn't the help to a very much larger extent of the unemployment insurance benefit, the help in time of sickness from the health services, and the old age pensions.

Sir William Beveridge, a cautious man, chairman of the Statutory Committee, which controls the Unemployment Insurance Fund, said in a report last year: "No-one can do more than guess at the time when depression is likely to return, or how severe it will be, but it would not be prudent to allow for an increase in unemployment of less than 6 per cent—say 800,000—or to assume that it can be many years distant." And he adds: "For long-period unemployment, whether due mainly to structural or mainly to personal causes, something other *and more* than money payments in idleness is required."

Another angle of the same problem is given in a memorandum of the Minister of Labour on the relation between wages and benefit (1937), where it was stated that "*on the average*, of the wholly unemployed men 2.3 per cent were as well off or better off on benefit than in their regular employment; that in the case of women the percentage was 5.2 per cent, and if, instead of taking benefit returns altogether, the different returns are looked at separately, the proportion of those who are as well off as in employment rises steadily in percentage." This fact alone condemns the system under which large masses of wage earners find themselves better off out of work than in work—not because benefits are too high, but that the possibility of earning a decent living while at work is so often denied.

Let us turn from unemployment to conditions of employment. During the war all work was governed by wages tribunals which raised minimum rates considerably. We had hoped that sweated conditions of labor had been abolished for all time, but every year brings into being new fabrics, new processes, and young workers with no tradition of organization behind them, so that to prevent the return to bad conditions which disgraced our earlier industrial history requires eternal vigilance. The nature of the jobs available is worth noting. The shift over from production to distribution is very marked in the census returns. We find, for example, that people selling milk have increased by 60 per cent; and the number of butchers by 40 per cent; while there has been an enormous increase in the number of persons occupied in advertising—almost doubled in the ten

years between 1921 and 1931; while the number of canvassers has increased more than six times over. In the trades such as distribution of milk and mineral waters, our factory inspectors have discovered a shocking condition of over-worked boys who were employed from 6:00 A.M. to 11:00 P.M., with only two hours off for meals, making a working week of ninety-six hours; while in the milk trade girls over fifteen are found to be employed overtime and eight or nine hours every Sunday. We want a blanket code which will regulate every trade not specified in an act of Parliament until it sets up its own trade board. I have watched with deep interest the fight at Washington to put a "floor" to wages and a "ceiling" to hours in the bill now signed by the President. With other trade-unionists I "made whoopee" when this bill was sent back to the House.

I believe young persons between fourteen and eighteen years of age should not work overtime under any circumstances. It is important that they should be regarded as learners, not earners. Mothers and teachers must be fully alive to the fact that the transition from school to work at a critical period of adolescence imposes upon young people a very heavy strain, both physically and mentally. It is necessary to lessen the fatigue and boredom suffered by these boys and girls and secure for them sufficient time and energy for recreation and further education. The concentrated attention required in the factory in connection with speeded up and subdivided processes is unnatural for youths of that age, and it can be tolerated only if hours are short and working conditions are good. Public opinion is aroused to the need for guiding the adolescent in the transfer from school into industry. It ought to be possible in the future to organize young labor so that in a working week of forty hours, half of it only should be spent in the work connected with the factory or workshop, while the other half should be spent in continuing education. This would mean two shifts of juveniles to fit into the adult working hours, leaving those of eighteen years of age to do much of the work that is now thrust upon the shoulders of the younger group. The pressure of demand by

industry for young workers who are still allowed to leave school at fourteen plus must be resisted by the bulwark of law, in raising the school-leaving age to sixteen, by increasing vigilance on the part of the inspectorate, the trade-unions, and the social conscience of the citizens generally.

There is plenty of room for a more equitable distribution of the national income. In Great Britain, under our present system, 75 out of every 100 persons belong to the wage-earning classes; 10 out of every 100 persons live on rents, profits, and interest. Yet, out of every £100 of national income the wage-earner gets £38, while the person who lives on rents gets £43. So that one-tenth of the population takes nearly one-half of the income produced by the workers without making any direct contribution in return for it. I do not overlook the fact that, coincident with the increased productive activity, the trade-unions have succeeded in raising the wage rates very materially. During 1936 the net increase in the weekly wage rate amounted to £492,900, while in 1937 the net increase in weekly wage rate came to £780,000. And, on top of the rates, there must be reckoned the increase in earnings on the piecework system. But side by side with that you will have to place an increase in the cost of living, which has been very serious indeed, so that workers in those trades in which a wage increase has not been secured, notwithstanding the greater activity in production, have less purchasing power today than in 1936.

There is a movement supplementary to the attempt to increase wages—a movement for holidays with pay. It is estimated that there is now in the United Kingdom a total of 2,750,000 working people who receive holidays with pay as a result of collective agreements. Of course, there have been certain forms of employment, mostly professional, distributing or commercial, where holidays were always paid for, which would bring the number to over 4,000,000. But it is sad to relate that in the shift over to the new trades, already referred to, wages are lower and hours worked are longer than in trades which have been organized or where wages are regulated by the trade

boards. In addition, there is no control of speeding up or of the various methods of payment by results which in organized and regulated trades can to a certain extent be controlled by agreement. There are also instances of petty tyranny under which the dismissal and engagement of workers becomes a completely haphazard process. These evils are not confined to Great Britain, they are world-wide, and we have reached a stage in the development of trade and commerce when another form of power, the power of the citizen—through government—must be used to readjust the inequalities and the burdens to secure more leisure, more education, and a decent standard of life for the underprivileged. I believe that a nation's cultural development depends very largely upon physical well-being; consequently, health, housing, education, and employment services must be provided to free every citizen from anxiety about these essential needs; taxation must be adjusted in such a way that surpluses created by social effort shall be applied for the betterment of community living.

In Great Britain there is a shift in the age level of the population, which has been accentuated by the loss of that middle generation killed in the World War. At the present time 23 people out of every 100 are less than fifteen years old, but in just one more generation the vital statistics show us there will be only 10 youngsters out of every 100—half as many as now. At present $12\frac{1}{2}$ people out of every 100 are over sixty, but in 1965 the figure will be $23\frac{1}{2}$, almost double as many. So that the most striking change in the next thirty years will be not so much a rapid fall in the total population, but this very impressive change in the age of the population, the doubling of the old and the halving of the young. It will mean that in a properly planned society the young might get universal free education up to the age of eighteen, with free meals for no more than primary education costs us today. It will also mean a problem of unemployment amongst people over sixty, for which we need forethought and planning today.

The League of Nations Committee on Malnutrition reminds

us of other problems following mass methods of living. We are beginning to realize that something happens to a community that is lopsided, whether overurbanized or stranded on a decaying countryside. A most valuable report was issued by the Geneva Committee on Malnutrition, in which the representatives of nations east, west, north, and south met for the first time to consider on an international scale the economics of consumption. Their conclusion was "The world needs more food!" They also declared, however, "that consumption must be given precedence in importance over production, and the human being over what he makes." The report further suggests the speeding-up of existing tendencies toward better nutrition and deliberate controls of them by nations, and they end their report with the statement: "Malnutrition is at once a challenge and an opportunity, a challenge to men's consciences and an opportunity to eradicate a social evil by methods that will increase economic prosperity."

In Great Britain we have had a survey on these lines of the condition of the people, and it is generally agreed that 21,000,000 of our people are working by hand and brain under conditions of insecurity, unemployment, underemployment, and bad working conditions. On the estimate of Sir John Orr, who declares that it requires 10 shillings per head per week to secure the necessary nourishment for physical fitness, we have over 20,000,000 who are underfed because 4,500,000, or 10 per cent of the population, have only an average of 4 shillings per head per week to spend on food; 9,000,000, that is 20 per cent, whose income will not permit an expenditure of more than 6 shillings per week per head on food, and over 7,000,000 who may be able to manage 9 shillings a head on food.

Turning to another authority, the report of the chief inspector of the Minister of Health for 1937, there is an uneasy note running through the reports of the inspectors, which suggests that in the rapidly changing methods of production a greater alertness is required to keep pace with the threats to health in new directions. Researches are proceeding which cannot fail to

make important contributions toward the knowledge of industrial diseases and, what is perhaps of more immediate benefit, toward methods for the abolition or control of harmful substances. Notwithstanding this great advance, however, the chief inspector has to record cases of lead poisoning, 168; anthrax, 20; various forms of ulceration, 238; gassing in various industries, 120. The number of deaths from silicosis and asbestosis sometimes accompanied by tuberculosis amounts to 784.

Julian Huxley, writing in the *Zoo Magazine*, describes Chimpanzee Island thus:

Chimpanzee Island at Whipsnade is nearly ready. It is surrounded with a fifteen-foot moat of water, which is the only barrier needed between the five chimpanzees who will live on the island, and visitors. The island has a fine "monkey puzzle" tree and two very striking "sympathetic" trees, strong and durable, on which the apes can climb and swing and practice tricks. The diet is largely fruit. A very modern up-to-date residence is concealed in the centre of the island for the chimps to sleep in. It is fitted with electric heaters and sleeping racks. The chimpanzees move in at Whitsun.

If such a high standard is regarded as necessary for the health of a chimpanzee, don't you agree that the human animal should strive to have at least as much care for its material, mental, and spiritual well-being?

I believe that to fully utilize the abundance made possible by the material forms of power, and to prevent the growth of evil consequences here outlined, the foundation of the economic system must be co-operation; that trade and industry must be the servants and not the masters of the community; that no person or group of persons is fit entirely to own and control the means and instruments of production on which millions of lives depend; that neither competition or private monopoly will meet the world-needs, but only a coherent, comprehensive reconstruction on the basis of public ownership and control so that those of our community who have already been robbed of land, of tools, and of skill shall feel that it is all restored in a different way by common ownership—when labor and capital will be

organized for the common good. As a means to this end the community must first command the main levers which control the economic machine. In my country that means land, coal, and power; and finance to begin with.

It is not possible to make fair comparisons between Britain and America, because problems of race, and, above all, forms of government, are so different. We have had a slow development of political democracy spreading over the century. I think the most vital difference, e.g., in the matter of the social services administration, is the fact that we had already in existence a well-trained and very efficient civil service, appointed on merit, and in positions of individual permanency, before we established our employment exchanges. Consequently the exchanges were able to administer the unemployment insurance acts, and the service operates under the Ministry of Labour; the Health Insurance Act, which began as a separate commission, was naturally gathered into the Ministry of Health as soon as it was established, and every effort is made by both departments to co-ordinate activities, e.g., the same inspector will check the employer's books where necessary, for both forms of insurance.

Even more divergent is the attitude of our people, including employers' and workers' organizations, toward state activities. We are not afraid of change, though sometimes we are terribly slow in doing what we know ought to be done. We expect our state and municipal services to be impartially administered; that overlapping shall be avoided and that laws shall be obeyed. If we don't like our laws we alter them, but while they are on the statute-book they must be observed. We have one law-making body, the Parliament, and we have co-operation in administration between the government departments and the municipalities, which is the nearest form we have to your federal and state relationship. Also, our citizens really are no longer afraid of socialism, notwithstanding occasional bogies raised at election time.

The taking-over from private enterprise of the London traffic—bus, train, and tram—by the London Transport Board did

not cause a ripple on the surface of our political life. The control of the London County Council by the Labour party has pleased London's 8,000,000 people so much that they were returned for a second term of office and are justifying the confidence placed in them. Over the years, the steady education in good citizenship has resulted in many instances of measures in the Labour program being put upon the statute-book by the Conservative party in power. Last year they passed the factory bill introduced by Arthur Henderson in the Labour government of 1924. This year the Conservatives have taken a small part of the Socialist program by the nationalization of mining royalties. The Labour party in power will nationalize the mines with the general consent of the community. The principle of collective bargaining in industry is widely accepted. The right to strike, to picket, and to argue publicly the case in dispute is recognized, as well as the right of assembly and demonstration, provided due notice is given to the police. The 1927 act placed limitations on the extent of a sympathetic strike, with the intention of making a general strike illegal; it also made the collection of the political levy more difficult. The workers resent these restrictions, not because we want another general strike, but because the act of 1927 was imposed by one political party upon its political opponents in a manner which we think unfair; therefore, as with previous trade-union acts, the time will certainly come when that act will be amended, but while it is law it will be obeyed by the trade-unions. Then there is the trade-union difficulty which we have outgrown. Our horizontal and vertical forms are both necessary and work inside the T.U.C. It is important that the gulf which sometimes exists between organized workers and social workers should be bridged. All paid workers should be in their respective trade-union group. Each has something to give to the other.

I am deeply grateful to the many friends by whose courtesy and good will I have been given the opportunity to see something of American institutions and of the great experiments now in progress in this great country. I confess to a longing that

Great Britain too might be stimulated to a larger spirit of experiment and adventure on the lines of the splendid achievements of the T.V.A. We have not the great rivers and the vast lands still uncultivated, but we do have floods and drought and wasteland. I am made aware of a youthful vitality, a self-confidence ready to take risks, which believes in itself and which will carry the United States through its difficult years. The building-up of unemployed youth in Civilian Conservation Corps has been possible here because, having eroded banks to plug, pine-needle trails to make in vast mountain areas, farm units to build in a decaying countryside, you were imaginative enough to assist your conservation of natural resources, while at the same time restoring health and capacity to the down-and-out city lad. In your public work administration you are adding to the real wealth of the country by efficient development of great natural resources, and in W.P.A. you are concerned with preserving and strengthening not only the morale of the individual but those qualities and gifts which can add to the literature, the history, and the fine arts of your country.

If we can graft on to our respective countries those great outstanding qualities that distinguish them, if we in Britain could be a little more adventurous in our industrial development, and if you will accept more of our political pattern, e.g., the merit system for the civil service and better co-ordination of government and administrative functions—what a glorious democracy we could present to the world as a counterblast to this plague of dictatorships!

PRISONS AND BEYOND

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THERE are occasions when as we look back through the long and bitter history of social treatment of the law-breaker, we seem to have made significant progress. There are other times when satisfactory answers to some of these questions seem impossible. Encouraging evidence is the fact that the National Conference of Social Work is giving a place in its regular program to the consideration of the prison as a social problem.

The striking advance in the means and methods of public communication has recently placed a new burden upon the prison which it never before felt called upon to assume, namely, the interpretation of its aims and purposes to an audience constantly widening in numbers and interest. Time was when a prison warden could say that what went on behind the prison wall was nobody's business but his own. Periodicals, the pulp magazines, the radio, and the movies have brought and are bringing constantly before us all, whether we like it or not, a vivid and none too accurate portrayal of events and happenings in these places of punishment, and we can no longer avert our consideration from them.

Consistent with the general tendency of the world to advertise and to propagandize, these organs of public communication have not refrained from the temptation to dramatize the plight of the criminal and our efforts to reform him. I doubt if there is any branch of the public service which has suffered more from misunderstanding and the dissemination of misinformation

than our penal system, suffering as much from exaggeration as from understatement and lack of interpretation.

Our people, irked at the failure to bring the volume of crime within what we consider to be safe proportions, smarting under the criticism that we support many times the number of criminals in America as are tolerated in the countries of western Europe, have piled up reprobation upon the prison and the parole systems of the country, and it is becoming difficult to approach a consideration of the prison question with a truly open mind. The national mind is receptive to striking figures; therefore, prophets of disaster tell them that crime costs \$15,000,000,000 a year, and we accept it without any very clear idea of what this figure really amounts to and without having seen any itemization of it. We hear someone say that the age of criminals is decreasing, and we believe it without attempting to get at the real truth, which is that the age of criminals is higher than it was fifteen years ago. We unconsciously fall in with the general tendency to classify together all people who have been found guilty of a crime without any clear realization of the fact that there are as many types of criminals, almost, as there are types of people.

Occasionally opprobrious and ridiculous epithets are hurled at those who express the opinion that there is more to this question of crime and its control than punishing the caught criminal. There has been an assumption that if you demand that a scientific and thoroughgoing system of public protection be devised—a system which includes the difficult task of knowing something about the prisoner, of attempting to reduce the number of criminals by improving their characters, or at least not making them worse, a system that will afford the public the extra protection of parole supervision after release from prison—then you are lacking in courage and run the risk of being referred to as a “sob sister” or a “softie.” Well, perhaps there are people who sob over the criminals and send them flowers, but I happen to have encountered very few of them.

We all have no disposition to withhold our gratitude and ad-

miration for federal and state law-enforcement officers who meet danger courageously. But, after all, it seems to me that it takes some courage to manage and control the ordinary penal institution day after day, night after night, week after week, year after year, never coming up for a breath of air, constantly surrounded by difficult personalities, including many conniving and relentless individuals, even as it does to perform some of the other necessary and valorous functions of our law-enforcement system. And I am inclined to believe that if we are to be expected to eliminate sentiment from the prison problem, we ought to eliminate it in both directions; and that a man who demands the maximum of punishment for every criminal, who thus removes every incentive to rehabilitation, who can see no hope of reformation in any of them, is just as much controlled by fear and is as emotional as the other kind of "sob sister."

I doubt if we would be able to mobilize all the criminals into an army and treat them as if they were a race apart. If we could we should find a good many neighbors, employees, relatives, and community leaders had enlisted. In the subject of penology, no less than in any other branch of the social sciences, we can find no substitute for truth, nor can we fail to face facts. We cannot solve the long-standing and the perplexing problems of crime by strong language or prejudice or ignorance.

The progressive penologist today does not believe in coddling criminals. He hates crime as much as anyone does. He believes in the potent power of penalties and rewards. He hopes to assist in the protection of the public. He does not think it is good protection to make big criminals out of little ones, nor does his experience teach him that every man over whom a sentence has been pronounced is beyond the power of redemption. He believes the greatest deterrent of crime would be provided by a more efficient and intelligent police force. He points to the fact that only one out of six crimes known to be committed in the country has been cleared up by arrest. He believes in prompt and fairer trials. He sees no reason why even so important a case as the Sacco-Vanzetti trial should have taken seven years.

He believes that the lawyers who represent the public should be as well trained, as competent, and as honest as those the criminal can hire. He believes that judges who pass judgment upon human beings should know more than the law can teach them.

With reference to his own job, he believes that the prime purpose of a prison is not to make life comfortable for the convict but to assist in a long-time program for greater public protection. He for one is not quite sure who the true criminal is. It confuses him a little when he realizes that a few years ago it was a crime to have liquor in one's possession and not a crime to have gold, while now it is a crime to have gold in one's possession and not a crime to have liquor. He realizes that even within the confines of the United States the same crime is regarded differently in different places. Sometimes, unfortunately, he has to contemplate sentence being passed upon the culprit by men not much better than the culprit himself.

Have we not been too ready to accept the prison as a complete solution, as an inevitable recourse, and to expect the penal institution to perform miracles quite beyond its power to perform? Did you ever stop to wonder how the custom of locking a man up in a cage or behind a wall for long periods of time came to be adopted as a species of social discipline? Originally, of course, no one ever expected the prison to do a job of reformation. It was a place where torture was to be inflicted, or the unfortunate wretch was there to be held until some other disposition was made of him. When the conscience of the community was aroused against the wholesale execution or deportation of criminals, there was not much left to do with them but to leave them in the jails where they were being held. But it did not take long for a few clear-thinking people to point out that a new problem immediately reared its head when this method was adopted.

Quite recently the Attorney-General of the United States, over a nation-wide radio hookup, explained in four words the justification for a new kind of prison treatment: "They all come

out." And so we cannot separate the prison problem from the social problem in which it is enmeshed.

Whatever may be said about the Soviet system of handling prisoners, and however impossible, owing to our democratic structure of government, it would be to duplicate any such system in this country, it does have one outstanding advantage. Life in the prison colony is so nearly normal that the prisoner slips into it without the necessity for adjustment and quite often stays indefinitely, and the government is spared the almost impossible task of re-establishing a man who has been stigmatized, enfeebled, and handicapped by a long period in the abnormal and deteriorating atmosphere of a prison.

When I hear people say the prisons of America have failed, I sometimes wonder just what they mean. Failed at what? Surely they have not failed to make the inmates conscious of the fact that they have been removed from society. Prisons are still places of deprivation and suffering. The loss of liberty is there the inevitable consequence of crime. Even at our best "country club" penitentiaries there is no waiting list of candidates, and there is still a very general desire for parole. Perhaps these grim bastilles have failed to make men better by the process, but since when were prisons designed, equipped, or staffed for such a purpose? If all our prisons had to do was to make the inmates miserable, success would be almost assured. If they are to undertake the rather inconsistent task of making them better at the same time, that is quite another thing.

Some of them are honestly trying to do this. Whether they can succeed at all depends, in my judgment, largely upon the degree to which the public can be made to understand and support the effort. In the attempt to do just this thing, some distinctly forward steps in prison management have been undertaken in recent years. Realizing the impossibility of reinspiring a man while he was forced to live in a stone and steel cubicle three and one-half feet wide and seven feet high, among thousands of others, hidden from view behind a forty-foot wall, and guarded by machine guns, some new ventures in prison archi-

ture have been undertaken, and prison buildings more consistent with the attempt to reform have been erected. Men could be punished en masse and possibly scared into submission or deterred from recidivism, but when undertaking to refit them for life in the community, one must know something about the individuals' qualifications, limitations, and possibilities. Thus there has been undertaken in a few of our progressive states and the federal government a classification system which attempts to bring to bear upon each prisoner in accordance with his needs the entire resources of the institution. In some instances practical psychiatry has been called in as an aid to penology, with interesting developments in the analysis of personality needs, in matters of discipline, and for therapeutic experimentation. Some wardens are welcoming the assistance of medicine and the social sciences as they would appeal to experts in more practical lines.

Again the Federal Prison Bureau has enlisted the services of half a hundred young college men with social-work training under the common-sense designation of wardens' assistants. While every employee of a prison should be in a sense a social worker, those specially trained, as are these young men, find unique opportunities for service to more hopeful inmates: (1) They gather case histories; (2) they foster and maintain family relationships and favorable outside contacts; (3) they advise on purely social problems (not reached by doctor, chaplain, or psychiatrist); (4) they prepare both the inmate and his environment against the day of his release; (5) they interpret the prisoner's problem to the case worker who will aid in his re-establishment.

The interesting experiment of specially trained chaplains in the federal prison service has likewise distinct possibilities.

One cannot consider the splendid prison education systems that have been adopted in New York, and to a lesser extent in California, without feeling that here is a sincere and conscious effort to really protect the public against the ex-prisoner. Remarkable successes have been experienced in several states in

the establishment of prison farms and honor camps. The experience of the federal government is really astonishing in this connection. During a period of three years, over 9,000 prisoners were transferred to open honor camps. Two hundred were reported missing, 189 were returned, making a net loss of 11 out of 9,000 over a period of three years.

One must record two instances where prison work of the country seems to have had a setback during the last decade. Owing to federal and state legislation, it seems to be becoming increasingly difficult to provide constructive labor for prisoners. The federal government has made some attempt to minimize this evil through the late Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, whose services have been recently dispensed with by the Congress. It is not easy to see how a prisoner can be returned to active life after five, ten, or fifteen years spent in stultifying idleness.

Again, in spite of some forward-looking attempts in New York, New Jersey, and the federal government to provide a dignified calling for prison workers, there has been little headway made toward the adoption of civil service methods in penal institutions. That such a policy is indispensable in the carrying-out of the main objectives of prison management cannot be controverted. The Federal Bureau of Prisons has made the classified civil service applicable to every position in the Bureau and its field units, and through the adoption of in-service training courses, promotional examinations, and a regulation preventing the appointment of higher officials from the outside, has established a genuine career service. And the present leadership of the Federal Prison Bureau under James V. Bennett, a highly intelligent and conscientious public servant, is a guaranty that it will continue so.

But these bright spots are more or less dimmed by the recent record of many states in permitting the infiltration of party politics in their penal systems. One does not like to get too oratorical about such a matter of fact subject, but until the Hydra-headed monster of politics can be eliminated from our

prisons, not to mention our impossible county jails, we might as well give up the attempt to make them agencies of public protection.

But there has been enough experience in America to establish the fact that a sufficient amount of punishment can be imposed and that headway can be made in the ultimate objective of prison protection. Residence in a prison does offer unique opportunities for prophylaxis, disciplinary training, education, inculcation of work habits, regularity of living, acquaintance perhaps with some of the great literature of all time, and an opportunity to mold one's conduct after men with high and sincere motives. If such an experiment can be accompanied by some effort at group education or self-government, it is still possible to make of our prisons and reformatories a regenerating influence.

It may be that we will have to stifle some of our pet prejudices to do this. We will have to agree to give prisoners some opportunity to work, both before and after they come out. We will be obliged to recognize the fact that long prison terms have a queer effect upon some men's emotions. We will have to risk the imputation of coddling prisoners, at least enough to provide an environment that elevates rather than degrades.

I am confident that with many of the men whom we now feel it necessary to send to prison, certain alternative disciplines will present themselves. We have never had the courage to apply the probation system to its fullest extent. If our courts keep on crowding the prisons to suffocation, in self-defense we may have to find some more effective, economical, and prompter methods of penal discipline. We may even go so far as to say that if a man wrongs society he should be given an opportunity to repay that debt in a way that benefits society rather than entails extra expenses upon it.

But always the acid test of a prison and its effectiveness to protect the public will be—how do its graduates behave when they come out? England, fearing the results to the community of discharging prisoners from a term of penal servitude, wisely

- provided an intermediate period known as protective detention. There is some rather bitter significance in this notion. If we have the kind of prison discipline that we have been advocating, we should not be so apprehensive.

The progressive penal administrator tries to meet this emergency through the device known as parole, but he is having an extremely hard time to try to convince the public of the wisdom of it. So insistent has been the propaganda against the whole subject of parole recently, that scarcely a man or woman in the country has not been led to believe that here is the great and crowning evil of our penal system. If we could only, he thinks, prevent these nefarious parole boards from letting men out of prison, all might be well. He does not stop to consider that at most this would mean only a postponement and an ultimate intensification of the whole difficulty.

Now I would be the last to contend that parole systems have been effectively and wisely administered in many places, but I think I am prepared to prove that of all the devices of our law-enforcement system, none of them has been more unfairly nor more unjustifiably accused than has parole as a system. Parole is not pardon. It does not on the average shorten the prisoner's sentence. As a matter of fact, it lengthens it. It does not relieve the prisoner from his responsibilities. It adds to them. It is an extension of that protection from the criminal to which the public is entitled. It is the logical sequence of every prison term. It helps the prisoner adjust himself in society. It makes it possible to secure work and living quarters for the discharged prisoner and to release him at a propitious time. It makes possible his prompt recall to the institution, even though what he has done may not be definitely proved as an offense. It assists him to walk the straight and narrow path of reformation and enables officers of the government to keep a watchful eye upon him.

I have many times quoted figures to show that in spite of inadequate and inefficient administration in many places, a remarkably high percentage of ex-convicts succeed in working out their parole term successfully. By and large, a man serves just

as long an elapsed time in prison previous to parole as he has done, or would do, under a definite sentence system. And from such figures as we have as to the total new volume of crime, less than 1 per cent of the current arrests are found to be on parole.

There is no dissent from the proposition that the dangerous criminal should be kept in prison or at least should be kept somewhere away from society just as long as is necessary to insure adequate protection. This degree of protection might be attained through the establishment of penal colonies, not on the pattern of the infamous Devil's Island, but somewhat after the model of a strong concentration camp. The penologist does not and never has condoned the premature release of the vicious, professional, or antisocial criminal, through political intervention, through lack of knowledge as to his characteristics, or through failure to understand his characteristics, or through any lack of courage in the disposition of his case. But such a realization does not alter the fact that the dangerous criminal, the public-enemy type that is played up with such dramatic fervor in the press, forms but a small percentage of the total number of those who engage the attention of the penal system.

The Federal Prison Bureau has supervision over more than 40,000 convicted offenders, 17,000 of whom are in institutions, and yet only 300 are in Alcatraz. Curious, isn't it, that the interest in the 300 men on the rock seems to outweigh and overbalance the fortunes of the majority, for whom society has infinitely larger responsibility?

Of the 52,153 arrests recorded in the Federal Bureau of Investigation for 1937, 1.3 were for homicide, 2.6 for robbery. It is on account of the overwhelming proportion of minor or accidental offenders that we must demand the establishment of a rehabilitative prison system and a protective system of parole. Whether they serve a long or a short time, it is the date of their emergence with which we are concerned. Obviously, there is a limit to the time that they can be kept incarcerated. Many careful students of contemporary history have insisted that in America that time is too long. Foreign commentators have re-

peatedly expressed their amazement at the average length of sentence imposed in this country, especially for sex crimes. When we are able to look at this whole question not in terms of our own feeling, not on the basis of our own desire for revenge, not with our emotions distorted through some sadistic desire that the criminal should repay us, we shall have much less difficulty in accepting parole as the inevitable sequence of every prison term. And we shall look at this penal device in much the same way as the average prisoner looks at it today, namely, as an additional burden or restriction on his liberty and a consequent safeguard for the public.

Perhaps some of our more truculent editors, who are continuously and unreasonably attempting to make parole a scapegoat, have not taken the trouble to investigate the cases where parole boards have erred, not on the side of leniency, but on the score of severity. Mistakes of this sort rarely come to the attention of the public. All they do is to make the prison warden's job that much harder, to further engender feelings of resentment in the heart of the prisoner. But ample evidence can be adduced in support of the theory that more often does a parole board, perhaps through fear of criticism, prolong the sentence beyond the time when it is necessary for true reformation, rather than unduly shorten it.

The phase of this whole question which sometimes makes it more difficult for the public to understand is the tendency through the processes of law or by practice in many states to impose excessively long maximum sentences, in order that a lengthy period of supervision may inevitably follow the prison term, sentences the length of which neither the legislature nor the court ever intended need be served in prison in their entirety. And yet when any diminution from this maximum results, certain members of the public seem to feel that they have been cheated out of something. Likewise, if later on the criminal repeats his offense under circumstances whereby under earlier systems he would be classified merely as an ex-convict, he is now referred to as a parolee, and the parole board becomes jointly responsible with him for his new crime.

It is curious to what a greater degree the paroling authority is held responsible than some of the other agencies of criminal law enforcement in this respect. The local police may overlook on countless occasions instances of law violations which should have been followed, perhaps, by arrest. A district attorney may, and often does, decide not to prosecute or *nolle prosequi*. The jury may acquit the defendant for perhaps the most fantastic reason, and the court may impose a sentence far below the maximum sentence possible in the case, and yet they almost uniformly escape responsibility or criticism if the defendant later commits another crime.

I am confident that it will not be difficult for social workers to believe that not all discharged prisoners are filthy reptiles. They know too much of the social and economic causes of crime. In the two decades that I have formed some acquaintance with prisons and their occupants, I have seen not only gunmen and bandits, public enemies and drug addicts, pickpockets and slick confidence men, men with such crooked characters that they never feel at home except in the atmosphere of crime, but I have also seen men who were formerly reasonably successful in business until the depression hit them, men whose families still loved them for what they had once been, men who took the rap for someone even more guilty than themselves rather than be classed as yellow, men whose offense was so close to the line of what is a crime and what is not a crime that it took a supreme court or two to determine whether they were criminals or not, and I have also seen in prison bankers, judges, governors, and congressmen.

One cannot brand all men who have been in prison with eternal obloquy. Those living men who fail on parole may have their names spread before the public eager for sensation and quick to reprobate them, but thousands who survive the searing effect of a prison experience, to whom parole has been a needed second chance, cannot be advertised. To the credit of the much maligned parole authorities must go their steadfast refusal to embarrass the men who have served a term in prison and who have succeeded nevertheless.

And so we cannot mention the names of the living, but it takes a slight acquaintance with history to recall the number of times that prison failed to quench the ardent spirit of some of the greatest reformers that the world has known, and who have left it better than it was. I suppose that if I reminded you that the "Star Spangled Banner" was written in a prison cell I might be accused of being some kind of a sentimentalist, and of course we have agreed to try to keep sentiment out of this discussion.

Let us see, then, if we can submit the question of a humanitarian approach toward the prisoner and his treatment to any sort of critical, unemotional evaluation. It seems to be quite popular nowadays to submit all our cherished theories to searching surveys and evaluations. In fact, social workers, private and public, are likely to fall into two classes—those who do the evaluating and those who have to put up with it. The Wickersham Commission told us what was wrong with our prisons. They were not so clear as to what to do about it. The Gluecks took a rap at the conventional reformatory and then proceeded to lay waste the juvenile court. The Children's Bureau, albeit with a tolerant and friendly spirit, made it look pretty bad for the juvenile training schools.

What we want to know today is, does the kind of penal system which subordinates the desire for revenge to the need for rehabilitation really work? Would we be better off if we had chain gangs and whipping posts and gloomy dungeons in all our states? Is it more important to put the fear of punishment in the minds of the potential criminal than to try to reclaim the unfortunate who has set out upon the "primrose path of dalliance"? Is probation a more effective method than recourse to the jail or the reformatory or the penitentiary?

Probation may work in one case, where a jail term would be ruinous. Probation may be entirely futile in another case, where condign punishment, administered in the right proportion, might have been effective. Communities and their resources for rehabilitation differ greatly. Some reformatories are equipped with conscientious personnel and the parapher-

nalía for reform. Others are places to enter which is to abandon hope. Some individuals will survive or even profit from reformatory discipline, and some will be crushed or degraded by it.

I have thought of only one real basis upon which we might evaluate the effectiveness of penal treatment. We can compare results between states or communities where different methods or policies obtain. And in doing this we have at our disposal some statistics which, while they may not be accurate, are at least susceptible of comparison. I believe that the statistics

TABLE 1

State	
Massachusetts.....	30.2
New Jersey.....	49.4
Wisconsin.....	46.2
New York.....	29.2
Oklahoma.....	167.2
Florida.....	106.2
Virginia.....	108.5
Arkansas.....	96.4

obtained from the reports of the Census Bureau¹ and the Uniform Crime Reports² establish the fact that, where reasonably humanitarian prison administration has been undertaken and probation and parole have been freely administered, the crime rates are low. Where we have a good parole system we have less crime. I am obliged to use the 1935 report of the Census Bureau because, while the 1936 report is published, it does not contain prison commitments on a comparable basis. I select four states, those in which I think you will readily agree probation and parole are freely developed—Massachusetts, New Jersey, Wisconsin, and New York. And I select four other states in which these systems are rather inadequately developed and where considerable insistence upon the efficacy of punishment still exists.

¹ *Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories* (1935).

² *Uniform Crime Reports* (1937).

The Census Bureau reports indicate for the year 1935 the number of prisoners received in prison per 100,000 population for the whole of the United States, 74.4.

If the formula that punishment prevents crime holds good, one would expect to find that those states which send the most men to prison would have the least crime; but we find that the exact converse has been proved. The Uniform Crime Reports for 1937, the last completed year of statistics gathered by the Department of Justice, show on page 194 the rate per 100,000 of population of offenses known to the police to be as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

State	Murder and Manslaughter	Robbery	Larceny and Theft
Oklahoma.....	8.1	73.0	1314.9
Florida.....	22.6	124.1	1586.6
Virginia.....	19.8	79.7	1501.5
Arkansas.....	17.4	79.8	1124.7
Georgia.....	33.6	128.0	1588.1
Massachusetts.....	1.3	23.6	476.6
New Jersey.....	3.4	31.7	518.4
Wisconsin.....	1.5	11.3	620.7
New York.....	3.7	16.5	426.6

At this point I want to pay tribute to the progressiveness and public spirit of Governor Rivers of Georgia, spurred on by an awakened group of social workers and assisted by a forward-looking legislature. Distressed by the fact, so often recorded, that his state led in robbery and murder rates for the whole country, he has revamped the entire penal system of that state. Chain gangs of notorious history and the other medieval relics of barbarism are being abolished. The parole system which will give an equal right to each prisoner to have his case heard is being established, and unless all signs fail, Georgia is redirecting her efforts toward a safer and more crime-free state in the light of modern penal philosophy.

Now, of course, it would be unsafe to draw too many deduc-

tions from this striking comparison. There are many complicating factors in the whole picture. There is the stubborn problem of racial relations. There are cultural, economic, and social differences in some of these states. These facts, instead of disproving my point, merely emphasize and reinforce the fundamental proposition which I advance. Admitting that in the more progressive group of states it is not the withholding of punishment alone that has stopped crime, nevertheless these commonwealths still constitute a shining example of what can

TABLE 3

State	Expenditure per Pupil	Robbery Rate
New York.....	134.13	16.5
New Jersey.....	108.33	31.7
Massachusetts.....	104.51	23.6
Rhode Island.....	95.03	7.8
Connecticut.....	90.76	16.4
Minnesota.....	86.16	42.4
Tennessee.....	35.81	116.6
North Carolina.....	31.11	71.7
Georgia.....	30.96	128.0
Alabama.....	28.49	53.8
Arkansas.....	24.55	79.8

be done when a community-wide effort at character-building and preventive social work is undertaken. I submit that these figures do positively prove the fact that we cannot rely upon penal processes alone if we are to have a crime-free state.

I believe there are other contemporary evidences that bear directly upon the truth of this proposition. The Advisory Committee on Education has recently published some reports, included in which is a table indicating the current expenditure per pupil and child in the various states for the year 1935-36.

Is it not worthy of notice that almost without exception the states that spend the largest amount of money for the education of their children are the states with the low crime rates, and that the states which I have quoted to you above as having high

crime rates are found grouped together in the extreme lower brackets?

Likewise, I believe it is of more than ordinary significance that the robbery rate in the city of Boston, which contributed \$5.00 per capita to the Community Fund last year, was 46 per 100,000, whereas the people of Atlanta contributed \$1.37 apiece to the Community Chest, and its robbery rate was 218.

Of course I do not need to reiterate that it will not be enough for any state merely to mitigate the horrors of its prison administration, unless the people of that state are prepared to supplement such reforms with an enlargement of parole and probation activities and with a community-wide program of social work and character-building agencies. It is no mere coincidence that, in many of the communities to which I have referred as being relatively free of crime, we find the landscape dotted with well-supervised boys' clubs and other community-supported, leisure-time agencies. I have recently commented upon a certain interpretation of some of the contemporary crime figures. It seems to me so suggestive of our opportunity in this whole problem that I am going to take the time to refer to it again.

One of the accepted ways of arousing people to action is to tell them that crime is increasing and that the age of criminals is decreasing, or that the number of sex crimes is alarmingly higher. Of these three statements, however, only the third is strictly true. Referring again to the Uniform Crime Reports of the Department of Justice, it is shown that, while there is an upturn in the amount of major crimes from 1936 to 1937, there is a decrease in the annual trends—offenses known to the police from the reporting area for the period 1931–37.

God forbid that we should profess complacency over this situation. Our national crime figures by 1931 had attained truly alarming proportions. The fact that they have receded from that time is no particular cause for gratification, except as such a trend indicates whether or not we are on the right track.

When I say, therefore, that since 1931–37 murder has decreased 12 per cent, manslaughter 20 per cent, robbery has re-

duced 30 per cent, burglary 9 per cent, and auto theft 45 per cent, I do not mean to indicate that the situation is now satisfactory. I think we can admit, however, that the trend is in the right direction. Tables indicate that there has been an increase in crime in seven years in only two of the major categories. One was larceny and theft, which, owing to the sharp increase in 1937, was 14 per cent more than in 1931; but the amazing and disheartening fact is that the crime of rape has increased 50 per cent throughout the country in seven years.

To what may we attribute this situation? Well, a year or more ago one or two atrocious crimes were committed in New York by a man whom we call a sex offender and whom many newspapers for an inexplorable reason called a "moron." Certain of the newspapers immediately tried to connect this situation with the failure of the parole system. They asserted that no man who ever committed a sex crime should ever be released from an institution. Mothers were terrified and school children were warned against prowling sex offenders. The fact that sex criminals have always been the best parole risks was overlooked. But it did not take long for the New York State Parole Board to make its position clear with reference to this matter. The able governor of the state of New York, Herbert H. Lehman, who had the courage to state his convictions, stated before the New York State Probation Officers' Association:

The State Board of Parole was organized and became operative under the present law on July 1, 1930. It therefore completed a full seven years of operation on June 30 last. In that period there came out of state prisons and from the Elmira Reformatory either through action of the Parole Board or by statutory release, 925 individuals who had served sentences for those repulsive crimes. In those seven years in the whole state only eight of those 925 released prisoners were convicted of new sex offenses. This, however, portrays only part of the parole operation. In these seven years, 33 individuals in this class who were on parole were arrested and charged with the commission of new sex felonies. Of the 8 convicted and resented the Parole Board was left to deal with 25 who were not convicted. In every instance, even though no new conviction was secured, parole was terminated by action of the Parole Board and the parolee returned to state prison as a parole violator.

It is interesting to note that not a single one of the major sex felonies—the

atrocious murders committed in this state in recent years—was committed by an individual on parole to the New York State Board of Parole or who was out of prison by the authority of that Board at the time the murder was committed.

A protracted treatment of this subject by the press of New York, which, naturally, being spicy reading, interested the people of that city, resulted in a study of sex crimes in New York City by the Citizen's Committee on the Control of Crime. They considered in some detail the cases of 657 defendants charged with sex crimes during a period of six months. Eighty-two of the 657 had had prior records. Twenty-two had been charged with sex offences. Thirteen of the 22 previously charged with sex offenses were convicted on the new charges. Of the whole number only one was on parole at the time of his arrest on the present charge, and at the time of the study that one man was in a hospital for the insane. Assuming that this study is a typical one and can be matched by similar findings the country over, here is a situation for the social worker, the sociologist, and Mr. J. R. Citizen to ponder.

The one crime throughout the country that is showing an alarming rate of increase is the crime of rape, the crime which, according to the New York study, cannot be laid to faulty prison administration or to loose parole. Do we need any more dramatic demonstration of the fact that crime, at least this kind of crime, is being manufactured in our communities faster than our penal procedures can cope with it? You as social workers will know something of the economic, cultural, social, and industrial changes that may share the responsibility for this situation. You can select any or all of the following causes or, no doubt, add to them: (1) unemployment and consequent idleness; (2) lurid accounts of sex crimes which appear in public print, sex stories in magazines, movies, etc.; (3) the changed attitude toward women from that of chivalry to equality with men (Bromley); (4) breakdown of family controls; (5) the absence of any substitute for restraining force and idealism of reli-

gion; (6) the increase in the use of alcohol and drugs among young people, particularly the recently discovered and all too prevalent use of marijuana, aided and abetted by ill-timed and dramatic publicity among young people.

Recent reports from Leavenworth Annex show that many more individuals have recently been committed to that institution during the last year charged with the excessive use of the aphrodisiac drug, marijuana, alone. Obviously, there are two kinds of sex criminals: (a) the congenital, professional, habitual sex criminal. The dangerous degenerate, whatever the cause of his condition, is a public menace and should be treated much as a social leper; (b) but for the far larger number of occasional offenders, society itself must face its own responsibility.

It may be that prisons are "spewing forth vermin" who commit their degenerating deeds on innocent children. It may be that, as is inevitable in prisons and reformatories, the lowest type of individuals foregather there (and where else would you expect or hope to find the lowest type?), and that degeneracy is intensified, but never again after these surveys can we lay the sole blame for this situation at the door of the Big House. Thus does the prison bequeath to society as a whole the solution of the problem of crime.

May I refer once more to the possibility that we are overdoing the matter of punishment in America? Informal figures, whose accuracy cannot be guaranteed, were released by the Howard League for Penal Reform in England two years ago and disclose the disquieting fact that we are sending six times as many men to prison in America as in England. Has this practice made us any freer from crime? Is there any connection between the fact that, while the rate of prison commitments doubled from 1910 to 1935 in this country, the rate of recidivism was increased. That the women's prisons and reformatories of this country, which partake the least of the character of prisons, have the highest percentage of success with their graduates has been constantly testified to by foreign observers. If this fact is

significant, and if the comparisons which I have given you above are sound, may we not assume that, while we have much farther to go toward the development of a humanitarian, progressive penal system before we can really class it as a real protection to the public, still we do have one signpost on the road?

There are undeniably great inconsistencies in our American penal system. I have no doubt there are inconsistencies in our own attitudes toward the criminal. There are times when we become exasperated and we join in a more or less universal demand that punishment be made more swift and sure and that justice be meted out inexorably to every person who offends against the law. But there will be other times when we cannot escape the realization that crime and delinquency are the inevitable consequences of inadequate social conditions. A gunman does not become a gunman overnight. He as a public enemy has had a long apprenticeship in an atmosphere of neglect, suspicion, thwarted ambitions, and a misunderstanding in the community.

Whether or not you believe in the efficacy of punishment or in the possibility of redemption, you cannot but accept the conclusion that it is infinitely more vital to prevent the commission of crime in the first instance than to repair the damage after it has been done.

I have not much patience, however, with those who believe that crime can be prevented by a campaign, or a parade, or even a banquet. Only as we make our neighborhoods safer and happier places in which to live, through the long, slow, but invaluable processes of understanding them better, can we really prevent crime. The schools are commencing to feel their responsibility, and communities are organizing their "area projects." But our concern for the leisure-time activities of our boys and girls is growing in intensity. If there is such a thing as leadership for leisure we must try to provide it. We cannot obliterate the gang, but we can give it a chance to become a group. We need not worry about preventing crimes in the un-

derprivileged boy, if we will stop committing crimes against him and breeding him in underprivileged areas.

Erecting a bulwark against commercialized vice and an immunity against the onslaught of those who would make money out of tempting youth must go hand in hand with the control of these sinister influences.

This is not the place to discuss all the methods society must employ or the sacrifices we ourselves must make if crime is to be controlled. It is a great gratification to me that I have recently become enrolled with that historic and useful organization, the Boys' Clubs of America, representing a very practical kind of social work. Under expert leadership (and this does not necessarily mean the police) they have a task of inestimable value to perform. The theme of our last annual convention was "The Boys' Club in a Changing Community." We are anxious to take our place with the great professions, the existence of which makes this splendid meeting possible, in a united attack upon the forces of evil both within and without.

Relief never built an empire, and security alone will never maintain it. But the spirit of service plus sacrifice, if kept ever fresh by the National Conference of Social Work, will save our country.

Let us see to it, therefore, that (1) wherever it is possible to successfully cure delinquency through probation that we attempt to do so, and to this end we demand probation be dissociated from political control; (2) the prisons and reformatories devote themselves, not to the cause of merely carrying out the penalty of the law, but the more important and difficult task of refitting their inmates for the resumption of life on the outside; (3) we cease our demand that parole be abolished, that we recognize it as the inevitable and protective sequence to every prison term, and that we demand that it be properly understood, supported, and administered; (4) in all these efforts we command the services of the most intelligent workers, that we pursue the scientific method, and that our object be the

long-time protection of our country rather than the exacting of a payment for wrongs done; (5) even as we resolutely set about to bring the prisons of the country to higher standards, we never fail to look through and beyond the prison until we recognize crime in all its ramifications as a social problem, as a problem that cannot be solved by the government alone, but only by the participation of all character-building agencies reinforced by the intelligent and highly motivated and unified determination of our communities themselves.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF STANDARDS OF SOCIAL WORK IN PUBLIC SERVICE

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THE establishment and maintenance of high standards of social work in public service is not to be achieved by wishful thinking. Neither is it possible to assume that the development of social work through the private agencies can provide us with a parallel in terms of form of organization, the development of staffs, or the philosophy which underlies our operation. In the very nature of the development of the private agencies, time was a factor which lay within the control of the administrator. By selective processes he could achieve the establishment of his organization and program by easy stages.

If the present year did not present the opportunity and occasion for making an advance or retreat, no great disaster followed in the wake of his decision. Being responsible to a small board of directors and removed entirely from pressure groups of great variety, he was free to make his choice according to his own conception of what the pattern of the organization should be. In the field of public service it is entirely different. The public welfare administrator of today benefits considerably from a wide experience in private social work. His understanding and acceptance of case-work processes will work heavily in his favor, but, if he is to be successful, he must acquire new skills and a knowledge of new processes, and he must acquire them almost overnight.

Public social-work organization usually embraces a larger

field than private social work, but there can be no compromise on the part of administrators with the validity of social case-work concepts and procedures. Our development must be outward and yet conserving this vital element for any organization established for human service.

ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC WELFARE

Administration of public welfare, then, covers a larger field than does the administration of a social-work agency carried on under private auspices. The time is more than here when we must learn to fill our phrases with substance and real meaning. How often have we heard the statement that it is essential that the public agencies of this country on federal, state, and local levels must have high personnel standards, but how seldom have we defined those standards in terms of reality. Not, however, until we can use exact language which sets forth not only our concept of the job but the actual duties and the specific qualifications are we going to be able to have our communities support such a program.

Nor must these standards be merely "children of the brain." They must be related to the community in which the public servant is to operate. They must have some relationship to the social concept which prevails in a particular state or locality, and they must have a degree of flexibility which enables a merit system to operate in terms of public examination and the use of equivalents in experience. This is but one sample of the modification which must be made in our thinking and action. We cannot wisely set out solely to establish a social agency, but rather an agency of government. It is true that we seek to serve clients suffering from some aspect of social disability or disadvantage, but we must do so in terms of public service as expressed through specific legislation and reflective of the community social will.

The purpose of this paper is to endeavor to mark out the chief areas in which we must carry forward our enterprise. We begin with the assumption that the experiences of the last fifty years

have had real meaning in the rapid development of public welfare organizations during the past decade, but which were inoperative in, of, and by themselves. Their validity is found in their basic soundness and the modification of the principle to the particular task in hand. I know it is customary for us to begin the consideration of such a subject with a consideration of processes and mechanisms. Experience has shown me that the acceptance of processes and principles follows, rather than precedes, the understanding by the average person within the community.

INTERPRETATION TO THE PUBLIC

It would seem clear to me that no one can have traveled very much among the general public without being conscious of the fact that we social workers are viewed as excellent people who have little of the practical wrapped up in our nature. The member of the political organization, however, is viewed as a very practical person. His motives may sometimes be questioned; his methods may not always undergo keen scrutiny; but it is freely recognized that his operations and public relations are skilled and real. He apparently knows people, retains his affection for them in spite of their defects, and has a warm personal regard for those elemental human forces the expression of which makes for highly interesting personalities.

The wise administrator, then, has his mind fixed upon a successful interpretation of what the governmental agency is trying to do to serve human beings. He must find a language which is of the newspaper variety rather than the expressions of the textbook. He cannot, of course, depart from the basic values, but they must and can be couched in a language that is easily understood by the average person. Experience has shown me that the use of scientific terms and professional shorthand has been one of the greatest barriers between the mind of the legislator, for instance, and that of the social worker. We are viewed as haughty, dominating people with a self-assurance and self-conceit that arouses resentment in the mind of the average

legislator. This is true whether we view the representatives of government on the federal, state, or local levels. Surely we can find our way through this problem without very much effort. Sometimes it seems to me that we are so accustomed to the patter of social work that we are blissfully unconscious of its nature and its effect upon the uninitiated.

If this is true in relation to the elected official, it is even more true when we relate it to the man in the street. We may not like his idea of how people should be helped; we may think his efforts are diffuse and ineffective. He may think social work is easy and that good intention and kindness are sufficient unto the problem thereof. If he is to be weaned away from this concept, however, it will not be by the mouthing of superior and highly polished utterances. It will be because we have found the art of interpreting our job within the terms of his vocabulary.

It becomes, then, the obligation of the administrator and his associates to go into the highways and byways. That time is never lost in which we purposefully direct the mind of a small group toward the reasonableness of social work in its modern sense. It would not be difficult to point to certain states where appropriations are found wanting, where organizations have been destroyed, and where human beings have been neglected largely on account of the chasm which exists between the urban and the rural mind. Government in almost every state in the Union rests on acreage to a far larger extent than we social workers have recognized. The members of political organizations have made no mistake on this point. On the other hand, where programs appear to have been most successful, it is my humble judgment that you will find that a considerable amount of time has been spent in the personal interpretation to many types or organizations, whether they have existed in hamlets or in the cosmopolitan area.

The organization of public social work is like anything else. It calls for effort and more effort, physical as well as mental in its nature. I believe we will win public approval for our program

in very much the same way as the representatives of the people are elected—by going to the place where the people are, talking to them in homely language, and stressing the human values as paramount in our concern. If we will take the time—and let me assure you it means much time and inconvenience—we will very soon realize that the public has the knack of visualizing a department in terms of its leadership and representatives. A haughty demeanor, a lack of warmth of personality, an indifference to the so-called “lowly,” will prevent the development of any program, when that program rests upon public support and is supposed to be a public enterprise.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

So I lay before you as primary in our efforts the study of groups, associations, and organizations which are integral to the very life of the community. It involves the church, the labor organizations, the federated clubs, service organizations, political organizations, and almost anything which gathers to itself a group of people who, while concentrated on a specific interest, find themselves considering the larger issues in life. I can give it to you as my personal testimony, for whatever it may be worth, that, in spite of the enormous amount of administrative detail which necessarily crosses my desk, I have traveled in the last eight years an average of thirty-five hundred miles per month in reaching out to all sorts of people in almost every community in the state.

ASSOCIATION OF WELFARE OFFICIALS

Further, it can be cited with assurance, that in those states where there is an organization of public welfare officials which meets regularly and consistently for the joint discussion of problems, there you will find uniformity and the development of standards. I know of one state where the public officials have used a highly organized state conference to great advantage. In addition to the regular annual conference, some fourteen regional conferences are held each spring in the rural areas,

and these regional meetings have been largely given over to the interpretation of the public job. The result, of course, is plainly seen in the support which the public program has had from the general citizenry and from the representatives of the people in local and state legislative bodies. Throughout every stage of the development the state department and the local commissioners of public welfare have worked in the most intimate manner for the development of procedural policies and forms; standards of social-work practice and high personnel standards. This process was effected by the establishment of joint committees and rested back on the general community understanding of the program.

INTERPRETATION TO THE LEADERS OF GOVERNMENT

The next step to be emphasized, it seems to me, is the refinement of this same process. Here we find the wise administrator making it his business to keep the leaders of government sensitive to the problems which he faces and to have at least a partial understanding of the program. By means of what I may call the "knee to knee conference," it is possible to interest these leaders, from the governor down, in such a manner as to secure support and, what is equally important, a certain degree of respect for this new profession which has so recently attacked the citadel of government.

Legislative leaders are just like other people. They have a multitude of interests and are caught up in the hurly-burly of life. Unless we introduce our subject to them in a manner which catches their personal attention, the whole social-welfare effort will pass them by so far as the elements in which you and I are interested, are concerned. What is everybody's business becomes nobody's business. If, however, we specifically solicit an interest in those exceedingly difficult problems which face us in the normal operation of a governmental department, we shall in return receive the support and interest on the part of the leaders. How important this is will be readily observable to anyone who has been associated with government even to the slightest degree. One needs only to recall the important place

which the legislative committee has in the general scheme of the legislature to see the effect of such an approach by the administrator on the minds of the legislators in general and the leaders in particular. The ramifications are beyond description. They affect your whole program of local personnel standards and carry through to the very appropriations which are necessary to the adequate operation of public welfare.

A CO-ORDINATED STATE AGENCY

It is assumed that while this process of interpretation has been going on the administrator has been busy in blocking out for himself the nature of his organization. Wherever practical, he has sought to establish one public welfare agency in his state and communities instead of several agencies charged with the operation of particular segments of the general program. Of course, I know that this cannot be accomplished overnight; but it should be firmly in his mind as one of the goals to which he must move. It is a mistake, in my judgment, when we miss the opportunity these days of establishing one co-ordinated state agency instead of an agency which deals, we shall say, with the public assistance program, while another deals with the operations of institutions and certain children's services.

Let us, for instance, turn our attention to state organization as an example and trace it through to the relationships which must be established with local operating units. I hold no brief for any one specific form of organization. The actual form is often conditioned by time and space. That is to say, we find ourselves facing a public opinion that has developed to a lesser or a greater degree, and we find this organization growing up in a geographic area which probably is characterized by the existence or the nonexistence of large urban areas, highly industrialized communities, or, on the other hand, influenced by a strong agricultural activity. This is what I mean by time and space.

MAJOR ORGANIZATIONAL BLOCKINGS

However, we are able to distinguish certain general groupings through which the state agency finds expression. As we look

over the different states, five major organizational blockings seem to be rather constant: (1) a general administrative section which directs its attention to planning, programing, and policy formation; (2) the administration, integration, and unification of the several aspects of public assistance; (3) the administration and co-ordination of the several other aspects of public welfare which are not directly involved in our relief activities; (4) the development and application of fiscal, procedural, and research control which gives stability to the operation of our program; social research must take on larger significance in our enterprise; this is not only fundamental to our planning and program administration, but actually will provide the basis of economic control equal to, if not superior to, our normal fiscal controls; (5) the development of a field staff through which we co-operate with the local units of administration in such a manner as to effect good standards of social work, provide uniformity and reality to our operations. In this respect I cannot too strongly stress the value of establishing district state subdivisions through which the supervisory power may flow to the local administrative units. The close co-ordination of these area units provides, in my judgment, the most effective means for the development of our program and public relationships. This probably is the point at which I ought to stress the importance of case reading and case review as a sound means for developing social practice, staff development, and the implementation of our program in the interest of the client. Of all the means so far developed, the case-review process provides for me the most encouraging means of providing us with the necessary data for our future development as well as the control and stimulation of our present program and standards of operation.

Underlying all this must be a clear conception on our part of how certain specific principles of administration operate. I take it that we seek, among other things, to build an organization in which there is clearly reflected executive direction, expressing itself through a clean-cut internal organization; well-defined processes leading to centralization and integration; defi-

nite and freely accepted principles of personnel control; positive stimulation emanating from the executive and carrying right through the entire organization; and, finally, an adequate system of public reporting. These factors at least must be dynamic in their nature if we are to achieve purposeful direction.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING

It will also surely be evident that these more mechanical processes must have definitely related to them two other factors. No modern public welfare administration can make much progress unless there is integral to the structure a dynamic system of in-service training. At the present time, schools of social work rarely possess the capacity to provide the training for the worker who has to deal with an ever expanding public program which continually presents new types of problems and opportunities. It would appear that for some time to come the public agency must largely make its own craftsmen. This in-service training, however, must not be of the observational or desultory type. It must be purposeful and in the direct line of social-work development. Definite in nature and objectives and carried forward under close supervision and dynamic professional standards, it may express itself in several types of educational structure. If we are wise, we shall use every means toward achieving this objective. Wherever schools exist capable of making a contribution, their facilities should be utilized; where such opportunities are nonexistent, we ourselves must develop specific courses, institutes, and supervised training-on-the-job programs which keep us alive and enterprising. In addition, it seems to me, there must be developing within our structure a social philosophy which carries over into our day-by-day relationship with all kinds of governmental agencies and activity.

LOCAL AUTONOMY AND RESPONSIBILITY

In spite of the fact that I may now be entering into a very vital realm of controversy, I desire to state the conviction that it is essential to the wholesomeness of our job that we believe in

and assist in developing local responsibility for the administration of the public welfare program. It seems to me that there has been much confusion of thought in this area. I am not pleading for the development of a multitude of small separate local units. I am pleading, however, for a federal-state-local relationship which allows for the free interchange of ideas, and through which we may see the development of procedures and practices which will give us uniformly high standards with that degree of flexibility which spells success.

The federal and state authorities, it seems to me, can wisely and firmly develop supervisory processes which involve approval of structure, methods, and programs, but which still insist that, if these are to be translated in the workaday world of public welfare, they must become the concern and responsibility of that group of units which reaches into the intimate life of our people in their homes and common concerns. In no other way can we develop a public service which will allow for the development of social judgment on the part of localities, which will translate itself into the fabric of the people whom we serve.

Time does not permit of my carrying this type of illustration into the several levels of operation. Suffice it to say that we must be as definite in our organizational forms in the local areas as we are in the state and federal areas. The sound principle of job analysis, which begins by establishing a flow chart from the point of application and intake straight through to the closing of the record and the cessation of service to a family, must be clearly defined in terms of specific organization. No matter how small or large the unit of operation may be, unless this is clearly fixed in our minds, we will never be able to define our functions in such a manner as to achieve the quality of workmanship and the standard of administration which is necessary to the accomplishment of the job.

PERSONNEL

At this point, it would seem to be natural to turn our attention for a moment to the question of personnel. Here again, I

suppose, I must take the risk of working in an area of controversy. Surely I can brush aside the need for assuring you of my belief in professional standards as reflected, let us say, in the American Association of Social Workers. The record in my own organization speaks for itself in this respect. I had thought of tabulating the professional connections with which the members of my staff are associated, but the data was so voluminous and so impressive, that modesty compels me to withhold it from you. On the federal and state level we have a right to ask and to expect standards of workmanship and experience equivalent to the job and not based on the agency or locality. In this regard the best can and should be secured. In relation to local staffs the beginning jobs in the technical positions should have an educational and experience basis equivalent to graduation from a recognized college. The minimum of education should be graduation from a standard high school with additional recent and paid experience which is directly in line with the position which is to be held. When we come to this question of equivalents, experience shows that a very rigorous process of evaluation of experience and personality is absolutely essential. That this is practical is the common experience of many states. In New York, for instance, of the 20,388 old and new reimbursable local personnel 19,313, or 94.9 per cent, meet the conditions outlined. Of this number, 9,627, out of a total of 10,042, or 95.8 per cent, are in the social service personnel.

On the other hand, experience has taught me that we do not achieve standards solely by our insistence on degrees and diplomas. One of the most interesting observations in this respect has been to recognize the contribution to the standards of social work which have been effected by the unions in public service. In our recent fight for legislation to secure personnel standards in the state of New York, we found among our strongest allies the leaders in the trade-union group. Furthermore, we must be impressed, it seems to me, with the number of persons who would not be eligible for membership in professional organizations, who are taking up work in the extension divisions of our schools

of social work. But even this is not broad enough for the public service base. Ways and means must be found for evaluating education and experience which may be substituted as equivalents for that specific training and experience which we normally have related to social work. This is particularly true in our local organizations. Of course there can be no substitute for case-work training. Acceptance of the validity of social case work is basic to all aspects of the job. Even in the field of financial control, an acceptance and appreciation of these processes are essential. Especially is this true on the federal and state levels if social judgment on the part of the local case workers is to be secure. Insecurity in this respect will vitiate the entire program. It cannot, then, be too clearly stated that there is no substitute for this fundamental consideration. Let it not be said for a moment that I am pleading for the lowering of standards. I am simply facing reality, in terms of bitter experience. Equivalents can and must be found which will be recognized in terms of status and validity, and which will provide the foundation upon which we will build our structure of high-grade personnel. Unless this is done, there will develop in our communities a degree of resistance that will stem the tide of our development and frustrate our efforts.

CIVIL SERVICE

Furthermore, I know of no merit system, public in its nature, that would dare to limit its selective processes by some doctrinaire attitude on the part of any profession. The dangers involved are great. The protection is found in the careful and specific working-out of the necessary qualifications and duties which are involved in every job in the organization. It seems to me that the recent effort on the part of Pennsylvania in this respect is of significance to every state in the Union. If this could be achieved, we could then proceed with a degree of security to find equivalents for education and experience which we have felt were essential and exclusive in relation to the development of the social-work profession.

SPECIAL EXAMINING BOARDS

If two other factors can be brought into the realm of practice, much more acceleration in this respect can be expected. Greater use should be made of special examining boards in relation to the selection of our personnel. Civil service or other merit organizations should be encouraged by us to select from the community boards which can guarantee the nonpolitical aspect of the examination and prevent the play of ulterior forces and motives.

REIMBURSEMENT

Of even greater significance, however, is the calling into being of the principle of reimbursement in relation to personnel. The federal government and several states have greatly assisted in this respect. The difficulty in relation to personnel is not half so great on the federal and state level, it seems to me, as it is in our localities. The tax question affects this, as it does so many other aspects of our job. If governmental units employing personnel of a desired standard can be aided by reimbursement that is fair and reasonably adequate, specific direction can be given to the development of the necessary staffs and to the gradual raising of standards and facility of operation.

MANUAL OF PROCEDURE AND INSTRUCTION

The longer I am engaged in the consideration of public welfare administration, the more significance do I attach to the careful development of manuals of procedure and instruction. More than a year ago I set out to produce a manual of public welfare operation. No aspect of the work has been more difficult. I found that the language of social work was not only rigid but in many cases repellant. Finally, in New York, we have come to the place where we have taken months of careful work to our local commissioners and supervisors. We have found them to be of the greatest assistance to us in evolving the kind of instrument which sets the pattern in which the various activities must be carried forward. This manual has five aspects, to my way of thinking:

1. A clear-cut nonequivocal statement of the purpose and concept of public welfare in which the interests of the clients, taxpayers, and the governmental unit are carefully outlined, and which at the same time sets forth the standards of social work we hold to be basic and essential and the social goals for which we strive.

2. A section on organization.

3. A clear definition of the social case-work steps which must be taken in the provision of an adequate service to our clients.

4. The working-out of principles and procedures governing medical care, the several types of resources, and the other social forces which are inherent in a well-rounded-out program.

5. The development of fiscal forms and procedures which, while servicing the business side of the organization, do not stifle the social-work practice.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOCIAL JUDGMENT

With the highest respect for the fiscal authority and auditor, it must, nevertheless, be clearly understood that the responsibility for making a social judgment rests with the social worker and cannot be unduly affected by an auditing process. It is so easy to accept the domination of observable measuring rods and in the process thwart the efforts of the worker who is primary to our job. After all, public social work not only has the responsibility of thinking in terms of economy and in the interests of the taxpayer, it must accept the responsibility of serving the client in an understanding manner and with a very vivid realization of the circumstances which surround him. If our work does not go beyond the mere provision of the necessities of life, to allow for the reconstruction of the family unit, the conservation of human resources, and the frank recognition of the sacredness of personality, the whole program is bathos.

OUR GOALS OF ACHIEVEMENT

Most sincerely do I hope that this discussion has had some relationship to concrete factors. He would be exceedingly fool-

ish who failed to realize the amount of hard thinking, careful planning, and actual physical effort that must go into this task. We are not going to achieve standards in public social work by gathering them from the bushes. Blood and sinew must go into our every effort. There is, however, a final aspect from my point of view. It is the question of establishing for ourselves definite goals of achievement in the broad field of human relationship. No mere mechanism or mechanist will avail us much in the last analysis. Someone said recently that the underlying power in the development of America was the fact that our forefathers lived with an empire in their brain.

If there is anything more apparent than the need for America pushing out into new frontiers which are characteristically human rather than quantitative and physical, then I do not know what it is. The organization of public welfare in America cannot be left to chance or to any group which seeks to advantage itself in the process. A deep reverence for life must dominate all of us. It must be the characteristic of the administrator at the top and the visitor in the field. We, too, must have an empire in our brain. Its boundaries must be set in terms of security which is characterized by economic, health, educational, cultural, and spiritual aspects.

The human enterprise of government necessitates no low concept of life. Woe be to us if we measure the program by the smallness of our own shadow! The time has long since passed when any government can afford to view the sufferings of its people in terms of nonchalance and indifference. What has happened is a significant revolution in our appraisal of values. We do not stoop to serve. We must learn to share with the afflicted. Their concern must be our concern. Indeed, the care of all must be the concern of all. Actually, what we are today is different. Queen Elizabeth is dead, the philosophy which surrounded the poor laws has evaporated! Let it never be said of us that the brilliance of the sunshine on our path blinded us to the squalor which surrounds us. "Knowledge must heal the wounds," says Leigh Hunt, "which knowledge creates." But

knowledge will never heal wounds with which it is not intimately associated. We can build all the techniques possible; we can, by job analysis, discern and determine the particulars of administration; we can, by the increase of efficiency, establish all the controls desired by the most benighted of citizens—and it will all be to no avail.

Give me the man who by understanding, sympathy, and the propulsion of ideals—the man who believes in the imperialism of ideals—and harness him up to those processes which are essential to effective administration, and I will show you the person who will effectively translate a desire for high standards of efficiency and operation in our public welfare service. The man who realizes the very existence of handicaps, disabilities, insufficiencies, and any other affliction which affects the individual, will never be content with that type of organization which seeks to express itself through ineffective organization, indifferent personnel, or calloused philosophy.

Furthermore, I believe that this is the shortest course to our objectives. This is the type of thing that breaks down public resistance by increasing public understanding. To our concern for the public recognition of social methodology, let us add an even greater concern for compelling our fellow-citizens to recognize the necessity for a democracy expressing itself in terms of mutuality. Small things never yet stirred men's blood. Meticulous insistence upon mechanics, to the exclusion of the vision which calls us on, will never bring about a realization of the goal which we, as representatives of America, must have before us—that of rendering the highest possible type of service to those who constitute America, the people.

BEHIND THE WAR IN CHINA

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IT WAS just a year ago this month that hostilities developing in northern China opened a new era of death and destruction in the Far East. Since then we have seen nearly twelve months of undeclared war raging unchecked upon the Asiatic mainland, and a social catastrophe of immense proportions overwhelming the Chinese people. To this mass tragedy of a nation, none of us can remain indifferent.

I have named my subject "Behind the War in China," because in it I want to try to go behind the headlines—the bewildering and sometimes contradictory cable dispatches that we read in our morning newspapers—and attempt to outline something of the real movement of social forces at work in the Far East today. The coverage of the Sino-Japanese war by foreign newspapers has, I think, been extraordinarily good; but in the nature of things, foreign correspondents are preoccupied with military news, and their job usually keeps them at a few fixed points of special interest. It is impossible from these daily reports to construct a clear picture of what is really going on in China, unless we have some understanding of the social background of the war and of the great social changes that have already emerged after a year of conflict.

OUTBREAK OF WAR

A year ago I was in Tokyo, and it was from the Japanese capital that I watched the dramatic sequence of events which led up to the general invasion of China by Japanese armies in the summer of 1937. Because of its historical significance, I would recall that period to you now.

You will remember the spring of 1937 as one of those rare interludes of peace in the Far East that can be so deceptive—a period which held out the promise of liberal government in Japan itself and of a new era of friendly co-operation between Japan and China. In retrospect, this short-lived phase of “liberalism” in Japan exactly resembles the liberal interlude under Baron Shidehara, which preceded an earlier phase of Japanese military aggression in Manchuria in 1931. This close parallel is no accident of history, but the expression of important social contradictions within Japan.

Whenever the “moderates”—those liberal political forces which represent, however incompletely, the feeling of the majority of the Japanese people—seem to be gaining political power, then the “extremists”—the militarist faction and those associated with it in a policy of expansion and conquest—act swiftly in order to forestall them. This happened in 1937. The outstanding feature of that spring had been the growing strength of the parliamentary parties, expressed in the defeat of the Hayashi government and the appointment of a new “reform cabinet” under Prince Konoe. Liberal and progressive circles in Japan were jubilant over the results of the spring elections and hoped that at last they might be in a position to challenge the war party, and even to cut down on the already over-swollen military budget. All these hopes centered around the figure of the new premier who was known to be the protégé of the venerable Prince Saionji, the *Genro*, and sole survivor of Japan’s “Elder Statesmen.”

But the hopes of liberals and progressives in Japan were rudely dashed when it became clear that Prince Konoe, with all his personal popularity and with all the support he might count on from the “moderates,” was powerless against the extreme militarist faction. The Tokyo general staff was in no mind to yield gracefully to this new challenge to their domination of Japanese policy. And so it happened that the “Amur River Incident” in the last days of June (a clash on the Soviet border, clearly designed to test the mood of the Soviet govern-

ment and to create in Japan itself the war atmosphere necessary as a prelude to further military adventure) was swiftly followed by that further incident near Lukouchiao, in northern China, which ushered in the new phase of hostilities in the Far East. Once the Japanese nation was launched on this new wave of conquest, no voice of protest could be raised against the warmongers, and liberalism was dead in Japan—at least for the duration of the war.

CHINA FIGHTS BACK

I have tried to make it clear that in July, 1937, the Japanese people as a whole did not want war but were swept into it by an unscrupulous minority in their own government. What about China and the Chinese response to the direct provocation of Lukouchiao?

Here we find a situation precisely the reverse of that in Japan. The Chinese National government at Nanking, headed by General Chiang Kai-shek, was by nature conservative, if not reactionary. General Chiang Kai-shek had tried for years to avoid an open trial of strength with Japan and had made many concessions in order to avoid committing his country to a war of defense. But the pressure of public opinion in China was increasingly in favor of resistance to Japanese aggression, for it had become clear that if the Chinese people did not defend themselves, before long there might be very little of their country left to defend. This growing determination to resist the invader was expressed in China by the movement for political unity and, most strikingly, by the United Front which was achieved between the Nationalist party, the Kuomintang, and their old enemy the Chinese Communists, early in 1937. Such a United Front was something entirely new in China. It was a clear warning to the Japanese militarists that any further acts of aggression would meet a very different reception from what they had encountered in the past.

In spite of this (or perhaps because of it, for a united China was the last thing the Japanese expansionists desired), Japan

struck again at Lukouchiao. And this time General Chiang Kai-shek and the Nanking government had no choice. The overwhelming demand of the Chinese people was for resistance. However reluctantly, and with whatever inner misgivings, the Chinese government at last took up arms in defense of China's continued existence. If we may say that the Japanese people were stampeded into war against their own interest and desire by a minority group who hoped to profit by it, on the other hand we may fairly say that the Chinese government embarked on a national war of resistance only when it had become clear that such a war was in the interests of all classes and sections of the Chinese people.

Thus the present struggle in the Far East may be characterized on the one side as a war of imperialist aggression, on the other as a war of genuine popular resistance. This difference in the relationship between government and people in China and Japan should never be lost sight of, for it is the key to an understanding of social developments in the two countries during the actual course of the war.

THE WAR IN CHINA: FIRST PHASE

Now, after twelve months of hostilities, it may be useful to sum up very briefly the progress of Japan's campaign in China before going on to consider what is happening behind the lines. I think we can distinguish three stages in the war so far. The first, and the most clearly marked, is from July to December, 1937—from the opening of hostilities to the fall of Nanking.

In this period the Japanese strategy is fairly obvious and, on the whole, may be described as remarkably successful. Japan's immediate objectives were in northern China, and the first thrust after Lukouchiao had given her control of the northern cities of Tientsin and Peiping. Shortly after the occupation of Peiping, hostilities developed in Shanghai which gave the Japanese the opportunity to draw into this sector the main forces of the Chinese armies and to hold them there by a very much smaller attacking force. In the meantime, Japanese

columns rapidly occupied the chief centers of the northern provinces; and only when this occupation of the north was virtually completed, did the Japanese bring in reinforcements at Shanghai in sufficient strength to break through the Chinese lines and advance swiftly upon the national capital of Nanking. The capture of Nanking thus brought to a triumphant conclusion this first phase of the war.

Nanking was the highwater mark for Japan, and there can be little doubt that the Japanese leaders hoped at this stage to force upon the Chinese a settlement of some kind which would recognize their military gains and secure Japan's hold on northern China and on the vital economic base of Shanghai. Had they been able to achieve this, their whole China campaign would have proved successful, at a minimum cost to Japan.

During this first period, the Chinese resistance showed many serious weaknesses. There were the old political weaknesses in the north, and there were obvious mistakes of military strategy. For the Chinese, the fall of Nanking, which was a political as well as a military collapse, represented a real crisis in the war. To many foreign observers, it seemed doubtful, in the weeks that followed, if China could survive it.

THE WAR: SECOND PHASE

But China did survive the crisis of Nanking; and by their mishandling of the situation at this time, the Japanese leaders made a mistake that may prove to be a fatal one. The outrages which followed the Japanese occupation of the capital antagonized any remaining groups or sections in China who might have favored compromise with the invaders, and lost to Japan her one great opportunity—in the simplest possible terms—of winning the war.

For the lesson of Nanking was convincing to the Chinese government. And in the next period—from January to April, 1938—we see a marked change in the course of the war. The climax of this second phase is reached in the major Chinese vic-

tory at Taierhchuang, in southern Shantung, in the first week of April.

It would be an exaggeration to say that within three months the tide of war turned in China's favor. But we can clearly distinguish certain new factors which indicate the remarkable way in which China rallied her forces after what might have been a disastrous defeat. Political weaknesses were very largely overcome by the new spirit of determination which appeared in the government at Hankow, and by a reorganization of the government over the new year. The Hankow government (for Hankow remained the actual center of organization, though the capital had nominally been shifted to Chungking) was very more of a popular, representative government of national defense than anything that had ever existed at Nanking.

Besides this political consolidation, many vital changes were made affecting the conduct of the war. Increasingly the Chinese had begun to adopt the principle of mass mobilization, and something like a new people's army began to emerge to replace the regular troops whose losses in the Shanghai fighting had been so heavy. Changes of military strategy were also noticeable, and the Chinese began to make greater use of their best natural asset—their mobility. It was a combination of these factors—political mobilization of a new volunteer army and the successful adoption of more mobile tactics, in combination with increased guerilla activity—that made possible the striking Chinese success at Taierhchuang.

THE WAR: THE PRESENT PHASE

A third phase of the war may be distinguished, following upon the very unexpected Japanese reverse at Taierhchuang. Briefly, we can say that in the first six months of the war the confidence of the Japanese leaders in their military machine was justified; in the next four months that confidence was rudely shaken. During this whole period the Japanese had been careful to use a minimum effective force in the China campaign, and their best divisions had been kept in Manchuria, suggesting to

some foreign observers, that had the results of the China campaign been decisively favorable, Japan might have turned, in the spring of 1938, against the Soviet Union in the Far East.

The Chinese victories in Shantung changed all that. The Japanese command, determined to wipe out the stain of defeat, planned a great new offensive in central China. To carry it out, they were obliged to bring in reinforcements from the north and to swing something like their full strength into the campaign in China. The direct objective of the new drive was Hankow, but increased activity in southern China suggested a further enlargement of the Japanese plan, which had now reached the dimensions of a full-scale continental war. With such a war on her hands, it became clear that Japan would be fully occupied in China for a very long time to come, and that any plans for a sudden attack on the Maritime Provinces and eastern Siberia must be indefinitely postponed.

But the new Japanese offensive has met, so far, with only partial success. Hsuehchow, the important junction of the Lung-hai railway, which the Chinese had defended so effectively, fell to a furious Japanese assault, but the Chinese army withdrew in good order and escaped the encircling movement by which the Japanese had hoped to isolate and destroy the main strength of General Chiang Kai-shek's armies along the Lunghai. The Yellow River floods effectively held up the Japanese overland advance on Chengchow and Hankow, and a new plan was improvised by which the Japanese sought to force their way through to Wuhan along the Yangtze River. Here the reorganized Chinese air force has come into play as an important factor in the defense of Hankow, and while the Japanese advance has continued, it has made very slow progress and has been at a heavy cost in ships and men. The Chinese have consistently kept to their new strategy of avoiding pitched battles and of increasing guerilla activity in the Japanese rear and along the lines of their advance. In general, then, we may say that in this last phase of the war, the Japanese seem to be farther off than ever from the smashing "final victory" for which they

have hoped so long; and the confidence of the Chinese in their ability to prolong the war (even if Hankow should fall) and to wear down the strength of Japan to the point of inner collapse is greater now than it has ever been.

Summing up the whole progress of the campaign during the first twelve months, we can see that it turns around the pivot of Nanking. In the first six months, with the short-term factors of the war all in her favor, Japan succeeded in capturing the national capital of China, but for various reasons failed to utilize a most promising situation. In the next six months the Chinese rallied their defense, the long-term factors (which are all in China's favor) have come increasingly into play, and while the issue remains doubtful, the outlook is more and more promising for ultimate Chinese success.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR IN CHINA: POLITICAL

Behind these military movements many things have been happening which may prove to be of much greater ultimate significance than the fate of battles. I should like to say a little now of political, social, and economic consequences of the war in China.

First of all, the political question. We have noticed that it was the continued threat of Japanese aggression, more than any other single factor, which brought together different political and social elements in China and ranged them in a National United Front. The actual development of the war has given impetus to this movement toward political unity. The rift between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists, which for ten years had seemed irreconcilable, has been healed in these months of resistance to Japan, when Nationalist and Communist alike have shed their blood against a common enemy. The clear fact that China is now committed to a life-and-death struggle against a powerful adversary has purged the government of all wavering, "capitulationist" elements and has given it increasingly the character of a representative, all-party government of national defense.

What is the common program of all the different elements which now are combined within the Chinese National Front? The slogan which unites them is, of course, "resistance to the Japanese invader." But this is not simply a matter of military co-operation. In the first months of the war, as I tried to show, it became clear that China could never resist Japan effectively with her regular armies alone, but must mobilize the whole Chinese people behind the government if she hoped for success. Such a policy of mass-mobilization demands a popular program which will command the support of all political parties and will bring the people solidly behind the government.

This program has been found in a new and realistic conception of the "Three Principles" of the founder of the Chinese Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Those principles, as you may remember, were nationalism, democracy, and the livelihood of the people. By taking up the struggle for China's independence, the principle of nationalism is realized in the present war of resistance against Japan. But because the war of resistance must be organized on a mass scale, and because all groups and sections of the people must be encouraged to participate in it, the government has become increasingly democratic in the course of the war. This surprising change is expressed in the different character of the Hankow government as compared with the old Kuomintang, single-party government at Nanking. Finally, the same need to enlist the full support of the people to carry on the war has resulted in a new consideration for the welfare and livelihood of the common Chinese people. It took, in fact, the urgent and insistent challenge of a war situation to recall the Kuomintang to a realization of the original program it inherited from its founder.

We may say, then, that one of the chief direct results of the Japanese invasion has been to provide the Chinese people, for perhaps the first time in their history, with a unified, progressive, and increasingly democratic government.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE WAR

The special problems of social distress and mass suffering produced in China by the Japanese invasion must be familiar, at least in outline, to all of you. They represent a challenge, not only to the responsible Chinese authorities, but to the common humanity of an outraged world.

In China, which has been ravaged so long by flood, famine, and civil war, mass catastrophe is nothing new. But never in recent Chinese history have all these factors of disaster been so appallingly combined as in the past year. So far, it is estimated that the war alone has claimed more than one million Chinese lives; but in some respects, perhaps, the dead are more fortunate than many of the living. The whole world has been shocked by the aerial bombardment of open cities in China carried on by the Japanese air forces, by the slaughter of thousands of noncombatants and innocent civilians, more especially in the recent raids on Canton. But it is not so easy to picture the fate of all those who have been forced, either by the threat of bombardment or by the actual invasion of enemy forces, to leave their homes and flee for safety into the interior. Over one single area alone—the Yangtze Delta—something like thirty million peasants and farmers have been rendered homeless and have moved westward in one of the greatest mass migrations of our time. In the north, in the same way, other millions have fled south and west of the Yellow River, bringing with them, not only the concrete fact of mass unemployment on an unprecedented scale, but also the more dreaded specters of famine and disease.

The part played by foreign or international organizations in attempting to meet this great problem of refugee relief and epidemic prevention has already been considerable. The League of Nations, the International Red Cross, and many missionary and relief organizations have done outstanding service in China in these war months; and I cannot pass over this subject without paying tribute to the work, especially of those American missionaries who have remained within the war zones in defi-

ance of Japanese warnings, and whom I have seen at their task of aiding the Chinese wounded and war victims, literally under a rain of Japanese bombs. All that international sympathy can provide in the way of funds to carry on this work, and all the supplies and expert service that can reach China from abroad will find in China today a greater need than they can ever hope to meet in full.

But what I should like to say here is that there does seem to be at last in China a government which is able to take measures, on a national scale, to deal with such national problems. A new co-operation is already discernible in the way in which southern and western provinces have agreed to absorb stated numbers of war refugees and have begun projects for the development of uncultivated lands and the re-employment of the destitute in essential war industries and in a new plan of wartime production. The old selfish regionalism has, I think, completely broken down in China since the war began. And with the Japanese occupation of the eastern seaboard, a movement has set in toward the west that may result in long overdue development of China's innermost provinces.

One symptom of this is seen in regard to education. The old universities and cultural institutions of China have all moved west, bringing with them a new light and a new culture to remote and neglected provinces. Thus the war has achieved many things that in peacetime had proved difficult, if not impossible; and it has unquestionably stimulated the growth of a new responsibility, a new social consciousness, over China as a whole.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE WAR

What had always been deplored as one of China's greatest weaknesses—the primitive nature of her economy and the general low standard of living—has proved in war conditions a positive (though it is to be hoped only a temporary) asset. Aside from war production, China can be reasonably self-sufficient and can feed, clothe, and house her population without excessive strain. She does not suffer, as any industrial nation must,

from the crippling effects of a virtual blockade of external trade. The crisis of the last year, indeed, has proved conclusively the essential strength and stability of Chinese economy, which remains on a low level, but is at least sufficient for the essential needs of her people.

But in the economic field the war has brought great changes. Formerly the whole of China's industry had been concentrated along the coast; a great deal of this coastal area has already been lost. So industry, too, has moved west; first to Hankow and other inland centers, then increasingly in the direction of the rich interior province of Szechwan, which has vast mineral resources formerly unexploited and which is likely to become the new heavy industry center of China. What is significant, then, is that, though Japan has already taken over the old industrial area, a new one may emerge in the hinterland, opening up the possibility of developing for the first time some of the latent economic resources of the Chinese mainland. Though the Chinese hope to get foreign assistance in building up this new industrial base in the west, it is clear that such industry as does develop in the Chinese interior can never be so completely under foreign domination as was the old Chinese industry on the seaboard and in Shanghai. The Chinese, then, do not view the loss of so many of their mines and factories with complete despair; rather they see this temporary loss as something giving them the chance to develop for the first time, free from the economic control of any foreign power, something of their own natural resources.

In addition to the problem of heavy industry and the building-up of an economic base for munitions and war supplies, there remains the problem of light industry and the production of consumers' goods for the home market. Here there are tremendous possibilities for the absorption of unemployed workers who have fled inland from Shanghai and the coast in a new system of industrial co-operatives. Such a movement has already been launched in China, and if it develops it must prove of the greatest importance, not only in meeting an immediate demand,

but in organizing the Chinese workers and giving them for the first time some sort of stake in their own production. The development of communications in the interior, already vastly accelerated by the war demands, must again contribute to this new consciousness of co-operative effort in China.

As regards China's basic industry, agriculture, it is only necessary to say that long-delayed reforms have been set on foot in this last year, which nothing short of a social revolution could formerly have accomplished. Here it is interesting to notice the influence of those districts in the north of China that have already been organized as bases of partisan and volunteer activity. Within these districts, as part of the political organization of the people to form their own mobile units and defense guards, a new system of popular government has been widely introduced which reduces rents and taxes, lightens the old burden on the farmers and peasants, and by raising the living conditions of the common people, gives them something really worth defending and fighting for. The response of the people to such local governments has been strong enough to convince the national government that a similar program of land reform, of improving the general livelihood of the Chinese peasants and workers, is the best and quickest way to consolidate the forces of the nation and bring the masses of the people into full support of the war.

Without trying to paint too rosy a picture, I would suggest to you that, while the Chinese people have already suffered much from the catastrophe of the war, they have also gained much and may gain more as the war continues. The chief reason for this, as I tried to indicate above, is that in order to continue the war the Chinese government has become increasingly a representative popular government; if it should ever cease to be this, it must fail. The war which has destroyed so much in the coastal areas of China has been directly responsible for encouraging, deep in the interior, new progressive movements which, if China is successful in her struggle against Japan, will be able to rebuild and overbuild all that had gone before.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR IN JAPAN

What, on the other hand, is the picture we have of internal conditions inside Japan since the war began? I have no time to go into details, but can suggest a little, perhaps, with a few figures. Japan's budget for 1938-39 amounts to some seven and three-quarter billion yen, which represents a 240 per cent increase on 1936, the last year of peace. From eleven billion yen, the national debt has risen already to seventeen billion yen. The major part of this additional expenditure, of course, has been to cover the cost of the war; but taxation, stepped up three times since the outbreak of hostilities, has long reached saturation point, and the only way Japan has found it possible to finance the war has been by the issue of government bonds. Japan's total export trade is steadily declining (we may note a falling-off of 18 per cent in the first four months of 1938), and the cost of living has already risen some 22.7 per cent since 1937. Hitherto Japan has found it possible to get all the essential war materials and supplies she needs from various foreign countries, but with the decline of her foreign trade and with her gold reserve already depleted to the danger point, it may soon prove very difficult indeed for her to get credits abroad. So far, by desperate expedients, Japan has managed to avoid any further issue of paper currency; but with all this sacrifice by her people, with every month that the war continues, the threat of inflation looms nearer. The whole picture of Japan's economy—unstable enough even before the demands of an actual war situation began to strain it—is one of sacrifice of foreign trade, manufacturers, and the living standard of the common people to the all devouring military machine.

Side by side with this regimentation of the economic life of the nation has gone a process of absolute centralization of government, so that Japan is now, under the National Mobilization Act, directly under the control of the military-Fascist group. Mass arrests have taken care of any outspoken liberals who had dared criticize government policy, and General Itagaki, the new minister of war, has warned the Japanese people that they must

be prepared, if necessary, for ten more years of war. It is not a very encouraging prospect; and yet, under the present military dictatorship, it is not easy to see how the people are to make any protest against it. The whole future of Japan is staked on the gigantic gamble her leaders are playing in China; and the outcome of that adventure, as we have seen, grows more uncertain every day.

I would make only one comment here on the mood with which the Japanese people have accepted this "inevitable" war. On my way to this country about two months ago, I passed through Japan and spent several days in Tokyo. I still remembered vividly the atmosphere of the Japanese capital in July, 1937, when troop trains were leaving hourly from the main railway station, bound for northern China, in a tumult of waving flags, massed bands, and cheering crowds. In May of this year, along those same railway platforms, I watched very different scenes. Reservists were being called up and were leaving for the front; but there were no bands and there was no cheering. Instead, one saw farewells in which a group of friends, making no attempt to conceal their emotions, broke down and wept as they parted from those they loved, whose lives were forfeit—as is, indeed, the whole security of the Japanese nation—to their militarists' dream of a pan-Asiatic empire.

CONCLUSION

Whether the growing disillusionment of the Japanese people and of the rank and file of the Japanese armies in China may not prove a decisive factor in the outcome of the present tragedy of the Far East, only the future can show. It is not for me to make predictions about the outcome; I can only report on the progress of events as they have appeared to me in these last twelve months. What I have tried to do here is to describe the movement of social forces in Japan and China directly related to the war as I see them. If this description corresponds to the facts, then I think we need have few doubts in our own personal approach to the problem.

While this war has brought disaster and suffering to China on a scale which appalls the imagination, it has released at the same time progressive and constructive forces which, if they are allowed free play, may transform that unhappy country into something like the free, independent, democratic republic that was the ideal of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. For the Japanese people, it holds out no such hope; but only a vision of further conquest which will demand a further and a greater sacrifice. I cannot conceal my own deep conviction that success for the Japanese military machine would mean not only disaster to an awakening, progressive China, but disaster for the Japanese people as well.

If this is true, then the issue at stake in China today is of vital concern to us all. For it is the same issue of progress against reaction that is a real and living issue for the whole world, and not just for these two great peoples of the Far East.

EVOLUTION OF OUR CASE-WORK CONCEPTS

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AN EXAMINATION of the evolution of our social case-work concepts takes us into a study of the external events, the intellectual ideas, and the stage of professional consciousness that are blended in our history and present practice. To begin at the beginning is obviously the subject of books, and we have considerable literature dealing with various phases and periods. I am proposing a liberal interpretation of my subject, defining evolution in its continuing and developing sense rather than as a literal historical account.

In thinking about present practice, the concepts cluster around three points: the nature and use of content, the worker-client relationship, and agency function. Each has received varying degrees of emphasis and clarification in the past. I have listed them with some eye to their ascendancy in historic development.

Before we deal with these points specifically, I would like to point to some things in the external world and the world of ideas that have direct connections with our practice and professional development. Everywhere in the world social and economic change is taking place. Old values, old patterns, have been swept aside. The rapid change in reality, the suffering and insecurity which this engenders is anxiety arousing. Anxiety as a force mobilizes us to action and frequently to unconsidered action, action at any price for the sense of security that comes from doing. Fascism, the German Nationalist movement, Russian communism, are ideological constructions, but they are also responses to the need for action. At insurrectionary moments

they represent a deep-seated impatience with scientific methods of problem-solving. In this country forces are pressing us away from democracy with its ideal of participation based on an enlightened public opinion through education and debate to "quicker methods." They are in contradiction to a rationalist viewpoint and a scientific attitude of mind which values action in conjunction with reason, methodical experimentation instead of intuition.

Now social case workers have been in close touch with these unpleasant realities in our social scene. Professional security has been shaken in the past decade by the functional changes resulting from the shift of certain responsibilities from private to public auspices and by the close contact with the personal suffering of individuals. These conditions are likely to make action seem more important than deliberation. They create a need for a philosophy that offers illusions about reality.

From the beginning of the social case-work movement in this country there has been a general line of development which has had its roots in the scientific attitude. Intuition has been recognized as a positive force, but we have on the whole measured progress in the development of our profession by the growing body of knowledge adapted from the sciences and made available for conscious application. Mary Richmond's efforts were all in this direction of developing a scientific way of looking at case-work practice. This implies the definition of science accepted by younger "experimental scientists" who feel that there are no inherent contradictions in the concept of "pursuit of knowledge for use."

In this same connection we have taken a stand with the view of the scientists who hold that science is not limited to the consideration of groups and classes but counts no limits to the fields of its investigation, even single instances. "The boundaries of his province are the last thing which the scientist discovers, and when he discovers them, he has set the limit to progress."

In the early days our direction was turned to the social sci-

ences, then to medicine, next to psychology, and immediately during and after the World War, to psychiatry. Anthropology and culture have since engaged us and a new emphasis has been placed on economics. I am suggesting that we can no longer afford to ignore philosophy and an attitude toward science as an ingredient in the conscious direction of our professional selves in the future. Social workers are precipitated into philosophical considerations that take on practical importance when we consider of what it is our practice consists. Questions about the nature of the self and other selves, the nature of reality, of consciousness, of determinism, of sciences, of reason, and of the function of the will cannot be evaded, because we are technicians who work with people, and people live in a social world, in a world of change, of continuity, and of habit. This connection is brought home to us, not only through the maze of events that are presented to us for consideration in economics and politics, but by the divergences in practice which have arisen as a result of formulations based on two opposing schools of psychology—the psychoanalytic theory of Dr. Sigmund Freud, based on a scientific attitude toward the study of behavior, and the “will psychology” of Dr. Otto Rank, pointed toward mysticism. The differences in practice arising out of these two points of view have been making their appearance in case-work literature and professional discussion, and for that reason it is important for us to examine them.

Virginia Robinson in her book *Changing Psychology of Social Case Work*, published in 1930, was the first social worker to advance an application of the principles of Otto Rank's will psychology to social case work. This marked a new source of influence in the field which from 1917 on had been drawing on psychiatry and, more particularly, the psychoanalytic ideas of Freud. Miss Robinson at that time noted the Freudian influence that was apparent in our practice. She substituted the Rankian concept of “relationship” as the dynamic as against the concept of history and psychic determinism. She defined the treatment objective as “helping the client get an interpretation

of attitudes in their relation to other attitudes. But only in terms of the patient's own balance of impulses not in terms of social norm as what the patient ought to want, or ought to do, or ought to be," in contrast to the Freudian principle of adjustment to the demands of an external world.

Rank, earlier a pupil of Freud, had gradually separated himself from the Freudian hypotheses which have their roots in biological determinism and empirical philosophy. In 1929 he declared an independent theory about psychology and wrote about a "philosophy" of helping instead of a "technique," as we had been conceiving the treatment process. The roots of his philosophy lie in the idealistic school. His basic concepts belong within that pattern of thought to which the major contributions have been made by such persons as Hegel, Nietzsche, Berkley, Bergson, etc. This pattern of thought, as old at least as Plato, tends to revive during periods of uncertainty and anxiety. Over against this framework of philosophy is to be placed the thought of the British and German empiricists and our American pragmatists, principally William James and John Dewey.

In my attempt to bring some of these relevant questions to your attention, I am oversimplifying the problem, especially by using Freud and Rank as antitheses. It would be unfortunate not to stress the schools of thought that determine practice for which they are now being used as symbols. What I am saying is that Rank and his American followers are engaged in a form of thought which seems to me to be founded upon a certain conception of the self and interacting selves which, carried to its logical conclusion, will carry us away from scientific moorings. It will tend to dissociate social work from the other sciences and disciplines which are constantly and painstakingly attempting to discover what is common in nature and experience. It leads, as I said in the beginning, to a different orientation in politics and economics than we have been assuming was the American way of action. Perhaps we can now concentrate upon the essential problems involved in these two systems of opinions as they are translated into case-work practice.

We all recognize certain subject material that has traditionally made up the content of case-work practice. The social history including the client's story of the present difficulties, and, at relevant points, the story of the past, and collateral information has been the backbone of case-work diagnostic procedure. The influence of the sciences widened our horizon in terms of relevant facts. In one sense they increased our burdens as we had to know more, in another they lightened them because of the direction they gave us.

Now the definition of the nature of the client's problems and the way in which we can learn about them brings us to the heart of any attempt to think about diagnosis. We have been assuming that the spirit and the mind, as Freud has pointed out, are the subject of scientific investigation in exactly the same way as any nonhuman entities. On the basis of hypotheses tested and being tested in experience we have been seeking proof of a unified explanation of character development founded on the concept that our basic human experiences hold something in common.

One of the first of the Freudian concepts that influenced case-work diagnosis was that of psychological determinism. It was observed that an individual who had certain conditioning experiences and certain inner drives acted in certain ways. To some extent, therefore, his behavior could be predicted. The hypothesis of the existence of powerful unconscious forces in the motivation of behavior was another important contribution. For a time as we were testing this idea in our experience we lost ourselves in the depths of the unconscious forces at work, to the exclusion of considering fully what its practical importance was for dealing with the client's conscious problem. The same thing happened with the idea that the childhood experiences were of the greatest importance in the character development of the individual. We lost ourselves in the past at the expense of the client's problem in the present. These new diagnostic tools had to be tested in experience, and so we need not chide ourselves because we were not able to integrate them before we had established their truth pragmatically.

More recent formulation of psychoanalytic theory tends to emphasize the workings of the total personality. Findings about the seemingly more obscure parts of the mind have to be integrated with the person as he is known in his relationships to the outside world and as he has come to terms with disharmonious parts of himself. For a time we were so impressed with the strength of the unconscious primitive wishes as we viewed them in action, that we forgot there were other parts to the personality. The intellect and the sense preceptions are frequently swayed by these powers, but in every individual except the psychotic the power to make decisions in spite of conflict is maintained to a greater or lesser degree.

Other important technical corrections have been made in the theory of the instincts with "sex and aggression" replacing "sex and ego" instincts. Recently our literature has reflected this in articles dealing with "hostility" as a force to be taken into account. Study about the inner psychological organization and the stages of growth now goes hand in hand with the emphasis on the importance of the conditioning by parental influences. The individual is actor as well as acted upon from the day of birth.

This attempt to classify behavior does not operate in so fixed and conclusive a manner that it accounts for everything and makes no allowance for a unique organization in each individual. The recognition of differences—constitutional differences, differences in kinds of experiences—and innumerable other factors are the variables.

The point of view I have been developing then has the diagnostic implication that we can know something about the problem. We can recognize its current aspects and its roots in the past. We learn about the client's problem through his account of it and from collateral information secured from people who know him, documentary sources, etc. Out of experience we realized that quite frequently the client's story as it revealed his own feelings about his problems and the events of his life was real to him and of great importance for that reason, but that

it might or might not be in line with the facts of the case viewed objectively. In this sense it had to be related to outside factors as well as to the meaning we later saw it had in the telling to the case worker. The outside world, borrowing from Freud's definition of reality, is conceived as "that which exists outside us and independently of us and as experience has taught us is decisive for the fulfilment or frustration of our desires." It is not that one should conform to any external norms from a moral necessity, but that it is a necessity if we recognize that we live with others in a social world and because we live in a world we did not create. This has been the traditional point of view of social work. This differs from the idealistic conception of reality as either not existing at all or existing largely in the terms in which it is perceived through the senses. From this point of view the client's own story, and his reactions assume priority over any search for external facts.

Miss Almena Dawley, applying this concept to case-work diagnosis in her paper at the Indianapolis conference in 1937, says:

Diagnosis in its deepest and most profound sense in social case work is an understanding of what is going on directly between the client and me as a representative of the agency in this new experience he has sought. I will base my acceptance of a case as suitable for my agency granted it falls within my general function on what goes on directly between me and the client, rather than upon the story he tells me of his difficulties or upon what I read into his story and posit as a theoretical problem. It is impossible to know another's problem in that way. There is an assumption in it both of knowing beyond human possibility and also that an individual remains static and fixed carrying with him an unchanging pattern.

This idea is based on Rank's statement that each person is a unique self, ever changing and impossible to be typed or generalized. Evidently this conception is inconsistent with the hypothesis on which the nature of treatment and diagnosis is presented in this paper.

What is the significance of these ideas of diagnosis for treatment? The very idea of treatment implies that we have brought one set of events into connection with another set, and a thera-

peutic result is brought about. Sometimes this happens by accident, sometimes the events of life are healing in themselves. But what makes civilized man different from the savage is his possession of and application of knowledge of nature that helps him bring about its control to his own ends. This has been our aim in developing consciously controlled treatment methods that could be described and measured.

We have been talking so far about the individual's psychology and about the social environment. They have been viewed as interacting forces, sometimes the one and sometimes the other seeming more important as a contributing cause to the problem. Case-work treatment, therefore, is directed toward both of these things as they appear in the diagnosis.

Case work as the essence of individualization has recognized through the study of single cases needs which can be met by various treatment methods. Some require further individualization by the case worker, others can be met through services incorporated into larger social programs. Provisions for public assistance are made, not only on the hypothesis that people who are economically dependent must be kept alive, but that other basic needs such as self-respect and the chance to exercise initiative in human activities should be preserved. The recognition of basic human needs underlies the idea that large-scale programs are possible. A case-work contribution to these programs is made in its emphasis on individual differences at the same time it stresses basic similarities.

The treatment aim is to relieve suffering and to aid the client in securing some kind of solution to his difficulty. We will find some clients whom we can only make more comfortable—a worthy aim in itself; some for whom we can only help to preserve the *status quo*—a not inconsiderable aim seen in a scale of ascending and descending stages of adjustment. Others will have more energy to put into actual change. We are better able to help with all of these if we perceive the impulses as they are related to the direction we and the client perceive in his total personality. This is something that is variably recognized by

client and worker. "I am too old to learn," "I was born that way," "it is too late," are frequent ways of stating this, or "I think I can do something about this if the environment were different or if I could act differently."

We might mention two general kinds of treatment. One is that of helping the client secure appropriate resources, some of which are valuable in and of themselves in meeting physical needs and have the additional value of freeing or stilling the emotions. The other is concerned with providing an opportunity for verbalization and discussion about the problem so that the client may act with a greater degree of rational consideration. The case worker has access in this process to the conscious and preconscious ideas of the client, and in diagnosis to some of the deeper trends that can be used as guides to the corresponding strengths of conscious and unconscious motivation.

A diagnostic conception that denies the individual can be known because he is ever changing and unique will lead to quite a different way of thinking about treatment than this that I have been discussing. Change and motion are basic concepts in Hegelian dialectic which make change the cardinal principle of life. Life is not made for happiness but for achievement. Nothing is permanent, and at every point there is a contradiction which only the "strife of opposites" can resolve. Here we came on the first hint of the philosophical import of Rank's idea of the mobilization of the counter-will. A denial that emotional (psychological) problems can be known in combination with the dialectic of change seems to point to a treatment concept that case work cannot treat emotional problems. Emphasis is placed on "decisions that must be made about problems," since it is only such moments when the client is seen in action that he can be known, if at all. Treatability is determined by the client's "readiness to do something about his situation," readiness as it is identified with "positive impulse toward action rather than hopeless acceptance of the status quo." These ideas in themselves may offer a self-contained explanation of human be-

havior, but they seem to offer a limited scope of service to the client from the case worker.

This brings us to our second point, the worker-client relationship. When the client comes to us for any kind of help, he has fear as everyone does in similar situations until he knows what manner of person we are and whether we can help. Beyond this any prior assumption has little value. Clients in the initial contact show different degrees of a fear of dependency. The emphasis on the fear suggests a concept of the relationship as something hostile. Not everyone is so neurotic, so afraid of other people. It is an element to be considered in the contact but measured in each individual case.

The client has many contacts and powerful ties in life. The new relationship to the case worker is relatively artificial, and limited accordingly. Out of past experience he endows the case worker with qualities she does not possess. Out of real experience the case worker may come to be respected and valued as a force. The idea that the relationship with the worker is different from all other experiences has an element of truth, but he has had experiences with other people. They have conditioned his attitudes and ability to relate himself to the case worker.

Again a diagnostic concept that views the relationship to the case worker as all-important leads to the conclusion that it is all important in treatment. If the client is still in command of his own world, the worker is only one of many instruments that may be of use to him. We are equally concerned in all this with the worker's attitude to the client. We know there have been times in our professional history and in the individual history of every case worker when we have superseded our rights in thinking of our superior position, our superior knowledge, to the exclusion of the client. Because we are human we do "like" some clients better than others. Training helps us to recognize this and not to let it influence us blindly.

Now a philosophy that emphasizes the unique self exalts individual personality in and of itself without considering what kind of person the individual may really be. I would not like to

be misunderstood to be questioning the worth of the individual and the dignity of personality. It is not wiped out by a scientific attitude. But uniqueness and any idea that one transcends understanding is not consistent with our experience or the hypothesis of this paper.

When the client and the worker then come together in the case-work situation, what is the role of the case worker? To repeat, I am saying that the case worker takes responsibility for offering active help and guidance out of her diagnostic training, objective position, and the resources at her disposal. Case-work treatment involves a concept of adjustment, of education, whether we are dealing with environmental difficulties or problems more specifically emotional in character. This is no encroachment on the personality of the other, but the fulfilment of a function thus conceived.

It is interesting to follow in this connection the shifts in progressive education in its ideas about content and its conception of the relationship of the teacher to the child. Not so long ago, unlimited freedom was given the child who was conceived as holding his own fate within himself. Modifications have since been made to include some recognition of the teacher's contribution as a direct influence to the child and not simply as a medium through which the child discovers himself.

Our third point has to do with ideas about agency function. When the client has a problem he thinks in terms of going to an agency for help. It is later that he becomes aware of the worker. Case work is practiced under agency auspices. We have had discussion about generic and specific aspects of social case work, with a growing conviction about generic case work as we recognized a common base for human behavior and the importance for all fields dealing with people to absorb the concepts of psychiatry. The advantage of a specific agency has been the common-sense one for steering for community and client and a framework making a job manageable to the worker. This remains a satisfactory definition if we are convinced we can continue to try to know our client through the understanding of the

mechanisms of human behavior. Treatment remains to be flexibly determined in the light of the individual case, the possibilities and limits in the situation, the worker's skill, and the agency resources.

The worker's skill and personality have been employed by the agency to utilize its background and resources to assist the client adequately and creatively. The worker does not cease to be a person in her own right. The client feels toward her sometimes as an individual, but for both worker and client there can be an appreciation that the agency makes this experience possible, and there is no split between the worker's personal contribution to the treatment through her personality and her use of agency resources. This is case work as a unified whole, in which worker and client can know a great deal about themselves and a great deal about the problem with which they are both concerned.

The idea that it is important to "define and limit function" in order that the client may know himself as he reacts to these limits is developed in the *Journal of Social Work Process*. Limits exist and we need to recognize them. We have used them in the past in their connections with reality, not as logical intellectual constructions. In this connection it is important to define function, to tell the client what we can and cannot do, what we see in his situation so that he can take these things into account in his planning, and so that the worker can concentrate in experience and in acquiring knowledge about particular problems in order to do better treatment. Sometimes when we are unable because of lack of knowledge about a problem confronting us to know how to go on positively in a case, we may resort to an arbitrary setting of limits to rouse the client to action or to have a chance to define the problem under new circumstances.

Out of perspective and a consideration of values we cannot entertain ideas in one part of our lives that we reject in another, if we are to work with a unified enthusiasm and intellectual honesty. The past has brought us a considerable distance on the road to an empirically tested scientific point of view and

body of knowledge. Any approach looking elsewhere for its roots is alien. The future of social case work rests not in a premature declaration of its independent identity but in establishing connections with related fields of knowledge. Uncertainty about unknowns need not make us rush into the position that they cannot be known. Unpleasant reality will never be changed by denying its power or distorting its nature. Borrowing from Dewey, "Perception of things as they are is but the first step in making them different."

WHAT IS BASIC IN CASE-WORK PRACTICE?

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THE term "basic" has a rather terrifying ring, denoting something permanent, unchanging, inflexible. And we cannot speak of "case-work practice" in terms of permanence, for we would be missing the most definite and fundamental value in it if we were to imbue it in any way with fixed qualities. Instead, we will try to find a few of the essential qualities as we see them in this June of 1938, which go into the attitudes, understanding, training, skills, and resources of the case worker's practice. Historically this practice has gone through a succession of changes. We may rest assured that many more changes, some subtle and some drastic, will follow in the next months and years. As our knowledge grows we shall discover new angles to many of our skills and resources, and as our experience becomes more rich we shall find new checks on our own intuitions. Through this growth our purpose will be to find more understanding of the troubles and difficulties in the world and the ways in which we, as a professional group, may refine the helping process we call social case work.

The thing which seems most essential, most basic, is perhaps the fundamental purpose of case work—the art and practice of helping individuals, singly or in family groups or in larger groups, to find the most satisfactory balance possible between their own inner strivings, frustrations, and confusion, on the one hand, the frustrating and confusing world, society, the community in which they (and we) live, on the other.

Bertha Reynolds, in her monograph *Between Client and Community*, painted a very clear and valuable picture of the place of the case worker, not with the client alone, nor yet alone

with the community, but in the professional middle ground, helping both to understand the demands and the limitations they placed on each other. Since she gave it to us in 1934, many of us have been catching up with her thinking, which was beyond our powers of integration then. And with the passage of the four years, the social and economic pressures of the world have changed, and in many instances the frustrations and fears of the people have grown. Our skills and understanding have grown too; and the task of social workers as a group is to see with more and more clarity where this middle ground lies and in what sorts of situations we can help people through our use of it and our stand upon it.

The case worker recognizes the evidence that at the client's first contact with her he identifies her to a large extent with the organized community of which they both are a part, but with which he is in some degree of discord or trouble. She is employed by a social agency supported by the community, and in some ways the service she can offer is limited by the regulations under which she works, the obligations she has accepted with her position, and the resources in money, time, and other areas of reality which she has at her command. She accepts the fact that these environmental pressures are real and that to a large extent similar limitations operate in all parts of the client's life and her own. She may find some of these pressures unfair and unnecessary. She may be directing efforts toward their change in every way she can. But while they continue to exist, they are part of the limitation under which she and the client and all people must live.

But her particular field of helpfulness lies in the fact that she also knows how confused he feels, how hard it has been for him to manage in the face of the difficulties he has met, how hard he has tried to work out his own solution without help, and how difficult it is for him to face the added admission of failure, which is symbolized by his coming to a social agency for help in the task which has been heretofore peculiarly his own. In other words, she must allow him to identify her, not only with the

organized community, but also with his own unhappiness and failure and his own frustrations.

Certainly the case worker must reach this middle ground of recognizing the needs both of the client and of his environment, and the factors which hamper them both in their relationship to each other, before she can be of any help to either of them in making the necessary adjustments. And the solution becomes easier for him in direct ratio to the degree to which she can help him to take this position with her. From this vantage point both he and the case worker can most clearly see the possibilities for change here, shifts there, an acceptance of this limitation, and a removal of that one. She must struggle constantly to keep these two major purposes of social work clear in her mind: first, the task of modifying reality so that it shall not continue to overwhelm individuals with hazards which are almost impossible for anyone to overcome; and second, the particular task which case workers have of helping the individual to make the best adjustment possible in the present, since social changes come only with agonizing slowness in our democratic culture.

The case worker's pitfall here lies in herself, for if because of her own confusion she gives up at this point her original position as part of the reality world, she loses the opportunity for helping him find the third position of a tenable adjustment to reality. And if she is unable, because of her own sense of responsibility to things as they are or of her own fear of sharing this part of herself with the client, sincerely to put herself into the channel of his life and experiences so that she really knows how he feels about himself, she cannot help him to see his problem clearly and find a solution for it.

For in her acceptance of him as he is, coupled with the position she maintains in society, he has a sample of what his position may be. And in his recognition of and his acceptance of her capacity to see the ultimate possibility of such a solution, she can give him new faith that he can reach it himself.

Perhaps here it is her attitude and understanding which are primarily important. Most of us have learned, frequently at

clients' expense, that we ourselves have great difficulty in recognizing the influence of our own feelings. The client may be querulous, demanding, ungrammatical, even physically unclean. We may know that he beats his children, gambles, has a criminal record of considerable length, is purposely deceiving us about his resources or in his story of mistreatment. We may personally sympathize with his wife who refuses to live with him, his past employer who will not take him back on the pay roll, his son who lives away from home and does not contribute to his support, the landlord who will not listen longer to groundless promises. On the other hand, we may find that he has really been the victim of a crafty and unscrupulous partner in business, a shrewish wife who has influenced his children against him, a political system which has discriminated against him because he is of no help to the "machine," or an unpredictable but crushing economic system.

One point is axiomatic in case-work practice. If the case worker allies herself with or against the overt problems, either of the client or of his reality situation, she misses the opportunity to help him. Case-work training has helped to rid individual case workers of many of the attitudes toward antisocial behavior which are generally accepted by the people of our communities. It becomes second nature for us to reserve judgment on such overt evidence of difficulty as delinquency, illegitimacy, poor housekeeping, brutality, alcoholism, and the inability to get along well with people. We have learned, partly through the contribution of psychiatry, that all these overt problems are symptomatic of the individual's character traits and his patterns of response to individuals and situations. And we have learned that such symptoms may result from very serious character malformation or they may be indications of only minor or temporary aberrations. We still have far to go in refining our ability to diagnose the seriousness of the trouble and to give or find the best help available for it.

Through the depression and the recession we have been brought face to face with the necessity for understanding the

patterns of response which make up the character of the industrial, economic, and political systems with which we live as closely as with the character of individuals. The alliance of social work with psychiatrists has brought far-reaching advances. We need to gain as much from a similar alliance with political economists, industrialists, and sociologists. In this co-operative study we have lagged, and the helplessness of the professional group of social work, in the face of the sociological revolution we are experiencing now, is the result of this failure.

The psychiatrists who have given us some understanding of the individual's psychology have expressed their feeling that they have increased their own knowledge of people through their association with us and the contact we have with large groups of people in trouble. Our practical experience with many clients has helped them to test and sometimes modify their theories which were drawn from only a few cases. In recent years, at least in some centers, social case workers and psychiatrists have recognized that they can contribute to each other and thus improve their service to the client, which is the real purpose of both groups. It is entirely justifiable to expect that in a similar way our experience will be of value to sociologists and political economists, and that our joint experience will help us both to better the conditions of living for our clients and our communities.

As Bertha Reynolds has so aptly said:

The social worker will keep her professional integrity by being too big to accept a slavish following of either community or individual. And no one is in better position to know how much bigger than local conditions are human needs and aspirations.

Through experience we know that in the client's identification of us with organized society there is also a considerable element of fear and distrust and a tendency toward misrepresentation of some facts and evasion of others. Because of the position we hold, he knows that we have it in our power to give or withhold relief, legal aid, recreational privileges, and even his right to the control of his family. How can he know that we

will not join with those with whom he is already in conflict, in continuing what seems to him to be persecution? We have the answer to this, of course, in our own inner assurance that case work has no such original purpose. Perhaps the point of greatest skill in case work lies in this early stage of the relationship with the client, when the case worker gives him a "sample" of her conviction that "there is something to be said on each side." She can honestly know that it has been hard for him to face an eviction, even though she knows that he would have been able to pay his rent if he had not spent his W.P.A. check at the corner tavern. She can appreciate his feelings of frustration and resentment at the loss of his job, even though she knows the company had excused his periodic absences again and again and had warned him well in advance that they could not put up with him if the debauches continued. And she can know, in another case, that if his factory had not shut down, through no fault of his, he would have kept his job and been able to pay his rent. And by understanding his feelings and his reality she can free him from his need to fight and resent the atmosphere of punishment and recriminations to which he may have been accustomed, so that he can see the other side of the problem too.

For the case worker's prime interest lies not in her desire that W.P.A. checks shall not be spent at the corner tavern; her interest lies in her desire that the certain client, Mr. K—, shall have the desire to meet his own obligations, the satisfaction of knowing that through his own labor and position in some part of the economic and industrial system he can work and receive wages, and that these wages will bring him the physical necessities of life and the satisfaction of being able to provide them for himself and his family.

May we say again that these qualities which make up the tool kit of the case worker in her practice are all important. Her attitudes toward the client and her understanding of human nature are primary, but without a careful checking and constant whetting of her intuition and her natural capacity, she will be handicapped in meeting the problems of people, varying as they

do in kind and in degree from her own and from those of other clients. This testing and whetting comes only from an intelligent and unprejudiced examination of her own work, a constantly and regularly increased body of knowledge about individual clients and about the conditions in the world at large, and the self-conscious process of learning for herself what skills and techniques she can use to the best advantage and what resources she can tap for her clients' and her own use.

The understanding and accepting attitude is primary. But it is only the first step in the basic grounding of the case worker. For if it is successful, the next question is, "and now, what can we do about it?" And her accumulation of skills and resources is now of tantamount importance; for the case worker who "can make good contacts" but doesn't know how to use them is of less than no value to the client. She has won his confidence, but without further real help, she betrays it. It is this lack which often marks the fresh young worker just out of a school for social work, jammed full of knowledge and theory and philosophy, but sometimes lacking in a recognition of the power for help which lies in the practical use of real resources which the client needs. And this limitation of competence is too often seen even in more experienced workers. Perhaps even at the beginning she does not need to seek these reality resources out for him, but perhaps she does. In a recent humorous magazine a man was complaining to his interior decorator because his bill was so large. "I could understand it if there were more to show for it. The walls are a beautiful shade, the colors delicately blended; that taborette is striking, the statuette in the stairway niche is an exquisite thing! But, they can't be worth that much money." "But, ah!" said the decorator. "The restraint! It is the restraint you pay for."

The case worker must be free enough from her own personal entanglements with the problems of the individual and of society so that she can choose objectively to use authority when it is needed or to restrain herself from its use when restraint is necessary for the client's best adjustment. She must have a real

and practical faith in the client's own right to self-determination, yet be able to help him see his situation clearly enough so that he has the foundation for the intelligent use of his decisions. She must respect his individuality enough that she may see and accept for her practice the value and honesty of attempting to help him only in the area into which he has taken her. She may open the way for him to use her further, through interpretation of the help she has to give and sufficient samples to make her interpretation clear to him. But when he understands her function but asks for no further help, she can do nothing further in pressing him toward confidences and the handling of further problems which her insight into his situation have led her to believe are there. If the case worker can be this free, she will leave the client more free too to use his own capacities in finding the most acceptable solution possible to him for the trouble he faces.

It does not seem to me that we are as clear in our recognition of the pressures which come from outside the client and influence his symptomatic behavior. We case workers all recognize the element of truth which lies behind the jokes about W.P.A. workers who get callouses from leaning on their shovels, and we recognize such symptoms as a dependent attitude, unwillingness to look for work, the feeling that society owes each man a living, and the habitual expectation that one will be mistreated, discriminated against, and cheated. We know that these attitudes are frequently engendered in part by the real experiences the individual has already had with the world at large, even though we know that they frequently play into his own personality patterns as well.

I shall not attempt to classify particular techniques of case-work interviews or case-work practice. Fern Lowry¹ has done this recently and much more clearly than I can do it. I am more interested in the broader implications of this practice as they affect the problems of the adjustment of the client and the community to each other's needs. It is implicit in all that we say

¹ *The Family*, December, 1937.

that the case worker, trained in a dynamic approach to individual problems, has sufficient skill and competence to be helpful in the direct or indirect relationships into which she enters with the client and his family.

Functionally, we have varying approaches to the client's needs. In fact, functionally we are set up to meet different needs in one agency from those of another. In general, family agencies do not include child-placing services. Visiting nurse associations do not give relief. May we narrow this functional difference a little by trying to determine in what ways, for instance, a family society case worker may be effective in helping the client and the community to change so that they are less frustrating to each other? The case worker of the family society tries to help the client to a better understanding of his own limitations and possibilities, his own weak points and areas of success, his own reality needs, and the resources with which he can meet them. She tries to interpret these things for him judiciously and at his desire, to his family, past and hopefully future employers, other agency workers, and to the supporting and the frustrating community. She tries to interpret to the client the realities of the world, fair and unfair to him as an individual, helpful and limiting to his needs. In all this she bears in mind the fact of her relationship to him and her continued necessity to remain on the middle ground which is unprejudiced and tenable, standing as it so often does between the conflicting desires of a self-seeking world and unhappy human beings. As an individual she may feel (and in fact how can she daily see the unfairness of the world without feeling?) that the community and its pressures and attitudes are frequently responsible for the breakdown of the unhappy, neurotic, unsuccessful people whom she sees at her desk. But if she has chosen her lot in case work, she must restrain herself largely to activity in this field.

We must not confuse the narrow area of social case work with the larger field of social work of which case work is only a part. Almost all social workers have some function of case work, even though the larger part of their time is spent in group recrea-

tional and educational work, legislation, community organization, money-raising, and public health. In this paper we aim to deal with case work alone, and our thesis requires an understanding with you of the fact that case work, centering as it does on the relationship of troubled individuals to the community, is only one angle, but a very distinct one, of the whole social-work field.

Social changes outside the lives of our clients, and larger and more far-reaching than any client or any agency's total case load, must be made. There must be many social workers and many socially minded members of political and economic groups who choose the lot of active work, if we are to see the basic wrongs of the world even slightly mitigated. From the case-work group there may and should come a great deal of illustrative information as to the realms where wrong exists and the way in which it operates to the breakdown of individuals and of groups. We have the opportunity and the obligation for the gathering and the presentation of this information. But if we case workers sacrifice the value and validity of the case-work relationship with individual clients to the overidentification of ourselves with the larger problems of society, we will fail in our purpose of helping them to work out their solutions of the situation in which they find themselves at the moment.

SOCIAL CASE-WORK PRACTICE IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

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EVEN though the general term, social case-work practice, has much the same connotation for different members of a group of social workers, it becomes rather important to define the use of the term in its specific application when one wishes to speak of it in a rural setting. As has been said again and again by those interested in rural social work, generically, there is no difference between rural, urban, or any other kind of social case work. The actual performance of the worker, however, is definitely affected by the forces existing in a rural area. The nature of these forces is such that it becomes difficult in rural communities to assign the term social case-work practice to a particular piece of work under consideration. In an urban community the field of social case work is rather clearly defined: Both agency and worker have a definitely assigned place; in a rural community where social case work programs of necessity are undifferentiated, there is no such clear demarcation of place of either the agency or the worker. In primary groups, such as one finds in the rural areas, the relationship of worker and agency is informal. There is no very clear distinction as to what the worker does as a citizen and what he or she does as a social case worker.

Just to say that case-work practice, either good or bad, can be called such when the rendering of the service is on an individualized basis is insufficient. When the wife of Farmer Jones visits the sick neighbor twice a day in order to bathe her, clean her house, and possibly prepare meals for the young children, she is

rendering a service—a social service on an individualized basis; yet as a neighbor she is not likely to be able to approach viewing the problem in terms of the total personality of the sick friend, and with her limited experience in training and meeting social problems she will not have the capacity to begin to see the family in relationship to its whole environment. In other words, she can scarcely be said to be doing social case work. Neither does the social worker who gives relief on a budgetary basis and, therefore, in terms of individual needs necessarily engage in social case-work practice. The worker may budget the needs of the individual but make the experience decidedly a destructive one for the client, i.e., the relief is not given in terms of the emotional needs of the client. Furthermore, an absolute criterion for social case work cannot be found in the degree of training of the worker. It is conceivable that there may be much question about a certain service rendered by the professionally trained person, while the work done by the untrained worker may be definitely an evidence of good social case work.

When one thinks of social case-work practice in rural communities one first thinks of the factors existing in rural areas which affect the performance of the worker. These factors have been analyzed to some extent from time to time by different authorities.¹ Briefly, they are both of a physical and of a non-physical nature. The physical factors may consist of long distances; bad roads; car trouble; inclement weather—snow, sleet, ice, rain, excessive heat, excessive cold; isolation of clients; isolation of workers; necessary detachment from other workers, books, magazines, etc. The physical factors may have to do with lack of office equipment and facilities and lack of satisfactory housing conditions for both client and worker. In the middle western states and probably in other sections of the country

¹ Wilma Van Dusseldorp, "The Development of Social Agencies in Rural Communities," *The Family*, March, 1933; Josephine Brown, "The Rural Community and Social Case Work." Published by the Family Welfare Association of America, 1934; Grace A. Browning, "The Application of the Basic Concepts of Case Work to Rural Social Work," *The Family*, March, 1938.

also, it is still a rather common occurrence for a social worker, when he or she goes into a small community, to find that it is difficult to locate a house in which there is an extra room, and particularly one in which there is available a bathroom. It may even be a greater problem to discover a landlady who considers it necessary to have hot water for bathing purposes more than once a week. If the social worker happens to be a man with a family, he may have even greater difficulty. Housing for clients in small towns and rural communities is often a very serious problem. Not only may the houses which are available be most unsatisfactory—and unsatisfactory houses in rural communities can be found in sections other than in the South, even though *Tobacco Road* and *Faces We Have Seen* have made us particularly conscious of conditions there—but sometimes there just are not enough houses to go around. We have had quite a number of instances in certain parts of Kansas, when county directors of necessity have hesitated to authorize the return of residents because there simply was not a decent place vacant in the whole county in which the family could move if it did return.

Long distances may on the surface seem of minor importance with good roads, fast cars, and telephones available. That is, we think they are available. The good roads, even very good ones, cease to be good when ice covers them for six weeks at a time as happened in the Middle West two years ago. Not all roads are good, even in fair weather. Those which lead to where the social worker needs to go are often narrow, rocky, hilly, and crossed by streams. It is difficult not only for the social worker to get to the client, but it is equally or even more difficult for the client to get away at any time from his own surroundings. Several years ago in one of the middle western states, not Kansas, the attention of the writer was called to a family living eighteen miles away from the county seat. The little one-room shack in the middle of the woods was fourteen miles away from the nearest telephone. With difficulty the writer drove within two miles of the shack. She plowed the rest of the way on foot

through blackberry briars, mud, and chiggers. When she got there the mother was desperately sick, just preceding a confinement. Since there was no other car within walking distance and the nearest neighbors were several miles away, the best time-saving procedure seemed to be for the worker to rush back to town, make arrangements for hospital care, and lead an ambulance back to the scene. All this was done at top speed, yet the woman died that night after she got to the hospital. The only way to get her to the ambulance was to carry her for a half a mile, put her on a lumber wagon for another mile and a half, and finally into the ambulance.

The isolation of workers—although this has become a much less serious problem since the introduction of the federal and state programs, with workers in each county and supervisory staffs visiting county offices—has its effects. Small salaries, which of necessity are inadequate as long as the prevailing standard of salaries of other officials and public servants such as teachers, probate judges, ministers, and doctors are small in most rural communities, make impossible the buying of an adequate number of books and magazines and prohibit the attendance of workers at more than occasional conferences and at schools of social work, even for a quarter at a time. The social worker in the rural community, therefore, has less opportunity than the urban worker for keeping informed of the developments in the field of social case work. Moreover, lacking the stimulus of contacts with other workers with professional interests, there is danger that the knowledge possessed will not be put to the best use and that the worker will let herself drift into a rut. The stimulus which comes from association with other workers with similar interests seems to have particular value for the worker in public assistance programs, whose duties in the last few years have consisted to a very large extent of doing a mechanical job, or one which has a tendency to become mechanical, of filling in forms and making reports. The pressure of high case loads adds to the dilemma.

In an urban community typewriters, files, and even stenog-

raphers are considered a part of every office equipment. Not so in rural communities! A farmer is not as likely as a businessman or a professional man, or even a laborer, to see the need for these facilities. He is not acquainted with these tools. He is accustomed to working with the plow, harrow, tractor, horses, etc. Many farmers, even with all the splendid encouragement from farm bureaus to the contrary, do not think in terms of keeping books—except perhaps on the calendar on the wall—and it is difficult for them to see the actual need for all of the paraphernalia in the office of the social worker. The result is that the typewriter, usually a secondhand one, may not work very well and the files have a tendency to consist of makeshift arrangements. Steel files with locks anywhere, especially in rural communities where everybody knows everybody else, are a joy to behold! Many a social worker undoubtedly has had a vision of a tornado striking in a rural community where files are without locks and keys. Perhaps it is fortunate that up to this time large case loads and inadequate stenographic services have made impossible the keeping of detailed records. Nevertheless some of them, even now, if they were blown over the countryside, would cause havoc in a community for many years to come.

The nonphysical forces, as has already been indicated, are closely related to the physical forces and to a degree are dependent upon them. Thus, isolation is a result of bad roads; long distances; lack of telephones, cars, railroad facilities, etc. The attitude of the public, which in turn affects the adequacy or inadequacy of the material facilities available to the worker, is dependent upon the personal experiences of the individuals who make up the public. It may mean that the relatively greater isolation of a rural community makes board members, interested citizens, and clients alike either more dependent or more independent, depending entirely upon other factors operating in individual instances. Close association with nature and time for contemplation while riding on the plow may make for more imagination or for greater inertness, again depending upon the individual personality. Hardships resulting from dust storms,

infertile soil, poor crops, and low prices may make for greater courage or for more acquiescent acceptance.

Case-work practice in rural communities is both hampered and enhanced by the forces affecting it, hampered through the lack of resources, at least of the kind known in the cities, enhanced by the close natural relationship between client, worker, and community. Clinics, psychiatrists, specialists of all kinds, hospital facilities, and specialized educational opportunities are likely to be lacking, at least to a certain degree, in a rural community. On the other hand, there is the opportunity for the worker and community to get together more quickly and more closely on a working basis, and it is possible in a shorter time, because of the less complex situation, to work out a better relationship between client and community. Prejudices may be strong and they may have to be broken down, but real interest is never lacking. Moreover, the community can see much more easily how certain conditions and certain lacks which exist affect the individual client. In a more complex society these effects are not so evident, and even with intelligent leadership it is more difficult to bring client and community together in such a way that will profit by the relationship. Case-work practice in rural communities is affected primarily by the factors which affect the material resources of the client and the personal resources within himself, and which affect a change within his environment as well as within his own emotional self, by the personal and material resources of the worker, her capacity and skill in working with the client and the resources upon which she can draw, and the possibilities for establishing an effective relationship—one which is dynamic and productive between client and worker, client and community, and worker and community.

To what an extent then do we have social case-work practice and what is the quality of the practice in rural communities? A few general observations will be made in so far as rural communities in our country as a whole have developed case-work programs. Specifically, the conclusions are primarily based upon the situation in one state—Kansas.

That federal relief, social security, and the child welfare service programs have boosted social work in every rural community is obvious. Whether administered ably or poorly, effectively or ineffectively, every community in this country, no matter how benighted or isolated, has felt the effect of these service and relief programs.

That in the future rural social case work has to be performed primarily by public agencies rather than by private seems to be the opinion of most people working in the rural field. Few rural communities, if any, can afford to pay for two good social case-work agencies. Since public relief is administered in each community in this country, it would seem, as was pointed out recently by R. C. Hobson in his thesis *Public Welfare in Petersburg*,² that one good public agency in a community is better than two poor agencies, one public and one private. The establishment of one good public agency presupposes, however, that the citizen who would otherwise be a member of a local private agency needs to be encouraged to support and aid the public official.

There have been those social workers who have expressed doubts as to whether or not social case work is or can be administered in public assistance programs or by any public agency. They have said that some factors within the nature of the public programs themselves—the legal restrictions, the need for getting the same information about everybody, the emphasis upon forms—all help to make the individualization of client, the primary principle of social case work, difficult if not well-nigh impossible. A day in a local office, when one sees a man of over sixty-five finally get an opportunity, after perhaps waiting two weeks or more until the worker can “get to him,” to fill out or get filled out the many forms which will make it possible for him finally to get his old age assistance checks, makes one wonder how much concern and how much understanding there is for and of the man himself. He is practically lost in the maze of detail.

² Raleigh Colston Hobson, *Public Welfare in Petersburg* (Va.), thesis for Master of Science Degree, College of William and Mary, 1938.

Even the most sensitive, imaginative kind of social worker must have a tendency to forget the individual for the vast number of forms and the amount of mechanical routine. Yet in an organization of public relief, a short time before the social security titles were put into effect and when mechanical detail played almost as big a part as now, a client made this statement to the worker: "I cannot talk to my husband because he worries. I cannot talk to my neighbors and my family because I will not tell them my business. When I talk to you, it is like I talk to myself and I feel better when I have said it. Always you let me plan, myself. If I think anything is good to do, you help me to try it."

The foregoing statement was made to a social worker not professionally trained, yet one senses in the statement elements of good case-work practice based upon a large amount of understanding of the needs of the particular client and based upon the ability to treat upon the basis of the woman's own needs. There was individualization in a public relief program by an untrained but not an unskilled worker. That gives a bit of hope when one studies the extent and quality of case-work practice in a state which has few social work programs other than those introduced by the state and federal governments, and which has among those who are practicing social case work a low percentage of members in the American Association of Social Workers.

The reading of a dozen case histories in different child welfare units in several states leaves little doubt in one's mind that social case work can be practiced by public agencies working in rural communities. One finds in those records excellent work with children—children with problems having both physical and emotional causes. One sees in those units in rural communities a recognition of the needs of the individual in terms of his total personality in his total environment.

A social case worker, who for the last ten years has worked with a public agency in a county in another state, expressed herself emphatically when she was asked whether or not it was pos-

sible really to do social case work in a public agency under the auspices of a board of elected officials. There was no doubt in her mind after her years of experience that there are opportunities for social case work in rural communities in a public agency. As to the public officials she said: "I should have faith at any time in a public official when it comes to a question of having a real interest and concern in the welfare of the people in his community. They are his neighbors and his friends. Even though some local elected officials in Kansas have shown greater understanding and more concern for the welfare of the people in the community than others, the social workers in the state again and again have expressed appreciation of the very genuine and intelligent interest of the elected county commissioners in the social welfare program in the counties and in the state. Given frank and detailed information as to the existing conditions in the community, the public officials can generally be counted upon to do their share.

As one reads case histories in rural communities, one is impressed with the differences in social resources between small and large communities. Some workers seem to be greatly hampered by the fact that there are not available, either in the immediate area or at times even in more distant areas, such facilities as clinical and hospital services. Some seem to be very much thwarted because there is no psychiatrist on hand; others, on the other hand, find that by using the resources which exist in the rural community—the teacher, doctor, minister, county commissioner, and other genuinely interested citizens—they can go far in treatment, particularly if they couple these local resources with other resources which exist in the state and which are available, if only used. A worker in a rural community who has had experience in a large city agency is likely to find that the rural community does not present such a big problem of lack of resources, but rather a problem of learning how to use the resources available. Resources in rural communities must first be recognized as such and then they must be used in the most effective manner.

Ideally, social case-work practice in rural communities as well as in any other kind of a community consists of services rendered on the basis of an individual need, a need established on the foundation of fact carefully accumulated and evaluated. The service is rendered through the individual rather than for him and takes into consideration his need in terms of the "organism-as-a-whole" in its multiplicity of experiences or in its environment. It is based on an effective client-worker relationship. In all rural communities known to the writer, conditions exist which limit the execution of the case-work function in terms of its maximum possibilities. Some of the situations which make for these limitations are as follows:

1. The necessity for exercising authority, at least, more than a minimum amount of authority, in any form. The giving of relief on an eligibility basis or the work with a delinquent child through the juvenile court are both examples of situations which give the worker a place of power.
2. The necessity of treatment in terms of the needs of all the clients in the agency as well as in terms of the needs of other individuals comprising membership in the community. In a public agency where intake cannot be limited and where funds are likely to be inadequate, the worker must consider in determining the amount of relief or other services given the client, the need of the other clients in the agency. Furthermore, the standard of living of those who are contributing to the funds which take care of the relief and service needs in the community must be taken into account. In many rural areas, farmers who are paying taxes which help to take care of the health needs of those on relief are themselves neglecting their own teeth, eyes, or tonsils, because they have insufficient funds to pay for the necessary services.
3. The requirement of treatment without adequate resources. In a rural community it may be impossible to provide certain facilities for vocational training which is important if the work with a certain individual is to be most effective. The rural case worker may minimize the result of the lack of certain resources by making the best use of those available—yet there will be deficiencies which cannot be met. A dearth of necessary office equipment, including a capable stenographer, may be a part of the inadequate resources.
4. The necessity of treatment by a worker with too large case loads. The case-work function cannot be carried out in terms of its maximum possibilities when case loads run as they still do in areas where distances are

time consuming, up to one hundred and fifty cases per worker per month, or higher!

5. The requirement of treatment by a worker with insufficient knowledge and skill. In rural, as well as in urban communities, because of the rapid increase in demand for social case workers and the newness of the profession, it is necessary for many agencies to be served by inadequately prepared workers both from the point of view of experience and the development of well-integrated personalities. The rural social-work job demands the very best in quality of workers if good results are to be obtained. In fact, the rural worker needs to be, even more than the city worker, a regular paragon of virtues: resourcefulness, initiative, knowledge, skill, humor, tact, and poise.

All the five factors mentioned above exist in most rural areas at the present time. The extent to which they exist determines the limitations in the field of social case-work practice. If one thinks in terms of concentric circles, with all the limitations included in the outer circle, it becomes obvious that much practice in the field of rural social case work is toward the periphery of the circle. It is possibly true that proportionately these limiting factors exist to a greater degree in the country than in the city and that more work is done in the external boundaries of the circle in the rural than in the urban communities. There is, however, enough rural social case practice, much of it done intuitively, to be sure, to show that there can be such, and enough approaching the center of the circle to demonstrate that with more skilled workers who know how to work with the client and who know how to make use of the resources available, as well as to create new ones, it will be possible gradually to move farther away from the periphery toward the middle of the circle. Certainly there is a challenge to the worker who likes the smell and feel of the soil and all that goes with it, and who has imagination, resourcefulness, and a willingness to work twenty-four hours a day. Few fields offer anything like it.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF CASE-WORK PRACTICE WITH MARITAL PROBLEMS IN FAMILIES: LEGAL ASPECTS

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LEGAL aspects of the family problem are necessarily interrelated with family case-work practice. This is true in the sense that legal relief in the form of an actual judicial proceeding is often a last resort—a final expedient to be resorted to when other forms of social treatment have failed. But it is also true in that legal rights, legal responsibilities, and legal remedies play an important part in the family relationship. Their very presence may control the social diagnosis of a given marital problem. In this overlapping twilight zone the social worker and the lawyer encounter common difficulties and arrive at mutual solutions.

Common law and statute prescribe the legal duties and provide the legal remedies. Statute and decision furnish the cold, formal requirements by which the marital relationship is begun and terminated. But legal precept does not alone impose the only restraint against a too casual assumption or dissolution of the marriage status. Often the degree of effective restraint is determined by the community itself, by local mores and social attitudes toward divorce and separation. Whatever the social stratum, the lares and penates of family life depend for much of their security upon local custom and tradition.

Thus, to be more specific, in an established, conservative community, marriage and family responsibility are not permitted to be taken lightly, either in their assumption or in their termina-

tion. For better or for worse, consciousness of this community attitude serves as a binder to keep families together. Frictions there may be, sometimes smoldering, sometimes flaring, but if possible they are kept well hidden under a gloss of outward harmony and respectability. The social worker or the psychiatrist may perceive them at times, the lawyer seldom.

On the other hand, in a less stable region, where population and even morals are comparatively transitory, where divorces are frequent and widely publicized, where families disunite with unexpected facility, the legal complications assume a larger importance. Family instability becomes infectious and tends to pervade even those groups where normally one would expect to find family security. And the attendant complexities, both legal and social, play a much larger role in case-work practice.

Many of you may recognize that, to a certain limited extent, conditions such as the latter group of which I speak obtain in parts of our rapidly growing Southwest. Often we encounter in our personal as well as our professional experience marital situations in which the fundamental discord was due, in part at least, to a desire to be "fashionable." Widespread publicity given to the domestic difficulties of persons of prominence has intensified the problems of both the social worker and the lawyer. Occasionally a client draws unfortunate conclusions from the news reports as to the apparent ease with which a marriage may be terminated. Sometimes it is difficult for the individual to understand that there are strict legal requirements which an impartial justice theoretically applies to all alike—that legal restrictions are more immutable than witnesses' testimony and lawyers' fees. In the bright lexicon of the law there is, only too often, still such a word as "can't."

It is not, I take it, our present purpose to question or criticize the wisdom of the laws themselves. Accepting them as they stand, let us look for a moment at their provisions. The statutes of our western states, and I select them as being representative of those found elsewhere, prescribe legal remedies for the several types of family problems—remedies that are substantially

similar for each state. They vary according to jurisdictional requirements, procedure, and the grounds upon which the particular relief may be predicated. Those remedies which affect principally the marriage status are obtained by actions for divorce, annulment, and separate maintenance. In all the states, a divorce action may be originally instituted only by a party who has fulfilled a prescribed period of residence within the state and locality in which the suit is brought. And in a majority of jurisdictions a divorce decree does not become final and complete until after a specified interlocutory period following the initial judgment. Annulment and separate maintenance, on the other hand, are usually maintainable without a preliminary period of residence, and the relief becomes effective immediately upon the granting of the first decree. In any judicial dissolution of the marriage, as well as in a decree of separate maintenance, the court may award alimony to the complaining spouse and may also include provisions for custody and support of minor children. It should be noted that, upon compliance with statutory requirements for the publication of summons, the decree sought may be obtained without personal service of process on the defendant spouse within the state and will be effective in dissolving the marriage or in legalizing the separation. Personal service on the defendant outside the state is often accepted as a substitute for publication. However, unless the defendant has actually been served within the state, or has legally appeared in the action either in person or through his attorney, the court is without power to impose personal liability upon him for the payment of alimony or support. Similarly, only if the children of the marriage are within the state, is a judicial provision as to their custody legally effective. It might be pointed out further that annulment of a marriage does not in most states affect the legitimacy of children born of such marriage.

Civil remedies affecting the parent-child relationship include such special proceedings as direct actions for support or custody of minor children, and actions to establish the paternity of

illegitimate children. These remedies may be sought separately or, under proper circumstances, may be combined in a single action. Again, however, personal service upon the defendant parent within the state, or his appearance in the action, is necessary in order to impose a direct liability upon him.

Paralleling the civil remedies there are to be found in the criminal statutes of most states provisions imposing penal liability for failure to provide for a spouse or child. These statutes are enforced by the usual criminal penalties of fine and imprisonment. Quaintly enough, in California it is a felony to fail to provide for a wife, but only a misdemeanor to fail to provide for a minor child.

So much for the principal features of our domestic relations laws and the legal proceedings by which the legal remedies for the solution of family problems may be obtained. It would seem appropriate, however, to direct some attention to a particular aspect of the sociolegal problem of marriage and the family, namely, the domestic relations problems encountered by the legal aid society. Such organizations are found today in nearly every large city in the United States, as well as in many other countries. Their basic purpose and function are to provide legal advice and assistance in civil matters to those who are financially unable to pay a private attorney for such services. Included within the broad range of their jurisdiction, therefore, is the field of domestic and parental relations. It is here that the legal aid society and its attorneys are confronted with their most difficult tasks—tasks that require skilful treatment and delicate handling. Here, too, the society moves in accord with case-work practice of the established welfare agencies. For not only are there basic legal requirements to be met—the existence and provability of grounds for legal relief—but also there are the legal aid society's own necessary jurisdictional limitations. The relief sought by the client must be properly desirable from a social as well as from an economic viewpoint.

To put it bluntly, a legal aid society cannot afford to become a mere "free divorce mill." Therefore, it will ordinarily accept

only those cases in the domestic relations field in which careful investigation has shown, first, that the legal relief sought is both necessary and socially desirable, and, second, that the financial status of the parties makes the case a proper one for free legal aid services. And in ascertaining the requisite presence of these elements the legal aid societies have integrated their functions with those of the established welfare agencies. A close interdependence has developed in which the case worker co-operates with the legal aid attorney. Thus, most legal aid societies have adopted, as a condition of their acceptance of any domestic relations case, the requirement that the marital and family situation, both social and financial, be carefully investigated and recommended by a trained social worker.

The basic objective in the legal aid society's analysis of a particular domestic relations problem is often expressed in the term "social urgency." This term—to borrow from another field of the law—is one "of limitation, not of grant." It delimits rather than enlarges the scope of the society's jurisdiction. Even though a particular case presents a perfectly valid and legal cause of action with adequate grounds for the relief desired, and the client is financially a proper recipient of free legal aid, the society's policy may preclude it from granting assistance. This is primarily a limitation of necessity. With its restricted personnel and facilities, a legal aid society must pick and choose from among those clients whose need is most urgent. Hence it follows certain standards in selecting those family problems which are particularly in need of immediate legal intervention.

More specifically stated, the class of cases most frequently within the acceptance policy of the society, after investigation and recommendation by the social worker, are those wherein the health, safety, and welfare of minor children are involved. Such cases are the following: (1) where divorce or annulment of marriage is necessary in order to protect a minor child from a drunken, brutal, or immoral parent; (2) where legal dissolution of a pre-existing marriage is necessary in order to permit the parents of an illegitimate child to marry and thus provide for the child a

legal home and legitimate status; (3) where a parent has been convicted of a serious crime and dissolution of the marriage is desirable in order to free the home and the minor children from the attendant social stigma; (4) where a parent is wilfully refusing to support his minor children; and (5) where an improvident and illegal marriage was entered into between minors under the age of legal consent, without the permission of their parents or the approval of the court.

Note that the foregoing illustrations present situations of more or less emergent need. The legal relief is perhaps the only effective means of correcting a present and socially dangerous situation. Often the society must choose in their favor as against the borderline cases. The latter include those where the applicant may be entirely deserving and adequate grounds for legal relief exist, but comparative considerations place them just outside of the legal aid society's jurisdiction. Typical are such situations as the following:

1. Where a husband or wife has deserted the family and has been missing and unheard from for a number of years. While under the so-called "Enoch Arden" statutes remarriage is possible under certain circumstances without dissolving the original marriage, the remaining spouse may desire legal action merely for the resultant assurance of certainty and peace of mind. Such cases, though the end may be socially desirable, do not ordinarily present the required social urgency for immediate action.

2. Where the client seeks divorce or annulment from a defaulting spouse, in order that the client may be free to marry a prospective husband or wife and thus provide a proper home for the children. In the case where the client is the wife, such a situation at first appears to present certain elements of social urgency. Reflection indicates, however, that if the prospective marriage is to offer enduring advantages, the financial condition of the husband-to-be should normally be such as to afford the payment of a private attorney for the necessary legal services.

3. Formerly, proceedings for divorce or separation were sometimes necessary in order for a wife and children to establish

separate legal residence from an out-of-state head of the family and thus become eligible for local public aid. This situation has been remedied by statute in California, at least, permitting a wife to acquire a separate independent residence for purposes of local relief and public assistance.

4. A final example in the borderline group is the client who can financially afford to pay a small fee for legal services over and above the actual costs of suit. Such fee is much less than that customarily charged by the profession and is often inadequate to compensate the attorney fairly for actual services involved. Since the policy of most legal aid societies prevents them from accepting any compensation for their work, arrangements are usually made with the local bar association for the handling of such cases, upon reference from the society, by responsible private attorneys who have agreed to make their services available on a below-cost basis.

The above-discussed aspects of the family problem are perhaps more peculiarly within the province of the legal aid society than of the ordinary practicing lawyer. But intrinsically the marital problems of the average indigent family are not, in their legal aspects, vastly different from those of families on the higher-income levels. They afford as representative a picture of the legal difficulties in this field as would any cross-section of the domestic life of our entire population. In a legal aid society, more than in the average private law office, the very volume of its work brings it into contact with frequently recurring questions and specific situations that are most likely to be encountered in the handling of domestic relations cases. Since these are more or less typical, a few of them will suffice by way of illustrative example.

Is it possible in a domestic relations action to secure temporary legal relief or protection pending the ultimate trial of the case? To give a specific instance: Richard Roe is on the rampage, spending his relief checks on liquor, and threatening mayhem on Mrs. Roe and any of the minor children incautious enough to venture within range of his drunken reach. Long-

suffering Mrs. Roe is genuinely terrified. The wily Richard has persuaded the police that it is just "another family squabble," and they have adopted a hands-off attitude. The social worker in charge of the family has abundant corroboration as to legal grounds, social urgency, and financial need. Between the filing of an action and the ultimate trial of the case pends an interval of time during which the present state of affairs may continue. To meet this type of situation there are available in most states ancillary equitable remedies; a temporary restraining order, obtainable immediately upon the filing of the action, may be issued by the court to hold the recalcitrant Richard in check pending final trial. Thus the obstacle of the law's delay is surmounted.

But the obstacle of court costs, even though no fees are to be charged for the attorney's services, may also stand in the way of effective legal solution of the family marital problem. The bare cost of filing suit looms distressingly large to the family or spouse on a minimum-subsistence budget. And canons of professional ethics prohibit an attorney from advancing court costs out of his own pocket. Here again the law itself has provided a means by permitting, in the exercise of the court's sound discretion, a remission or waiver of the filing fees by a proceeding *in forma pauperis*. However, it is not always possible to obtain a waiver of necessary incidental fees such as costs of publication and the fee of the required court reporter in a default case. It must be admitted that a need exists for a more completely effective solution of the problem of costs of suit.

Another typical case from the legal aid society's files is that of Mrs. Mary Roe, who, having separated from Richard without divorce or annulment of their marriage, is now living with John Doe. Mary wishes to be legally freed from Richard in order to marry John, by whom she is expecting a child. Being herself at fault, is she entitled to seek the court's aid in dissolving her marriage? Theoretically, of course, the remedy is available only to the innocent spouse. But suppose that Richard is unwilling to bring the suit, or is himself at fault. Should justice

relax the strict rule that one who seeks equity must come with clean hands? Mary Roe's case is not a unique one in the annals of the average legal aid society. Her suit is brought, the facts are disclosed to an understanding judge, and, more often than not, the decree is granted by a court that puts the welfare of the unborn child above the technical requirements and restrictions of the law.

In another class of cases, the finality and effect of a final decree of divorce or of annulment in relation to the rights of children of the parties are of importance. Again to be specific: Mary Roe seeks a divorce from Richard. There are two children, Beta and Gamma, of the present marriage. There is also a third, Alpha, a child of Mary and a former husband. All three children are minors. Let us consider the following typical facts: In her divorce action against Richard, Mary does not ask for alimony for herself, nor does she ask an order for the support of Gamma. She does request an award of \$10 a month from Richard for Beta's support, and a like sum for Alpha, Richard's stepchild.

But unless Richard has formally adopted Alpha, he is not liable for Alpha's care and maintenance, since the law does not impose a legal responsibility for the support of stepchildren. Therefore, the court properly denies Mary's request for the support of Alpha. In other respects it grants the decree and the orders as prayed for.

A few years later, the decree having in the meantime become final, Mary wishes if possible to have it changed, (1) to provide for the payment of alimony to herself from the now more prosperous Richard, (2) to provide for the payment of support for Gamma, and (3) to increase the amount previously ordered to be paid for Beta.

While a divorce is final and conclusive as to its effect upon the marriage, the court retains continuing jurisdiction over the children during their minority and over any payments ordered in the decree. Mary, having waived her right to alimony for herself by not requesting and obtaining it in the original action,

is not entitled to modify the decree in this particular. But the court has power to alter the provisions in so far as the children are concerned, and thus may not only require Richard to provide for the support of Gamma, but may also, in its discretion and upon proper showing, increase the amount previously awarded for the support of Beta.

In California, as in other western states, domestic relations cases are decided in the regular departments of the courts of general jurisdiction and are subject to the usual rigid formalities of procedure and proof. In cases in which there are minor children of the marriage, conscientious attorneys and social workers alike are perhaps hesitant to bring the children into court. It is patently undesirable to subject a sensitive or impressionable child to the strange, bewildering, and often sordid details of a formal divorce trial. In most states, even where the custody of the child is at issue, it is not necessary that such child be physically present in court at the time of trial or of the granting of the decree. It is sufficient if the child is within the legal jurisdiction of the court.

In those cases where the child is necessary as a witness, there should be, more often than there is at present, a liberal resort to stipulations between opposing counsel permitting the judge to interrogate the child informally in the judge's private chambers. The same relaxation of strict procedure should obtain in cases of disputed paternity when it becomes necessary to have the child physically present in court in order that the judge or jury may observe the resemblance, if any, with the putative father. In short, in relation to all the legal aspects of marital problems, considerations of case-work practice should demand that minor children be spared as far as possible from direct contact with any of the formal litigated procedures.

Problems frequently arise in the matter of custody or placement of minor children of the marriage in connection with an action of divorce or separation. *Pendente lite* proceedings are usually available to provide for a temporary award of custody to one parent or the other, pending the ultimate trial of the case.

The decree itself normally includes a grant of custody of the children to the successful spouse, with provision for the other parent to visit them at reasonable times. While the parties may, if they wish, submit to the court an agreement as to custody, such agreement is not necessarily binding on the judge, who reserves the right to make such arrangement with respect to the children as would be, in his opinion, to their best interests. The court's powers are limited in the matter of granting custody to the extent that in a domestic relations action legal custody, strictly speaking, may be awarded only to the parties or to either one of them. However, where both parents are unfit or where neither is able to provide a proper home for the minor children, the court may, upon a proper showing to that effect, order that the children be placed in a neutral home. As in the case of an order for support, an award of custody or placement is subject to subsequent modification by the court upon request of one of the parties. Here again the court retains continuing jurisdiction after the final decree and during the minority of the children, in order that their welfare may at all times be adequately safeguarded.

In connection with trial of actions to establish the paternity of illegitimate children, there is much current interest concerning the legal admissibility of certain types of evidence. The development of blood tests to a point where science can assure their reliability, at least to the extent of proving nonpaternity, has led some states to provide by statute for the use of such tests in evidence as proof of such fact. In most states, however, the courts are still hesitant to admit evidence of this type and occasionally have rendered decisions of paternity even in spite of proffered blood-test evidence that was contradictory to the actual findings of the court. It is submitted that if, as is contended by the scientific experts, such tests have been perfected to a point where their dependability is certain, uniform provision should be made for their admissibility in evidence.

Until such time as adequate laboratory tests are devised for affirmatively proving a paternal relationship, present difficul-

ties of evidence and proof will continue. In the usual trial procedure for such cases, paternity may be established only by the admissions of the parties themselves, by their conduct, and occasionally by actual resemblance in the physical features and characteristics of the child, or by expert testimony as to such resemblance. Figuratively, if not literally, the child itself is offered in evidence as one of the exhibits. Birth certificates are at best only secondary evidence in establishing the identity of the father and are in most instances excluded under the general limitations against hearsay. Here again, therefore, there is need for some improvement in the methods of litigation and adjudication in relation to an aspect of the family problem.

A further situation that often arises in connection with the legal aspects of domestic relations cases is one where, after the granting of an interlocutory decree of divorce and before the final decree has been entered, the parties resume marital relationship. Ordinarily the effect of such resumption is to nullify the interlocutory decree and to place the parties in the same legal status that they held before the commencement of the action. Sometimes, however, one of the parties, without the knowledge of the other, proceeds to have the final decree entered. This may ultimately lead to complex questions as to rights of inheritance upon the death of one of the spouses. Suffice it to say that the entry of the final decree under such circumstances may be held to be a fraud upon the court and may be set aside, thus invalidating any subsequent marriage that may have been contracted by either of the parties.

In addition to legal difficulties encountered in the more direct aspects of marital problems in families—those arising in connection with actions for divorce, annulment, custody, or support—there are many others of an incidental or indirect nature, which frequently come within the routine work of the legal aid society. These include family problems in relation to legal proceedings in the fields of guardianship, adoption, and juvenile delinquency. Time does not permit a detailed consideration of some of the legal aspects presented by cases of these types. Records

of the legal aid societies offer an abundant supply of illustrative material that would be helpful in case-work analysis of the factors involved in such proceedings.

The few problems that I have touched upon are but random examples of some of the legal aspects of family marital problems. Many others could be selected and doubtless would afford a much more practical presentation than has been attempted here. They all, however, would tend to support our initial premise that not only in the work of the legal aid societies but in the entire field of domestic relations, law and social case work go hand in hand. The records of legal aid societies constitute, as it were, but another album of social case-work practice—an album wherein are recorded time, and time, and time again, illustrations of the fact that the law is and, let us hope, always will be, one of the basic “social” sciences.

PROTECTION OF CHILDREN IN ADOPTION

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A PLAN for the protection of the child who is about to be adopted is not an invention of the present day. More than six hundred and fifty years ago the "great code" of Alfonso V of Castile defined adoption and set up protective provisions for the child without a father who was qualified to give consent to his adoption. According to this code the child under seven, being an "infant," could not be adopted because his reason was "not sufficiently developed to consent." The child between the ages of seven and fifteen years, although considered as being "not totally devoid of understanding," could be adopted only with the consent of the king after an investigation showing that the person wishing to adopt was motivated by good intentions and that the adoption was to the advantage of the child. The purpose of this investigation was to make certain that the child was not being deceived by the foster-parents rather than to determine the suitability of the adoption.

It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the first adoption legislation was passed in the United States, although adoptions had been granted occasionally by acts of the respective legislatures in the states. Massachusetts has been generally accepted as the state which passed the first adoption law, although an Alabama law passed in 1850, one year before the Massachusetts law, permitted the adoption of a child, with or without a change of name, so that the child could inherit from the adopting parents' estate.

Early adoption laws were concerned primarily in providing an heir who would carry on the family name and its traditions, and the court hearing the petition was solely responsible for determining whether the petitioners were "of sufficient ability to bring up the child and furnish nurture and education, having reference to the degree and condition of its parents" and that it was "fit and proper that such adoption should take place."

As the importance of adoption in the life of a child and in the lives of his foster-parents has become better understood, there has developed a realization in some states of the need for safeguards in adoption—safeguards which would recognize the child's inalienable right to grow up within his own family circle, which would protect the rights of the natural parents, which would protect the foster-parents, who, through adoption, are assuming a life-long obligation, and which would protect the child from a relationship that was unsuited to his own particular needs.

Unfortunately, adoption procedure has been so interwoven with emotional satisfaction on the part of the person placing the child, the foster-family, and the court, that objective consideration of the principles involved has sometimes been difficult. Even when legislation has been enacted which seemed to provide the necessary protection to all concerned, its administration has frequently been hampered by misunderstanding on the part of the court, the bar, the petitioners, and sometimes the child-placing agencies themselves.

An effective adoption law cannot be isolated from other laws affecting child welfare, but must be accompanied by laws which have as their objectives supervision of child-placing and the improvement of standards of child-placing agencies, an adequate and far-reaching program for the child born out of wedlock, the prevention of hasty and ill-considered plans for the separation of children from their own relatives, and an administrative organization within a state department that is competent to carry out the spirit of these laws.

From the figures available in a few states it has been esti-

mated that about 16,000 children are adopted in a single year. This number is relatively small in comparison with the approximate number of 300,000 children separated from their own parents in foster-homes and institutions, but the significance of adoption to the child, to the natural parents, and to the foster-parents cannot be measured numerically.

Who are the children who are being adopted? The Children's Bureau recently made a study of more than 2,000 adoption cases in nine states. From the information obtained through this study, it appears that the children involved are usually white, that there is a slight preponderance of girls, and that about three-fifths of them are children born out of wedlock.

Nearly 48 per cent of the children in the study were under three years of age. Only 22 per cent of the children of married parents were under three years of age when they were adopted, but 62 per cent of the children born out of wedlock were under three at the time of their adoption.

Who are the petitioners? The Children's Bureau study indicates that about 20 per cent are stepparents, 7 per cent are grandparents, 14 per cent are other relatives, and nearly 60 per cent are persons unrelated to the child. Relatives petitioned to adopt 62 per cent of the children born of married parents, but only 29 per cent of the children born out of wedlock.

It was found that foster-parents on the whole are older than the average own parent. The greatest number of foster-mothers studied were between the ages of thirty and forty years, 50 per cent of those for whom the ages were reported being in this age group. Sixty-seven per cent of the foster-fathers were in the same age group as the mother (not more than five years older or younger); 30 per cent were more than five years older; and 3 per cent were more than five years younger.

A rating scale was devised which took into consideration the economic aspects of the foster-home, the mental stability of the foster-parents, the physical condition of the foster-parents, the attitude of the various members of the foster-parents' family to each other, and the community standing of the foster-family.

According to this rating scale, 60 per cent of the foster-homes in which a report to the court was made were considered "desirable"; 30 per cent were "passable"; and nearly 9 per cent were "undesirable."

On the basis of the study made by the Children's Bureau, some conclusions have been reached concerning the problems involved in separating a child from his own parents; the need for protection of parental rights, protection of the child, and protection of the foster-parents.

SEPARATION OF CHILD FROM HIS OWN PARENTS

The inherent right of every child to grow up in his own family group has been generally accepted in theory. In practice, however, it was found in the Children's Bureau study that all too frequently children of both married and unmarried parents were separated from their own kin, without exhaustive study of other resources available to them. In many of these cases the decision in favor of separation was made by the child's own parents when they gave direct consent to an adoption without professional aid or advice. In others the decision was made by a child-placing agency when a surrender from the parents was accepted, and in still others a court determined that the best interests of the child demanded termination of parental rights.

According to the common law, the father was considered sole guardian of the child born in lawful wedlock and, therefore, had the right to plan for his child. The child born out of wedlock was "nobody's child," and a legal relationship was not recognized even between the child and his mother. Modifications of these common-law principles have made parents joint guardians when married, and the mother the sole guardian when the child is born out of wedlock.

As the guardian of the child, it is a parent's privilege to do with him what he will, as long as he does not violate the laws of the state. Accordingly, it is not always easy to obtain adequate protection for the child placed by his parents, unless actual physical neglect or abuse follows the placement. From the

standpoint of the child's emotional and intellectual needs, the parent's plan may be wholly unsuitable, but, as long as it does not offend the community, little can be done.

Protection can be given indirectly, however, by child-placing agencies if their services are made more easily available to parents and others so that instead of haphazard placements, planning for a child can be according to his own particular need. Opportunities can sometimes be found whereby a child can remain with members of his own family group, and when this is not possible, suitable placement plans can be made. Prospective foster-parents likewise should be made aware of the advantages in obtaining a child from a well-equipped agency rather than directly from the parents or some other person who is unacquainted with the technique of child-placing.

That the child-placing agencies are not yet making a general practice of utilizing the homes of relatives for their children can be seen from the following fact: Of 736 children placed by agencies, only 32 (4 per cent) were placed with relatives. There was a slightly greater tendency for the agencies to place children born of married parents with relatives, although only 18 (13 per cent) of the 137 children of legitimate birth were so placed. Of the 570 children born out of wedlock and placed by agencies, only 13 (2 per cent) were placed in the homes of relatives. It is possible that the large number of approved applications for foster-children is responsible for the failure of the child-placing agencies to consider relatives as possible foster-parents, but does this make their practice entirely justifiable? The use of a child-placing agency as a medium for placement of a child with a member of his own family has decided possibilities, particularly when the child has been born out of wedlock.

Legal safeguards have been devised to protect the rights of the child when an agency is responsible for making the decision to accept a parent's surrender of his child. In a number of the states where such surrenders have been legalized, only properly authorized agencies have the right to accept them. Added safeguards have been set up in several states.

I believe we would all agree that there are certain advantages in a plan that permits a parent to surrender his child to a properly qualified agency under the general supervision of the state department, provided we have the assurance that a relinquishment will not be accepted until the agency has satisfied itself that the best interests of the child are to be served thereby. Service to the child and his parents need not be delayed until final acceptance, however, else the parents may become impatient and an independent placement result. Parental surrender, when used judiciously, may serve as a means of preventing unauthorized placements. It makes possible professional aid for the parent in planning for his child's future and eliminates the necessity for a court hearing.

The court hearing juvenile cases ordinarily makes the decision for the removal of a child from his own family when the question of neglect is an issue, and jurisdiction has also been given to this court in several states to make the decision whether parents who wish to be relieved of a child's care should be granted this privilege. Ordinarily the court that has authority to terminate parental rights likewise has the right to transfer parental prerogatives to an agency authorized to select a substitute home for the child and to consent to his adoption.

It is, without question, the responsibility of the court with juvenile jurisdiction to determine whether or not a child has been neglected and should be removed from the control of his parents, and, in such a case, the parents as well as other persons having knowledge of the situation should have an opportunity to be heard. It is doubtful, however, whether the same need for court action exists when a parent wishes to give up his child voluntarily. Undoubtedly it was with a sincere desire to protect children from being indiscriminately passed around that about one-quarter of the states passed laws prohibiting transfer of parental rights without an order of the court. But unless the court has a well-developed plan for obtaining all the facts in the matter, it may serve as little more than a rubber stamp for a decision made before the case is presented.

Whether court action or surrender to an agency is used, the child's status in his own family should be definitely determined before any plan for adoptive placement is made. The agency placing a child in an adoptive home on the chance that later the parents will agree voluntarily to surrender the child or on the chance that parental rights will eventually be terminated is unfair to the child, his parents, and the foster-parents. It may even be unfair to the court, in that the court will find it difficult to maintain an unbiased position, owing to its sympathy for the emotional bond that has developed between the child and the foster-parents.

PROTECTION OF PARENTAL RIGHTS

With a few notable exceptions, the consent provisions in the adoption laws of the states have failed to protect fully the rights of the child's parents, since they often take from the parent his right to consent in certain specific situations. To some extent this has been the result of confusion over what is meant by "custody" of a child, but there has also been confusion over the extent of the jurisdiction of the court hearing adoptions.

Nearly one-third of the states have provided that the consent of a parent who has lost custody of his child through divorce action is not necessary when the child is the subject of an adoption petition. It is the practice of the state department in some states, where the right of a divorced parent to consent to adoption is abrogated by the adoption law, to see to it that the parent who has lost custody is informed of the pending adoption and is given an opportunity to express his desires with regard to it.

A number of state laws permit adoption without the consent of a parent who "is insane or otherwise incapacitated from giving consent," "is imprisoned for not less than 3 years," "has wilfully deserted and neglected to provide proper care and maintenance for the child for a period of 1 year or longer preceding the petition," "has abandoned the child for more than 6 months next preceding the filing of the petition," or a parent

who "cannot be found," who "is habitually addicted to the use of drugs or intoxicating liquors," or who "has been convicted of being a common night walker or a lewd, wanton or lascivious person."

These laws place an unfair responsibility on the adoption court, for in addition to a decision on the merits of the proposed adoption, the court must also decide whether or not the parent has forfeited his right to consent to his child's adoption. Immediately the main issue—the adoption of the child—becomes confused. It is not unusual in such cases for the parent to be deprived of his "day in court" and for a decision to be made on slight evidence presented by persons whose principal interest is the adoption by the petitioners and not the rights of the parents. Why should the fact that a parent has been imprisoned for more than three years deprive him of the right to plan for his child? Is it within the province of the adoption court to decide whether or not a parent is "insane"? What basis should the court have for deciding that a parent has wilfully deserted his child? When can a person be called a "habitual drunkard"? What constitutes "abandonment" of a child? Questions such as these, involving the termination of parental rights, should be settled by the court hearing juvenile cases or by some other suitable court before the adoption of the child is considered, so that the adoption court will be called upon to decide only whether the child is a suitable child for adoption and whether the petitioners will make satisfactory foster-parents for this particular child.

The consent provisions in the adoption laws of California and Wisconsin are probably the most clear cut of any in the United States. In both these states the adoption law has been supplemented by provisions in the juvenile court law providing the means for termination of parental rights. In Wisconsin the juvenile court has authority, following permanent termination of parental rights, to transfer the "care, control, and custody" of the child "to some other person, agency or institution" which then has authority to consent to the adoption.

PROTECTION OF THE CHILD

It was not until 1917 that legal recognition was given to the need for providing the court with information about the child and about the foster-family desiring to make him their own. Prior to that time it was assumed that the court could decide whether or not an adoption was advisable solely on the basis of the testimony at the adoption hearing. Studies of adoptions granted in accordance with these early laws brought out many illustrations of their disadvantages to the child. Instances were uncovered of white children adopted by colored petitioners, of little girls adopted by single men, of adoptions by persons of questionable reputations, and of many other situations that showed the need for more information before a decree was granted. Horrified at what was happening, state after state made provision for an investigation of adoption petitions, until we now have twenty-six states and the District of Columbia which have made some provision for the investigation of adoption petitions. Nearly half the states, however, are still without any plan for presenting to the court information on which to base a decision for or against an adoption, and ten of these states are west of the Mississippi River.

Without question, the investigation of adoption petitions has given a certain amount of protection to children, but when a child is once established in a foster-home it is extremely difficult to prevent his adoption if the foster-parents desire this and the child is receiving satisfactory physical care. The surest method of protection, therefore, is to safeguard his placement in the foster-home.

In the Children's Bureau study a number of petitions for adoption were found which had been approved, contrary to the best judgment of the several state departments, simply because no other action seemed practicable. In some of these cases the petitioners were relatives, and in others the child had been a member of the foster-family for too long a time for the affectional ties that had developed to be disregarded, even though the adoption promised little of value to the child.

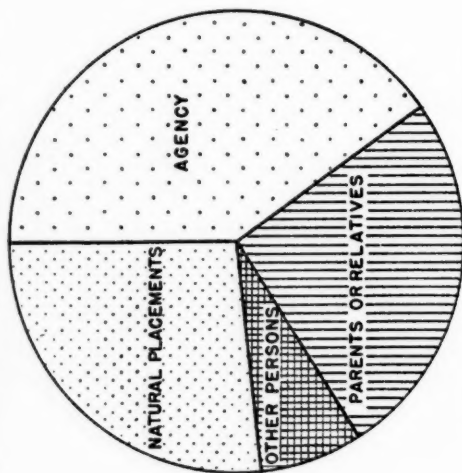
Placements made by qualified child-placing agencies were apparently more satisfactory than those made otherwise, although in the Children's Bureau study, too short a time had elapsed to hazard an evaluation of the success or failure of the venture. Nevertheless, an attempt was made on the basis of the records to appraise each adoption according to certain objective measuring rods.

Although approval was given to about 90 per cent of the petitions for adoption on which a definite report to the court was made and for which the source of placement was known, only 55 per cent were classified as desirable, 23 per cent as "satisfactory or passable," and 11 per cent as "approved with reservations"; the basis of approval was not reported for 6 per cent of the petitions. In only 6 per cent of the petitions was there a recommendation that the adoption be disapproved or delayed. Placements by agencies were ordinarily superior to those otherwise arranged. Agencies had been responsible for the placements in 636 (40 per cent) of the adoptions in which a basis for the recommendation to the court had been given. Of these, 75 per cent (474) were rated as desirable, whereas only 45 per cent (188) of the 412 adoptions in which placement had been made by parents or relatives and 40 per cent (46) of the 115 adoptions in which placement had been made by other persons were considered desirable. Interestingly enough, 51 per cent of the 425 adoptions of children resulting from natural placements (adoptions by stepparent or other relative and those in which the child had always lived in the home) were regarded as desirable.

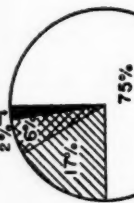
The accompanying chart (see p. 156) gives pictorial evidence of the value of agency placement.

The reports from the state departments recommending an adoption were generally accepted by the courts without question. There was not equal acceptance of the recommendations disapproving an adoption or suggesting that final action be delayed. In spite of the fact that the state departments were reluctant to disapprove an adoption if they could find any basis

PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR PLACEMENTS OF CHILDREN FOR ADOPTION AND DESIRABILITY OF ADOPTIONS RESULTING FROM THESE PLACEMENTS



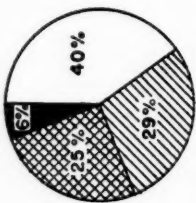
PERSONS MAKING PLACEMENTS
REPORTED TO THE COURT
(1,588)



AGENCY
(636)



PARENTS OR RELATIVES
(412)

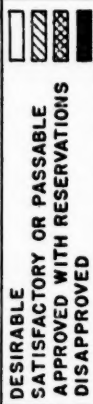


OTHER PERSONS
(115)



NATURAL PLACEMENTS
STEPPARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS
(425)

DESIRABILITY OF PLACEMENTS



for approval, in only 16 per cent of the disapproved cases did the court refuse to allow the adoption or dismiss the petition. In 42 per cent of the disapproved cases the petition was either voluntarily withdrawn or action was still pending, and in 42 per cent of these cases the recommendation was disregarded and a decree of adoption was entered. In several cases, however, the place of the child in the adoptive home was such that any other action by the court would possibly have been impracticable.

Although the number of children removed from unsatisfactory adoptive homes as a result of the adoption investigation was extremely small, this has not meant that the investigation was entirely futile. It was encouraging to find a growing tendency in the state departments to have each adoption considered as a case-work problem. It had been recognized that human relationships cannot be controlled by arbitrary decisions, and, accordingly, other methods were used to prevent unfortunate adoptions. For instance, efforts were made to persuade petitioners to withdraw their petitions voluntarily when an adoption was inadvisable. Alternative plans, better suited to the child's need, could sometimes be carried out. Petitioners were persuaded to delay action for a period of time long enough to permit them, with the help of a social agency, to remedy conditions that were not in accord with the child's best interests. Often the records in the state department failed to show the procedure by which an adoption had been prevented, but, without question, the case-work treatment which may be given as a result of a petition for adoption has much more positive value in the protection of the child than an investigation that does nothing more than disclose a body of fact for the benefit of the court.

PROTECTION OF THE FOSTER-PARENTS

It was evidently a desire to protect foster-parents from adopting unsuitable children that prompted the legislatures of a number of states to make it the responsibility of the person or agency investigating an adoption petition to determine whether or not the child was a "proper subject for adoption." Although the

laws have not specified that the investigation show that the child is a proper subject for adoption by particular foster-parents, this has been the interpretation generally accepted.

Unfortunately, the needs of the child—mental, physical, emotional, temperamental, and intellectual—are not always taken into consideration at the time the child is placed in the home. When the adoption petition is filed it is too late to correct the mistake made at the time of placement. It does not always follow, therefore, that only those adoptions are approved in which the child seems to fit into the home of the petitioners. Few of us are objective about children in whom we have developed an interest, and foster-parents find it exceptionally difficult to accept the fact that the child in their home is not going to measure up to all their expectations. Accordingly, if real protection is to be given to foster-parents, it is essential that they be protected from receiving a child into their home unless a reasonably satisfactory adjustment can be expected.

Foster-parents, like foster-children, do not come from a single social or intellectual group. Only when the selection of the child for a foster-home can be made in the light of the potentialities of the child, together with those of the foster-home, has the full duty to both been discharged. A child-placing agency that has resources for a complete study of the child as well as of the foster-home, therefore, offers the greatest protection to foster-parents in the selection and adoption of a child.

Nevertheless, in some of the states visited, a definite effort was being made to obtain sufficient information about the child's background, so that even though the placement had been of long standing, it was not necessary for the foster-parents to enter into the final adoption proceedings blindly. A physical examination, with a Wassermann, for every child who was the subject of an adoption petition was the general rule in one state. In another, mental tests were encouraged for every child being adopted by persons not related to him. When the child was too young for an accurate rating, it was not unusual to have the mother of the child tested.

A few foster-parents were persuaded that the adoption of the child named in the petition was unwise, but for the most part the decision of the foster-parents was not influenced by the disclosure of an unfavorable history, although it is possible they would not have taken the child into their home had this same information been available before the child was placed with them.

It was somewhat disconcerting to find that, on the whole, the courts were unmoved by reports disapproving adoptions on the ground that the child was unsuitable for adoption by the foster-parents.

In spite of the fact that the picture is largely a negative one, it is not wholly discouraging. The effort to give greater protection to the foster-parents in an adoption has brought about an awareness of the need for more selective placements. There is also a growing appreciation of the necessity for a more active program of interpretation for the courts.

STATE LEADERSHIP

Active and constructive leadership from a state department is an essential element in any plan for protection of children in adoptions, whether or not the state department has specific authority for making adoption investigations. There are certain decided advantages in using local persons for the actual investigations, but a central authority is essential to set standards, to interpret the findings, and to supervise the activities of the local agents. If the investigations are made under the general direction of the state department, there is much more possibility that the adoption program will be viewed as a unified whole rather than as separate programs administered by a variety of local authorities. With a strong state administration, the weak spots in the program can be recognized and a plan fostered which may remedy these and bring to the children who are about to be adopted happiness and security.

The supervisory staff of the state department must be able to see in an adoption more than the individual child and his foster-

family. It must be composed of persons with a broad background of experience in the field of child-placing and, since so many of the children adopted are born out of wedlock, with an understanding of the problems of the unmarried mother. The importance of a well-integrated state program cannot be overestimated, for it is only by a close relationship between the adoption program and other aspects of the work of the state department that confusion and misunderstanding can be avoided.

For instance, careful attention must be given to the standards of the child-placing agencies, so far as their own child-placing work is concerned. It is too much to expect that the child-placing agencies can assume full responsibility for all child-placing, but a greater willingness on their part to assist parents and relatives in planning for children may prevent many hazardous placements. Child-placing agencies have a responsibility for educating the public to the advantages of using an accepted agency when a child is to be placed for adoption or when a family desires a child to adopt.

Too little attention has been given to the development of state-wide services in the interests of the child born out of wedlock as a means of protection in adoption. As local child welfare services become more widespread, it is imperative that they include services for the unmarried mother. This would make it possible to plan for the child early and would reduce the need for emergency action, which so often results in an undesirable placement plan.

State departments have been slow to recognize that they have a responsibility for interpreting to the courts hearing adoptions the essential elements in a satisfactory adoption. After interviewing some seventy judges in nine states, I have come to the conclusion that adoptions are considered of minor importance in the court's business. This is not strange, for the number of adoption cases is small in proportion to other cases heard, and ordinarily an adoption is not contested. Clear and concise reports, which not only put the facts before the court, but also

make some interpretation of these facts in the light of the particular case in point, can be of material help in bringing the courts to a greater appreciation of all that should be taken into account before an adoption can be considered safe for the child and for the foster-parents.

CONCLUSION

The importance of protective measures for the child who is too young to express his own desires about his adoption and incompetent to decide wisely about his own future cannot be minimized. No mention has been made of the advantages of a residence period before adoption, of the need for having the child represented by legal counsel when there is any doubt about the desirability of a proposed adoption, of the advantages in permitting the state department to consent to an adoption when other consent cannot be obtained, of the advantages and disadvantages of a provision for annulment, or of the need for a workable provision for protecting the records of adoption in the courts. All these are worthy of consideration and may have a place in a comprehensive adoption law.

Nevertheless, it is in the provisions affecting placements of children that the greatest opportunity for protection lies—provisions which insure placement by a person qualified through training and experience to understand the needs of a child in a foster-home.

NEED OF CASE WORK IN A PUBLIC RELIEF AGENCY

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AGAIN social work has "made" the front page. "Auditors Lash Social Workers—Rap Qualifications"—case records of the family service division are "practically worthless and might be considered as so much drivel and drool that has no bearing on the eligibility of the client"—work handled with "extreme negligence"—entire relief situation is "controlled and dominated by the social workers and their union." These are merely excerpts from a report of a state auditor as quoted last week in a newspaper which on the whole has been outstanding in its support of sound relief administration. One has been accustomed to seeing printed criticisms of case-work methods whether one lives in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Cleveland, or farther west. Some papers merely print those spicy bits which could hardly be ignored, but others search out information which will discredit case work. Only our incompetence has news value today, just as only our ingenuity and industry were stressed by the papers in 1932.

No social worker can read these attacks unmoved, and yet we go on struggling to introduce or maintain a case-work philosophy in our public relief agencies. Why do we believe that concern for each person, regardless of race or status—which is after all the essence of case-work philosophy—should be the cornerstone of both public and private social work? We constantly need to reaffirm and reclarify our own conviction so that we can intelligently answer criticism as well as hold on dogged-

ly. We need to study the question from two angles—from the point of view of the families who receive and from the point of view of the taxpayer.

First, let us examine some of the ways in which each client profits by having a case-work point of view permeate the agency. To begin with, such an organization recognizes the differing ways in which people are affected by apparently similar circumstances. All came because they saw no immediate possibility of self-support; for one, relief is merely an accustomed interlude between irregular jobs; to another, relief means the final admission of defeat; and to still another, relief spells comparative security after weeks of job-hunting and borrowing from friends. Bitter, self-accusing, meaching, and self-confident, they have only one thing in common—the belief that they need financial help. They feel different and they are different. Many times the attitudes and behavior as expressed to the workers are unattractive, and only as those workers can understand what makes one man belligerent and another whiny, can they avoid retaliation.

For instance, Joe Peele was insolent and irate during the first eighteen months he received relief from the public agency. He refused even to come to the office because "home visiting was what the worker was paid to do." He complained all over the city that the agency was starving him and his wife, although they received slightly more than the regular order, owing to Mr. Peele's special diet. He refused to consider W.P.A. work because, as he said, "No agency was going to put him in the 'woodyard.'" However, the worker was able to continue in spite of such attitudes, because this was the kind of person she saw underneath: A frail man of twenty-six, blonde and puny, who had held a job as stock-boy for eight years; an unexpected layoff a week after he had married an eighteen-year-old girl against the advice of both families; several months of job-hunting, during which he was continually being told he was "too little," "too young," "not strong enough," preceded his application for relief; a young wife who weepingly accused him

of marrying her under false pretenses—enough to make any man insolent and irate! Mr. Peele might well have been driven to actual physical violence if he had been criticized or blamed by the unemployment relief office. Instead, the worker reinforced his self-confidence, so that after two years he accepted a laboring job on a W.P.A. project. For many men this would not indicate great progress, but for Mr. Peele such a step was momentous. His attention was turned away from his own ill-health to a growing interest in supporting his family.

Case work tries to understand what each person is feeling underneath the layers of protective behavior which we all have. Only with such knowledge can a worker know the strengths in each situation which can be counted on to pull toward independence and the weakened areas which may lead to permanent dependence.

This case-work watchfulness of individual differences is not a detached viewing of human reactions. Case workers are interested in the people with whom they talk—whether they be eligible or not eligible for relief. They want to hear about the new baby and the Mister's operation, and they are concerned if the grocery order is late. This really caring about what happens to people is at the very core of our case-work philosophy. The private family agencies in the cities with poorly equipped public staffs constantly listen to such remarks as these from people receiving public relief: "They don't care whether we eat or starve," or "He just said, 'I'm too busy to listen to your troubles, I've got plenty of my own!'" Many times these individuals are not asking for additional money from the private agency, but need to talk to someone outside the family circle.

Often this concern for the welfare of each client is considered a luxury which only a well-staffed agency with a permanent program can afford. However, any social agency which becomes so enmeshed in mechanics and so absorbed in securing money that its workers cease to care about the Smith's coal or Gertrude's graduation is dying of dry rot. Frequently in times of emergency, administrative procedure must be altered if ade-

quate service to clients is to be maintained. We usually assume that each applicant for relief should have a personal interview with some degree of privacy. This spring the public agency in a smallish city in Michigan faced this decision. Owing to the closing of a large auto plant, over three hundred families came in almost simultaneously to ask for relief. The staff consists of an executive, a supervisor, eleven visitors, and one interviewer.

Should all visitors be removed from field work to interview, or should these appointments be scheduled almost a month in advance? Because this staff is concerned about people, they decided to experiment with group interviews. Twenty-five people at a time were taken into a room equipped with benches and tables. Application blanks and pencils were given all. At first the supervisor explained very simply the procedure and information needed by the agency. Then she went on to give an explanation of the philosophy of public relief administration. She emphasized that it was the right of every person who was without resources to have public assistance, since they had contributed to the unemployment relief fund when they were working, by paying taxes. However, since the fund was limited, it was necessary for the public agency to select only the people who were unable to make some other arrangements. Consequently, they were being asked for information about their debts and resources. If any person could not manage until the visitor called at their home within a few days, they were to leave a note with their application blank and wait in the hall. These people would be seen by a visitor before the office closed. Interestingly enough, a few clients seem to prefer this method of applying for relief, and some returned blank forms with the statement that they thought they could manage a while longer, since money was not unlimited. Such an application method certainly would not be preferred to immediate private interviews, but in an emergency, adaptations can be made by a staff that is really thinking of the welfare of the people who are asking for help.

The handling of relief funds seems very simple to those who

have never pondered on the power which is concentrated within relief-giving; unleashed, it can destroy morale and self-respect; harnessed, it can preserve courage and rebuild self-confidence. The keystone to sound relief administration is fairness. In other words, everyone who is eligible for relief under the organization's policies should be able to secure financial help, whether or not he is civil or rude. Often township poor masters have a tendency to work off old grudges or present irritations by considering not a family's resources but their reputation and courtesy. Case work brings a disciplined use of power.

Fairness plus flexibility is needed when one is working with people who react with varying degrees of anxiety to financial insecurity. By this is not meant an overlooking of agency relief policies because a man sobs or a woman threatens suicide. But take, for instance, Mr. Bradley—a man with graying hair, who had been a maintenance man in the Austin Building since 1925. As he talked to the interviewer, Mr. Bradley's hands shook constantly and he had difficulty in expressing his need for relief. He explained that he had known layoff periods before, but this time the building superintendent had returned his social-security card. He felt that this was the end. He and his only son, a boy of nineteen, had together searched the town for work. At each place the employment man had told Mr. Bradley that he was too old and Raymond that he was too young. Mrs. Bradley suffered from rheumatism and had never worked outside her home. Loans have been made them by friends to the sum of \$200. Mr. Bradley asked for immediate help. The interviewer explained that before relief was granted it was necessary to check employment information. This would take several days, but a visitor would call in their home to make final plans within a week. Mr. Bradley became very tense and nervous. His hands shook violently, his eyes watered, and he held his head as though he were in terrific pain. His reaction was one of severe panic. He muttered that he didn't know what to do. If only the agency would give him something—anything—it would help. If only the boss hadn't given him back his social-security card. The case worker recognized that Mr. Bradley needed

some tangible evidence that he was not stranded without hope of a job or relief. She could not give an emergency grocery order, since this privilege had been withdrawn because of a financial crisis through which the agency was struggling. She decided to offer him a card for federal surplus commodities. With care, she explained the type and amount of merchandise which would be available. Mr. Bradley grasped at the idea. His violent shaking subsided, and he remarked that he guessed they could borrow a bit more from friends. As he carefully placed his commodity card in his wallet, he mentioned that he was putting it in with his social-security card. The possession of this commodity card seemed to give Mr. Bradley the same kind of reassurance that he had formerly felt when the building superintendent had retained his social-security card during a layoff period.

The potatoes and cabbage, which were the commodities available at this time, were not the things which allayed Mr. Bradley's panic. It was the case worker's recognition that he was at the end of his emotional tether. The area in which she could be flexible with relief was small, but she utilized that narrow margin. Flexibility in the handling of relief does not mean sloppy financial investigations. Rather, case work stresses individualization within existing limitations.

However, if fairness and flexibility are to operate soundly, workers in a public agency must be aware of the meaning of relief in each client's life. There would not be so many instances of children considering the agency visitor in the role of parent, if the workers had foreseen that taking Mary a pretty dress from the sewing center and giving John a shoe order at the office was certain to confuse the children's loyalties. Of course mothers and fathers want their children to turn to them with requests, whether or not the money which supports the family is earned or comes in the form of relief. Wise visitors are careful to discuss relief problems only with the parents and always to allow the mother or father to give the children any article brought into the home.

Relief is not a cure-all in itself. Alone it is merely a socialized

method of preventing acute mental and physical distress. Furthermore, relief frequently disturbs that delicate balance between dependence and independence which exists in all of us. And most confusing of all, these two opposites often masquerade for each other. It takes skilful observation to recognize that the signposts which point to independence often lead to dependence. A little about Andrew Thomas and his wife, Edna, may clarify this idea. The Thomas' were married as soon as Andrew found his first job. This was September, 1937, and both of them were twenty. He earned good money, \$30 a week, until the plant closed in April. They had managed well—current expenses were up to date, a bedroom suite and Easter outfits for both were entirely paid for. Fifty dollars had been saved for emergencies, and this was gone before Mr. Thomas came to the agency. He asked for help in finding a job, protesting that they did not want relief. At the end of this interview the worker explained that the agency had no access to jobs in private industry, but suggested that they did have several work-relief projects. She added that only a small sum over the budgetary amount was given, but some people preferred to feel that they had earned the money they received.

Now why did this interviewer offer Mr. Thomas work for relief rather than direct relief? First, she knew from his own story that he had worked only seven and a half months—a short time to firmly establish a work habit. Second, his very insistence on getting a job indicated that he needed to reassure himself that he was a self-reliant man. Both of these are danger signals which the worker with foresight heeds. Case work is far from knowing all the subtleties of relief-handling, but fifty years of experience have taught many pitfalls to avoid as well as some short cuts.

This knowledge of relief also plays an important role in the formation of constructive agency policies. Frequently, public relief offices make rulings which ignore all human considerations. Did the agencies who denied all childless couples financial assistance on the theory that the wife could enter maid

service and the husband work on a farm ever estimate the destruction to family life which was caused by such a ruling? Anyone who has worked in a public relief organization knows that some limitations are statutory and others are self-imposed. Naturally, any public agency must work within obligatory rules, but case-work thinking can often soften the rigidity of these. All of us have less resentment to things we understand. When grocery orders must be sharply cut without warning, the least that a staff can do is to give as full explanation as possible to each family. Often this is not enough, and then it is our responsibility to endure the bitterness which is sure to be heaped upon the workers. A hard task to demand from any staff when usually the offending restriction was not of their doing and usually not to their liking. However, an agency imbued with real concern for people has a better foundation for meeting this kind of situation than those organizations to whom an order is just an order.

Often, the staff does have the opportunity to formulate the manner in which certain matters can be handled. For instance, most public agencies can determine their own procedure for handling deception cases—those families who have received relief to which they were not entitled. No group of clients is harder to approach, no group of clients needs more individual study before the agency makes final decisions. Some have merely postponed for a few weeks the reporting of the new-found job, so that the most pressing debts can be met. Some are convinced that a child's wages should not affect their relief grant. Others, without doubt, have carefully planned to conceal resources—a substantial bank account or a well paying job. In all cases, the important thing to discover is, "Why did they do it?" because usually the family has some justification which is convincing to them. Our courts always consider contributory causes in any crime, even murder, so certainly a relief agency should study the causative factors as well as the act itself. If the same punishment is meted out to all, injustice will be done to some. It is important to avoid such unfairness, because

few things cause such lasting bitterness as punishment which is thought to be unwarranted. If agency procedure is tempered by a case-work approach, policies can be made humane as well as practical.

Opportunities outside the relief agency should also be available to the families without means of self-support. The visitor in the public field should know where and how and when to suggest physical examinations, swimming lessons, and vocational tests, as well as the help of a person skilled in handling severe emotional problems. It may seem that the offering of such community services is only a matter of common sense and a knowledge of the city's social service program. This equipment will undoubtedly be enough in some instances, but what of the woman who has a lump on her breast, but who refuses to consider medical help? She is afraid of doctors and hospitals because she has heard that you never come back alive. Reasoning has no effect. Patience and understanding are needed to help her decide to see a doctor. Careful preparation of the hospital for her arrival must be arranged. Then there are the children who greatly need summer-camp life, but whose mothers cannot bear to be separated from them, even though the boys and girls are in their early teens. Just the address of the settlement house which runs summer camps will mean nothing. There must be months of gradual reassurance to each mother and a building-up of new interests for her. Small independent ventures must be planned for the children, so that they, too, will be interested in leaving home for a couple of weeks. All this indicates is that only the most stable individuals on relief will avail themselves of community opportunities without more help than an address. The agency which lacks a case-work point of view will never take the time to learn why some people don't pick up suggestions. Such workers tend to class the shy, the fearful, the cautious, as shiftless or lazy. All of these are sound reasons for believing that the public relief agency which is guided by a case-work point of view can be of lasting help to its clients. The workers are less impulsive in their decisions

because they are interested in learning more about each family than financial information. Staffs with this deeper concept of their work realize that each family's experience with relief today vitally influences the pattern of their life tomorrow.

Now let us examine some of the reasons why the person not on relief, in other words, the taxpayer, may well want the public unemployment relief agency to be guided by case-work principles. We all know that money for relief purposes is not unlimited. On the whole, our citizens are willing that relief recipients be kindly treated, but the average taxpayer is more anxious that the expenditures of relief funds be decreased. If both things can be done, he is well satisfied; but there has been a growing conviction in the public mind that social workers pamper relief clients and encourage them to remain on the relief rolls. This leads the public to believe that a case-work point of view is opposed to sound relief administration. Is the public correct in this assumption?

Honesty is certainly a basic essential to any organization which operates on good business methods. This at least can be found in a public agency which has case-work leadership. Of all the various and sundry accusations brought against case workers during the last three years, dishonesty is not one. The public may assume that social workers are sentimental and impractical, but their personal integrity in handling public moneys has seldom been attacked. This is really a quite remarkable record when one realizes the hundreds of millions of dollars which social workers have distributed since 1930.

Admittedly, though sometimes grudgingly, social workers have a reputation for honesty. But the keynote of most criticisms is: "Social workers are inefficient." That tax-raised money is squandered needlessly is the battle cry. Certainly, efficient procedure is desirable, and sometimes social agencies have made errors of judgment. However, perhaps the confusion lies in a different interpretation of the word efficiency. To many people in the community, efficiency means producing results with the minimum of effort and expense. To people

with a background of social work, efficiency means producing results with the minimum of expense, but always with an eye to the human values involved. Many times this means that a businessman would advocate one method and the relief agency another. About a year ago one public agency was notified of a sharp budget cut to take effect immediately. This was at four-thirty in the afternoon on the twelfth of the month. Period grocery orders were being stamped for mailing the next day. The auditing department suggested that the amount lacking should be divided by the number of families and figured that each family would receive \$2.25 less than usual for the next fifteen days. On the other hand, the family-service department thought of the unfairness to the small family who would in many instances have only two-thirds of their regular order. Instead of an arbitrary cut which would have been far simpler mechanically, each budget was refigured according to the size of the family, so that the deduction was made on a percentage basis. Extra work, of course—their entire staff worked until midnight both nights—but the orders were received by the clients on the sixteenth, when they were due. To the auditing department this was inefficiency. But was it, in the long run? Disgruntled clients did not accuse visitors of favoritism. Single persons and couples did not fill the waiting-rooms demanding supplementary orders. There was no building up of resentment against the agency, which would later make difficulties. Social workers have learned that it is often wise to abandon immediate short cuts for long-time efficiency.

As this incident illustrates, agencies which care about the people they help do not consider that producing results with the minimum of effort is the crux of efficiency. Probably no group of people work harder and with less complaint—for inadequate and irregular pay—than do public relief workers. They work hard because they are interested in what they are doing. Laziness is not a charge brought against them, and this surely is an essential factor in a well-run business establishment.

The public agency which is interested in a client's future-

life adjustment meets severe criticism from many quarters. Workers are told by public officials to stick to relief and not to try any fancy business. Yet, in the long run, the agency which stresses the need of helping people individually again to become self-supporting will save tax funds. Mrs. Stevenson and her daughter Agnes will serve to illustrate this point. In 1922, Mrs. Stevenson was left a widow in a small Georgia town. She had to support her one-year-old daughter, and she felt that a large northern city would provide more jobs. So she came to Cleveland. For ten years she clerked in department stores, and Agnes was boarded in a licensed home. Mrs. Stevenson worked hard during this period, because board money for the child and living expenses for herself took every cent of her \$18 a week. In 1932 she had her appendix removed in an emergency operation. In her own words, "No one gave me a chance to get well. After two weeks I had to go back to the store, and I just couldn't stand being on my feet all day, so I gave out." She literally did retire to her bed, where she remained most of the time for the next three years. Friends helped at first, then the public relief agency began to give food and room rent. Agnes soon came home to care for her invalid mother. Various doctors could find no physical basis for Mrs. Stevenson's ill-health, and yet every time she stood up she was overcome with nausea and dizziness. The family was visited regularly by a series of untrained workers, who made excellent financial plans. One visitor became concerned about Agnes. The girl was sixteen by this time, and her entire life other than school was devoted to her mother. This visitor referred the family to a worker with professional training who was also employed by the public agency.

For two years efforts have been made to encourage Mrs. Stevenson toward self-support. With the help of the visiting nurse who had visited daily for years, Mrs. Stevenson was encouraged to sit up, first five minutes a day, then ten, etc. Then she began to comb her hair and to wash her own face. Slowly, the case worker introduced picture magazines; reading had been impossible for several years, owing to dizziness. After six

months the woman was spending an hour a day in a chair by the window. Agnes had not been forgotten, but caution was shown in not becoming outwardly too concerned with the daughter. However, a near-by church proved acceptable to the mother, so Agnes did see a few young people. Finally, Mrs. Stevenson listlessly did a little housework. Then came the day when she disliked Agnes' selection of shoes for herself and went to the corner store to exchange them. Soon after that, the case worker was amazed to learn that Agnes and her mother had been driven to Niagara and back with friends. Of course, all was not upward progress; one time when the rent check was unavoidably delayed because of lack of funds, Mrs. Stevenson had a fainting spell and remained in bed three weeks. This month, however, Mrs. Stevenson has been certified to a W.P.A. sewing project and is considering applying for a job at the store where she formerly worked. She probably will have setbacks, but with some further protection she may well be self-supporting again, as she has a good work record behind her. Agnes has been able to have dates and bring a few friends home. At this moment she is engaged to a boy from the near-by church, of whom her mother approves. It did take time and effort to make this transition from bed to work, but aside from human considerations, isn't it worth it financially to the community? Mrs. Stevenson is now only thirty-nine. Had she continued to be an invalid, the public would have had two people to support for twenty or thirty years. Agnes would have had no opportunity either to work outside the home or to make friends, because her mother demanded her constant attention. Individually, the Stevensons benefited by case-work skill, and socially and financially the community profited.

So frequently the public is interested and anxious to assist the people who they feel are "worthy or deserving of help." These families are often the ones who have the strength and determination to carry on alone, if they can receive enough financial help to tide them over an emergency. The less appealing persons, who are slowly disintegrating into dependence be-

cause they cannot stand the pressures of unemployment or illness, should concern all of us. To help restore their desire to be self-supporting or at least to prevent their further breakdown is a task which takes untold patience and an intimate knowledge of when and where to help. Socially, it is important that as many men and women as possible return to work. A public agency which is keenly interested in the personal development of each client can contribute vitally to this end.

The future development of our country may well be changed if our public relief agencies cease to be influenced in their administration by case-work principles. Always, professional social workers have maintained that political affiliation, religion, or race had no bearing on a person's right to financial help if he were without resources. This principle is fundamental to a democratic form of government. Yet, today, one sees seeping into the relief program another philosophy. For instance, a bill for relief appropriations recently introduced into one state legislature contained this statement: "The following information and no other is needed to determine an applicant's eligibility for relief—number of persons in family; resources and pertinent information such as political affiliations and religious faith." It takes little imagination to visualize the power which could be massed behind any political leader if votes can be bought by relief money. It is very well to argue that an American citizen could not be influenced in such a manner, but what if that same citizen has no possibility of work and a wife and children to provide for? It is estimated that one out of every four persons is or has been receiving financial assistance from a public agency. The possibility of political maneuvers are far reaching. It should be remembered by the thinking persons in every community that all public agencies which have their roots in case-work philosophy have fought any encroachment on a client's freedom to vote and worship as he pleases.

Thus, it would seem that both the recipients of public relief and the contributors to the relief funds gain by having an infiltration of case-work thinking. The client is served by a work-

er who has a real interest in his welfare, who individualizes his problems, who sees that relief is given fairly and thoughtfully, and who musters for him the available resources of the community. All this aims toward restoring him to the greatest possible measure of independence and self-support. The taxpayer has in his employ an honest, hard-working, efficient staff which is highly resistant to political pressure. Their chief interest is the same as his own—the prevention of human disintegration and the rebuilding of self-sustaining families.

CO-OPERATIVE CASE-WORK SERVICES TO SICK PEOPLE IN RURAL AREAS

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JIMMY K. is one of the people who decided to write to the President. A farm boy of sixteen, with back and legs crippled by an old infantile paralysis, he needed new braces, and asked the President to help him get them. Through the usual transfers, Jimmy's letter reached the social service department of his state hospital, and his county social worker was asked to look into his situation. It was found that Jimmy had been a patient of the hospital during his early childhood, before the organization of the social service department. When Jimmy was six, the doctors had recommended operative treatment, but his parents, afraid of any surgery, had taken him from the hospital against medical advice. Subsequently he had almost no medical attention, but as he grew into his teens he attempted to make his own braces out of those which had been furnished him by the hospital earlier. The county social worker reported: "He is very interested in live stock and in all phases of farming; in spite of his handicap he will attempt the hardest work on the place. He regularly milks four cows, feeds the calves, and does the separating. The worker did not see him because at the time of the call he was helping his father fix fences." The family, while self-maintaining, could not afford to pay for orthopedic care, and both the parents and Jimmy were under the impression that he could not ask for readmission to the state hospital because of the unsatisfactory ending of the contact ten years before.

On the basis of the county social worker's report, it was possi-

ble to make arrangements for the boy's return to the hospital for examination, and the county social worker discussed such a plan with the K.'s, who accepted it gladly. The orthopedic surgeons found definite increase in deformity in Jimmy's back and legs, with marked compensatory development of the back and shoulder muscles, and ordered new braces for a preliminary period before any operative work should be considered. Through the explanation and interpretation of the social workers and physicians, the K. family was ready to co-operate fully with the doctors and felt that if operation should be recommended later Jimmy would be old enough to make his own decision. On successive visits to the hospital he has been managing well with his braces and walks comfortably.

Jimmy demonstrates some problems especially characteristic of a rural setting. Although physical fitness was particularly important to him in his life as a farm boy and in his desire to go on with farm work, when contact with the hospital broke down he continued without orthopedic care for ten years, uncomplaining. His handicap was accepted by his family and friends, and he had no contacts which aroused question as to continued orthopedic treatment. Because the family was self-maintaining, he did not come to the attention of county officials or relief agency. Only when Jimmy took it upon himself to write to the President were the wheels set in motion which resulted in his coming into touch again with the resources which his larger community, the state, could offer, and in his receiving a helpful interpretation of what would be involved in his return to the hospital.

Increasingly, writers on rural life, including those discussing social work in rural areas, are calling to our attention fallacies in the old assumptions that life on the farm is essentially healthier and more wholesome than that in the city. I do not think realists ever believed that farm living was without problems, but there were many people who felt that the problems of crowded cities were so much more serious that farm people could be left to look out for themselves. Certainly farm life may be both

healthful and wholesome, but the appalling inadequacies in housing, nutrition, medical care, education, and vocational training, and recreation, which confront the worker with low-income families on farms and in small towns, convince her of the validity of emphasis on rural areas in the new governmental welfare programs.

Distance, physical and psychological, is an integral factor in rural medical-social problems. In a scattered population there are fewer contacts to modify behavior, and people are less likely to be exposed to health education and to new ideas in community organization. Not only are medical and social resources more limited because there are fewer people to support them within a given area, but problems of transportation make it more difficult for people to utilize those that do exist. Sometimes there are notable efforts in overcoming physical distance in order to use needed resources, but these represent the exceptional rather than the typical.

Case situations such as the following are representative of problems confronting medical and community social workers in a rural state.

A six-year-old girl with post-rheumatic fever and definite heart damage lives with her family of seven in a one-room log cabin, fifteen miles off hard-surfaced roads. The family's adherence to an extreme fatalistic religious belief complicates the problem of arranging adequate convalescent care, and when winter sets in the child is effectively marooned from medical supervision.

During hospitalization for a newly diagnosed diabetes, an elderly woman refuses to permit referral to her county social agency for assistance in securing diabetic supplies and insulin, because all relief grants are published weekly in the county newspapers, and she cannot bear to have her need for public assistance known to the whole community. She is thereby cut off as well from a case-work service which might help an evident unhappiness and discouragement too deep-seated for treatment during the medical social worker's contact.

The youngest child of an Italian miner's large family shows little improvement in a tuberculosis of the spine over several years of treatment at home. The doctors feel that sanatorium care should be substituted for the well-meaning efforts of the parents, who cannot refuse the child any request. The nearest sanatorium is more than a hundred miles away, and the family is unable, during brief contact at the hospital, to accept the idea of separation.

Change of environment, recommended by the psychiatrist for a young married woman suffering from a gastric neurosis associated with living next to the railroad tracks on which one of her children was killed, is halted by the fact that there is no empty house in the small town where her husband has steady work.

The very factors of distance, scattered population, and limited medical and social resources which account for many of the medical-social problems in rural areas emphasize the importance of co-operation in case-work services to rural people. The rural community cannot afford the services of resident experts in numerous professional fields, but through medical centers, district health units, consolidated schools, and field consultants in social welfare, a more skilled and adequate professional service can be offered.

As specific demonstration, I shall take the relationship between medical social workers in a central hospital in a rural state and social workers in the local communities, as they are jointly concerned in giving a rounded service to sick people in rural areas. "Rural" is here considered as including the small town surrounded by open country. "Case work" is given its broadest definition—pressures of work and poverty of organized resources inevitably mean that the greatest volume of service must be given in terms of material assistance and modification of environment. If, in our thinking, we can substitute for case work its simpler synonym, "helping," we shall avoid the difficulties inherent in trying to apply to a pioneer situation exact definitions worked out in the highly specialized city agency.

Three essentials of co-operative case work stand out as of particular importance in service to sick people in rural areas: first, a good case-work job by each agency in its own contact with the patient; second, adequate exchange of information between agencies; third, mutual understanding and acceptance of organization, functions, and limitations. Relating these to our demonstration situation, let us consider first the content of the "good case-work job" for the county social worker and medical social worker.

The county social worker is the person most likely to be able to maintain contact with the sick person over a long period of time—she has the opportunity of knowing him in relation to his home, his family, his work, the community resources, and limitations. She may be able to offer, within her own limitations of time, funds, etc., a complete family case-work service. Often the county social worker is the first one to recognize the health problem, and it is a frequent responsibility of hers to make known the resources for treatment, to interpret the values of medical care, and to assist in arranging for such care. If she can help the patient prepare, emotionally, for his hospital experience, he is less likely to present the tension, fear, and anxiety which make the physicians' work difficult, in terms of the patient's co-operation in treatment and of his physical reaction. When the county social worker is doing an adequate case-work job in her own contact with the patient, not necessarily elaborate or intensive service, but such that he knows of her interest in helping and her acceptance of him as a person, the patient will carry over into his contact with the medical social worker his positive reaction to case-work service. The very limitations in which the single-county social worker carrying a relief load of several hundred persons must function, make a skilled approach in the briefest contacts vital.

After the patient's return from the hospital the county social worker carries principal responsibility for case-work help during convalescence or continued illness. In this she will often depend on the medical social worker's report of medical findings and treatment recommendations. She is the one usually having to assist in arranging convalescent or continued medical care, supplementation of diet, purchase of medications. Because of her prolonged contact with the patient, she may be in the best position to assist him in securing vocational training or rehabilitation. Even where field social service offers her consultation help in working out problems which the patient presents after his return home, she is the one who can offer continuity of service, who is in the community and knows those elements of

community life which touch the patient and his problem. She finds herself using every bit of knowledge of disease conditions and their social implications which she possesses, and sometimes needing more.

What of the medical social worker in the hospital, and what constitutes adequate case work on her part? Within the time limits imposed on her by the purposes of the medical institution, skill in brief contacts is of great importance. We believe increasingly that the case worker must know how to make any contact meaningful, and this need is particularly clear when arbitrary time limits on contact between case worker and client are imposed from without.

The patient at some distance from home must endure homesickness, worry over family affairs, and apprehension about his hospital experience without the relief afforded by frequent visits from relatives and friends. Often the medical social worker can help him to express verbally his worry and apprehension and can take concrete steps toward reassurance, through the help of the local social worker. If the hospital is large and the social service department small, however, her contact with a patient needing her service may depend upon referral by the local worker.

Although the medical social worker in the central hospital is meeting the characteristic problems of disease and its social implications, she realizes that she sees the patient out of his own setting and during a limited period of time. When the necessity arises for an objective report of the patient's home and family background and his adjustment in his own community, she must rely on the services of the local social worker. When it is apparent that the patient is in need of services extending past the period of his hospitalization, she must consider what resources will be available to meet his need and go about the job of referral expertly, individualizing the community and local agency so as to secure the maximum service possible in a given situation. She must see the patient and his need as part of a pattern influenced by such factors as the period of time during which case-work services can be carried on in the hos-

pital and the community, the capacity of local personnel to offer services needed, the possibility of accessory services if the local community lacks adequate resources. Often study of this pattern results in a decision not to attempt intensive service, not because the patient rejects it, but because there is no assurance of continuity of service and because the worker realizes the danger in stirring up consciousness of problems which cannot be helped. The interpretive report of the medical problem and treatment recommendations sent out by the medical social worker may be of the greatest help to the local worker in giving her understanding of the patient's need. Such reports constitute one of the most important responsibilities of the case worker in the central hospital.

Another fact which stands out in the experience of case-work agencies co-operating to meet health problems of rural people is the need for adequate exchange of information between agencies; not only factual data, but evaluation and analysis as well. Each agency needs to share the other's understanding of the patient; when this is not passed on from one to another there may be costly repetition of inquiry, distressing to the patient, and less complete insight into the patient's needs. When agencies are at a distance from one another and cannot be in touch with the patient simultaneously, it is particularly important that their understanding of him be shared through exchange of information.

In the demonstration situation which we have been considering, the principal means of exchange of information must be the letter. This is true even where some field service from the central agency is available, since there must often be interchange of information and planning when the field worker cannot be on the ground. The values of the letter as a tool in co-operative case work have not received sufficient emphasis in our training and literature, judging by the general quality of letters seen in a central agency. Surely it is possible for any professional person to learn to state clearly the purpose of a letter and to set down clearly and concisely the facts pertinent to the given situation. I should like to think that case workers

were able, in addition, to write in a vivid style which would help in passing on clear pictures of the people and situations with which they work. Good letter-writers are trained, not born, but too few case workers have been sufficiently concerned with training in this valuable skill.

Sending too much information to a co-operating agency is almost as undesirable as sending too little. Undigested facts in social history have little value for anyone, and unless the material secured through social inquiry has been analyzed and evaluated, it is not ready to be sent on to the co-operating agency. With rare exceptions, sending a copy of the case record instead of an interpretive report is a confession of inadequacy on the part of the agency. I speak with some feeling on this point, out of an experience in which receiving a good report is still the exception rather than the rule.

In considering exchange of information between co-operating case-work agencies, the obligation of the specialized agency to interpret its own data should be mentioned. It is especially necessary that the medical social worker restate technical medical terminology in terms having meaning for the person who receives her letter. Adequate exchange of information often implies not only facts about a given case situation but also a description of the circumstances under which service is given, i.e., details regarding institution or community as they may affect the functioning of the case worker. This leads logically into our next thesis, that co-operative case work involves mutual understanding and acceptance of organization, functions, and limitations.

This, again, may seem to be a statement of the obvious, yet when co-operating agencies are at a distance from one another and direct conference is almost never possible, mutual understanding and acceptance gain significance. To the worker in the central agency particularly, it may seem an overwhelming task to know enough about a hundred different communities and agencies to be able to co-operate effectively with each. However, this is a point at which skill can be developed, if the need is recognized. Contact through field service is, of course, the

most valuable single means of getting to know communities, but much help is available when field service does not exist. Directories of state and regional organizations and of national professional groups give information about local agencies and personnel. Departments of the state government, extension divisions of colleges and universities, newspapers of general circulation throughout the territory, contacts in professional meetings, experience in individual cases, and direct inquiry, all have their values. The case worker involved in long-range co-operation in territory where social organization is limited must learn how to gather, evaluate, and preserve a great deal of information about the agencies and communities with which she works.

It is important that the case worker in the central agency be able to make the delicate distinction between accepting necessary limitations of agency or community and letting a needed service go unstimulated. The social service staff in a central hospital has sometimes been asked by county social workers: "Why do you send us recommendations which cannot be carried out?" I do not believe that this question would be asked in a situation in which fully effective co-operative case work was being done. The medical social worker can only answer that, in passing on recommendations, she is, in a sense, an agent for the physician, who outlines those procedures which will assure the patient optimum opportunity for health. Given knowledge of irremediable limitations in the local community, he may be able to modify his recommendations to outline the next best possibility. When each agency accepts the fact that the other is trying to give the best possible service within its limitations, when each accepts the obligation to state its own limitations if these are not obvious, and to work out joint policy in problem situations, there will not be the complaint that one is asking the other for impossible service.

Co-operative case work embodying the principles outlined was a significant factor in treatment of the following situation:

When Wilma, 3½, was brought to the hospital because of recently developed symptoms of irritability, failure to talk, blinking of the eyes, and odd motions of the right hand and leg, physicians and psychiatrists could not de-

termine whether she was suffering from a post-encephalitic condition or from a deep-seated personality disorder, and asked the medical social worker's assistance. As she knew the county social worker to be a person of trained insight into psychiatric problems, the medical social worker asked her cooperation in securing pertinent social history and carrying out possible treatment recommendations. After contact with the child's family, the county social worker sent a detailed social history, which, however, revealed no significant etiological factor. The doctors then decided to try a period of boarding-home care near the hospital, and this recommendation was passed on to the county social worker, who assisted in interpreting the plan to the parents, and secured from the county board of supervisors, authorization for payment from public funds. On the parents' occasional visits to Wilma in the hospital and boarding-home, the medical social worker had contact with them and kept the county social worker informed.

In the boarding-home Wilma gradually began to behave more normally, to lose her jerky movements, and to talk with the other children. As she became rather excited after the parents' occasional visits, the medical social worker arranged for them to confer with the psychiatrist, to gain more insight into her problem. Although there was no final agreement as to Wilma's underlying diagnosis, she improved sufficiently in four months of boarding-home care so that the doctors decided that she could go home, under supervision of the county social worker. At the last report she had largely recovered from her original symptoms, and it was felt that the family had been helped to an understanding of sound methods of child care.

The experience of carrying on co-operative case work with sick people in rural areas brings one to certain generalizations, notable chiefly for their agreement with the findings in case-work practice elsewhere: that the case worker is always responsible for use of her skill within the limits of her particular situation; that when the client's need cannot be met by one agency alone, it is a basic responsibility of each agency to give adequate co-operative service; that it is as important to individualize the community and agency as the person, particularly when the case worker in a central agency must be able to make discriminating referral to any one of many local agencies; that any tool in case work merits effort toward its most effective use, and that when the letter is such a tool, good letter-writing becomes an obligation.

THE ROLE OF THE PRIVATE AGENCY: CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

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UNTIL very recent years, the average community had not thought clearly nor far ahead on this question of division of function between public and private in its child-care program. Such tax-supported agencies as were in existence for the care of children were usually congregate institutions, juvenile detention homes, state, county, or city institutions for delinquent or dependent children. In many instances children were committed to juvenile courts, and no subsequent case-work service was available to them or to their families. Far too often, these institutions became mere dumping grounds for children, whose need for care had become an immediate problem to the community. Once that problem was settled, it was easy to forget the children's places until overcrowded conditions in some particular institution brought them again to the community's attention. Then, perhaps, there would be a house cleaning, and those children who had any semblance of a place to go, would be turned out in a pretty haphazard manner.

Simultaneously, in the private field, there came into being all over the country, children's institutions supported by churches, lodges, and various other philanthropically minded groups. Often, there was little attempt to correlate the actual needs of the community with the benevolent urges of the sponsoring organization, so that a dozen orphanages might spring up in one community which could have been better served by one adequately staffed child-placing agency. The church-and-lodge-

supported institutions were often expected to serve several states, and it was not unusual for children to be transported for placement several hundred miles away from their families. Where too many such orphanages existed side by side, some of them found themselves in the embarrassing position of having to solicit children to fill their buildings.

In the heyday of institutions, the child was considered as a detached individual, almost unidentified with his family. Placement plans for the child often overlooked the fact that although physically separated from his family his emotional ties remained unbroken. Gradually, however, it became apparent that the needs of a child could not be met in a well-rounded fashion merely by supplying him with shelter and a busy daily routine. It was important to know him not only as an individual but also as a member of his own family in the little world of which he had been a part before he came to the institution. Thus came the realization that case-work service was essential to any well-integrated child-placing program. Thus, too, came the dawning appreciation that an institution, no matter how well set up, could never be a substitute for a child's own family. The institution might have its valuable uses for him, temporarily, but if his family could not fulfil its function for him, the best service which the community could offer was to provide a substitute family as nearly in keeping with his needs and potentialities as possible.

Only now is the general public beginning to accept the fact that a tax-supported foster-home program is a practical and logical solution of the problem of care for that large group of children for whom the community must accept responsibility for prolonged periods.

As in other fields of social work, so in the child-placing field, the private agency has been the experiment station for testing out new practices, for discarding antiquated ideals and philosophies that have been proved unsound. The history of the private agency varies from community to community, but everywhere it has established itself as the medium of interpreting to

the public what has been found sound in the newer trends and practices in child welfare. It has everywhere been the leader in converting those community experiments of yesterday that have effectively proved themselves into the practical ideal of today and the accepted public practice of tomorrow. Public opinion changes slowly and, by and large, can be reached more easily through its feelings or through its purse strings than through an appeal to reason. It is an annoyingly lethargic patron at times, appearing to condone evils or haphazard practices rather than to seek information or combat issues which have no individual personal threat. In many communities the private children's agency has played and must continue to play the aggressive fact-finder, critic and interpreter of conditions and practices in the community, which menace the welfare of children. Private agencies in many states have been the leaders in promoting legislation to safeguard the rights of children and to protect them from exploitation.

Fifty years ago, the average community had never heard of a children's agency. It might have an orphan asylum or a wing in the poorhouse, to house those unfortunate waifs who had no other means of shelter. It probably did have a thriving organization for the protection of animals, known as a humane society. Children whose families could not or would not provide for them were placed out by the community authorities in whatever manner was most convenient. Sometimes they were taken in by families whose motives might be mercenary, religious, or humanitarian, but their mere willingness to provide for the children was usually sufficient guaranty of their "worthiness" as foster-parents. Many of these children were adopted, and some of them had as good homes as the best child-placing agencies could find them today. Many of them, however, were merely unpaid little drudges, who grew up without status or feeling of belonging to anyone. How many of them would have been separated from their families if they had lived fifty years later?

As communities grew larger and more complicated in their organization, the number of children neglected multiplied, and

it soon became apparent that an authorized agency was needed to handle such complaints. What could be simpler than to give the humane societies the additional function of protecting children? The philosophy for dealing with both children and animals was about the same. If a child or animal was abused or neglected, he was removed after threats and warnings had proved unavailing. A new and more adequate shelter was found for him, and the matter was considered settled. However, it soon became apparent that a service for children must offer something else besides food, shelter, and clothing. In many of the larger centers, family agencies, always the foremost pioneers in developing case-work standards, were beginning to discover that removing children from their own homes was not always the wise remedy in cases of alleged cruelty or neglect. In any case, it was to be tried only as a last resort. It was the family agency, then usually known as the Associated Charities, that first insisted upon a social diagnosis before any social action was taken. A dispassionate assembling of factual data in response to a complaint of cruelty often revealed a family situation that could be relieved without scattering the family.

In time, the humane societies began to borrow technique from the family agencies, and gradually the investigators and agents were replaced by case workers who had been especially trained for their jobs. Children still needed to be removed from their own families, either temporarily or permanently, despite the most valiant efforts of family case work. Death, illness, and social and mental incompetence all took their toll in family disintegration. The new generation of child welfare workers set themselves the task of learning to apply the knowledge gained from other fields of social work and from related professions such as law, medicine, psychiatry, and education, in meeting the needs of those children who came under their care.

The private family agency has pioneered in child welfare, either more or less incidentally, because the job had to be done, or as a part of a far-seeing plan. In some communities it offered case-work service to the established orphanages, in others it

maintained a child-placing department within the agency, which, later, when its usefulness had been accepted in the community, broke off from the parent stem and formed the nucleus for a new children's agency.

Thus, the modern private child-care agency has sprung from a variety of ancestors. In general, the old humane society was the progenitor of what is usually thought of as protective work for children, while the old-time orphan asylums and the private family agencies fathered the early program for dependent children. The philosophy of foster-family placements has come down to us from much farther back, since we have recorded evidence that the ancient Jews long before Christ had a well-developed foster-home program. Basically, there is nothing new in the modern child-care agency except its organization, its terminology, and perhaps its emphases. Certainly, child welfare, in common with other fields of social work, as well as education, has tended more and more in the last generation to emphasize the individuals with whom it deals rather than social problems and their solution. Mental hygiene has given us new tools for understanding and helping the individual. The social worker is no longer the irate agent of righteousness, bent on dealing vengeance and righting wrongs. The child welfare worker is still protecting children, but today she is less certain of what she is protecting them from. She has come to question those judgmental classifications of the past by which people were glibly labeled as good or bad. We still talk of dependency and protective work, but we are less certain of the validity of our distinctions. Technically, perhaps, the protective case is one which requires authoritative backing to insure fair dealing for the child. Yet, there is still much confusion in our thinking as to what constitutes a constructive use of authority. There is a wide variation of procedure in various communities in protective work for children, not only because each agency has its own policies and each state its own laws, but also because the administration of law may differ even from county to county within one state. In almost all communities,

however, the protection of children from abuse or hazardous influences has been conceived of as technically a public responsibility, whether or not there were tax-supported facilities for the subsequent care of those children.

Until very recently, the lines of demarcation between public and private responsibility in children's work were not sharply defined, but were determined largely by expediency and the existing facilities in the community. Not ten years ago, in many parts of the country, foster-home programs were still regarded with suspicion, and case-work services for children were still on trial. Gradually, however, the philosophy of the private child-care agency was becoming entrenched in the public thinking, and the community was shifting more and more responsibility to the private agency. The depression brought a new turning-point. As an inevitable accompaniment to the economic catastrophe came an overwhelming increase in family disintegration and breakdown. The private agency, already taxed to capacity by broadened responsibilities and a cumulative load, could not continue to stretch its resources. Not only were the sources of its financial support partially dammed up by the depression, but by virtue of being a private agency, its capacity for quantitative expansion was thereby limited.

It would be tedious and pointless to enumerate the devices which individual communities have seized upon, sometimes in desperation, to help them weather the transition period. The one thing on which we all seem agreed is that the tax-supported child-placing program is not simply a temporary measure born of the emergency, but has come to stay. This is reflected in the agenda of meetings all over the country, wherever people interested in child welfare are gathered together. In essence, the burning topic of the day, not only in the child welfare field, but also in all fields of social endeavor, is: "What should be considered a public responsibility, and what should be still a private or voluntary function?"

Governmental backing through aid to dependent children and child welfare services has given impetus to the whole move-

ment and has served to direct the efforts of communities that are too inexperienced to chart their own course. That the federal government is succeeding in making the country child welfare conscious with an effectiveness which would have been impossible if each state had been solely dependent upon its own resources for impetus and support, is proved by recent figures from the Children's Bureau.

On January 1, 1938, forty-six states had child welfare service plans approved. On that date, too, there were 277 counties in which child welfare service workers were stationed, paid wholly or in part from child welfare service funds, and administratively responsible to local child welfare boards. There were in addition 113 counties in which workers were assigned by the state and administratively held responsible to the state. In three New England states there were workers employed in seven towns and surrounding areas. In some states, workers have been assigned to districts which include a number of counties. The difference in the status of child welfare services in the various states makes, of course, a difference in the type of organization and administrative set-up.

In rural areas, the lines of demarcation between public and private responsibility must always be elastic, but with the emphasis perhaps on the public function. Here, it is usually the county or state agency or worker that takes the leadership role, paving the way in some instances for voluntary projects at a later date, or sometimes maintaining always a semipublic connection.

In the urban child-caring field, certain divisions of responsibility between public and private seem to define themselves. The child for whom dependency over an indefinite period seems inevitable is usually accepted as logically a public ward. The private agency quite as logically accepts responsibility for the child who is not legally a dependent but who is in need of short-time care until its family or relatives can make more permanent plans for him. In most states, public provision has long since been made for the mentally defective and the delinquent child. In recent years there has come an increasing awareness of that group of children whom we may classify, for lack of a better term, as "predelinquent." Most of them have not come offi-

cially to the attention of any court, and most of them have families who are not legally negligent. Yet, from the psychological standpoint, there seems ample evidence that a specialized kind of foster-care is needed, at least temporarily, to insure them their chance for a wholesome development. It seems to me that, in general, such a service belongs properly in the private agency and perhaps will always remain there. It can never be anything but a highly specialized job, requiring not only specific skills and a thorough knowledge of mental hygiene, but also freedom from pressure and time to give more than routine supervision.

The so-called protective case offers serious obstacles to any arbitrary classification. Follow up a dozen complaints of cruelty and neglect, and you find a dozen different kinds of situations and problems. Obviously there is no way of determining at the point of intake what sort of service a protective case really needs. Some communities have solved the problem by having a joint intake department which acts as a clearing house for both public and private agency after the real needs of the case have been revealed. In other communities, the juvenile court acts in that capacity through its probation office. In still others, the private agency makes all investigations, and the public agency accepts no children except from other agencies.

In most communities, there is always some demand for foster-homes for children whose families are well able to pay for all services. Case work may be unwelcome to the adults who feel adequate to meet their own personal problems, but the carefully supervised boarding-home service of a children's agency may be definitely preferred for the children, to the often haphazard choices available to them among independent boarding-homes. There may be differences of opinion as to whether any social agency should ever agree to board children on such a commercial basis. Whatever one's conclusion, there seems little doubt that this is a problem only for the private agency.

The private agency, too, would seem well fitted to offer specialized services which the needs of its own community sug-

gest. A visiting-housekeeper program may develop logically within its province, or a program of foster-home day care for the children of working mothers. A convalescent home for children or a study home for the observation and treatment of children with personality and behavior problems may come under the supervision of a private children's agency. Such services are usually undertaken as experimental projects which may or may not fill a permanent need in the community. If their usefulness becomes established, they may outgrow the parent agency and in time require separate organizations. Or some other agency may in time seem better adapted to assume the sponsoring role. Unlike most public agencies, the private agency can be flexible, expending, contracting, shifting its emphases, and changing its policies to keep pace with the changing needs of a community.

In general, it seems logical for the private agency to be the laboratory in which the new is tested and the outworn discarded. To mix my figure a bit, it is the advance scout, the feeler of the public pulse, and the interpreter of trends. It may serve as a balance for the public agency and be in turn balanced by it. In so far as the specific case-work services of a private children's agency can be defined, it seems best suited to serve the child whose normal family ties can with some help be depended upon to meet reasonably well his emotional and material needs.

PREPARATION AND DIRECTION OF CASE-WORK PERSONNEL—THE WASHINGTON TRAINING PLAN

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MY TITLE seems to imply a finished product by way of plan; however, our effort to date would better be described as the gradual evolution of a plan which points a direction and in which we hope sooner or later to arrive at certain further goals.

When the state of Washington entered the emergency relief picture in 1933, with its first state-wide program in the field of public assistance, there was a dearth of personnel either with experience or with professional training. Such dearth of personnel existed not only in this state, however, but also in all near-by states, so there was neither the opportunity nor the temptation to look to neighboring states for help. A handful of private family agencies had in the preceding years carried the major part of the assistance and all the family-service programs, serving only the three major cities—Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane. Prior to 1930, the combined case-work and supervisory staffs of those three agencies probably never exceeded in numbers a total of thirty-five people. These staffs were augmented between 1931 and 1933 when the private agencies expanded to meet the growing needs of unemployment. A few of the counties had county welfare departments, but here again the numbers were even more limited, and the body of experience built up was frequently further limited as a result of short-time appointments often made on a political basis.

In order to better understand such progress as has been made

in the development in personnel in Washington, it is necessary to describe briefly the evolution of the present program from the emergency relief legislation. Three periods may be distinguished. First, 1933-35, when the temporary emergency relief act established a state relief committee and county administrative committees of citizens to include representation of county and city governments. Second, 1935-37, when a state department of public welfare was created with a director appointed by the governor and the program administered in the counties directly by the state through local state offices. Third, the replacement in 1937 of the state department of public welfare by the state department of social security. The present department integrates state and county administration, establishes a merit system of appointment for personnel, and makes the county commissioners the local administrative board. We have been fortunate in Washington in having a governor who has appreciated the importance of continuity in administration by qualified personnel, so we have had the same state director throughout all the changes in state administrative organization—a situation which, we realize, may be envied by many states.

During the period 1933-35, under the emergency relief legislation, the state relief committee had power to approve county administrators selected by the local committees. The task of finding and placing a qualified staff was a hard one. With only a handful of well-equipped social workers in the state upon which to draw, with great opposition in most localities to bringing "outsiders" from another county even, much time had to be spent in educational conferences and institutes held in different parts of the state. Compromises had to be accepted, but gradually local committees began to agree that the administration of unemployment relief was a job that required professional personnel. The question then was to find the personnel.

When in 1935 the state department of public welfare assumed control of administration of relief in the counties through local state offices, progress was soon evident in the ease with which stronger personnel could be added at strategic spots. The state

was divided into six administrative districts, as one method of gaining strength, and experienced people were placed at key spots as supervisors. The districts included from five to ten counties each, with headquarters at the county seat of the most populous county. District administrators were selected on the basis of business experience, and assistant administrators because of social-work experience. Looking back, we believe that the two years of district operation made a decided contribution to the development of the new program. The district office could locate the weak spots in the local offices more readily than could the state office. Personnel could be easily moved from one part of the district or of the state to another. Every effort was made to utilize local people and to build them up for larger responsibilities. There has never been any legal prohibition against employing workers from other counties or states, but it early became obvious that the number of persons available was extremely limited, and the uncertainty of engaging them at this distance without a personal interview was hazardous. Only a few people have been brought from out of the state, but they were selected primarily for their breadth of experience and professional training in order that they might strengthen key supervisory positions and build local personnel through training on the job.

But even a limited number of excellent supervisors training on the job could not begin to develop personnel fast enough. We undertook, therefore, to further staff development by sending employees on fellowships to accredited schools of social work, with the result that, after four years, we are beginning to have a creditable number of "native-born" social workers of promise in the organization.

May I say here that, prior to the fall of 1934, the public welfare or social-work training available within the state was on an undergraduate basis, but on that basis there had been for a period of almost twenty years a very substantial contribution made by the sociology department of the University of Washington. In the fall of 1934 the present School of Social Work was

established as a graduate school and given recognition by the American Association of Schools of Social Work. This development was most timely and has contributed more than any other one factor in the preparation of local personnel.

It was most timely that the F.E.R.A. should in the fall of 1934 make available for professional training grants of funds to the states. In Washington during the first year two groups of people, totaling twenty-nine, were selected for periods of a total of six months of training each. Most of them were people who already were carrying responsibility for administrative or supervisory work, or who gave promise of ability to carry such responsibility. Their withdrawal from the program for periods of even six months left serious gaps, but it seemed best to limp along for a time, looking toward the future.

During this first year of educational leave, it became obvious that a six-month training period was inadequate. The plan was that of encouraging each staff member to finance as much of his six-month period of leave as he could, but granting to him as a maximum the cost of tuition and \$55 a month toward general expenses. Where he could himself cover the cost of one quarter of training, the grant was limited to enough for the second quarter. Grants were available only to those who could meet the admission requirements of the various schools of social work. An admissions committee made up of representatives of the University of Washington School of Social Work and of laymen interested in personnel was formed and has served each of the four years.

As it became apparent in the second year that longer periods of training were desirable, staff members who could finance any part of such training were given a full six-month educational grant in order to assure nine or even twelve months of training through a combination of the grant and their own funds. By the third year of the educational-leave plan, a nine-month training period as a minimum was agreed upon, and fewer staff members were chosen for such training. The funds made available for the educational-leave program has been about constant each

year and was patterned on the \$12,000 amount originally earmarked by the F.E.R.A.

As had happened with the six-month training plan, certain ones found it possible to finance one or even two extra quarters of training, and a good many during the last two years have had a full year of training and have been given every encouragement to prolong their leaves of absence in order more fully to equip themselves. Some of those given six-month leave during the first and second year have had a second leave for one quarter of summer school, or even for a second six-month period.

Definite effort has been made to work in the direction of educational leaves for people at more and more strategic spots in the program. During the last year one of the division supervisors in the state office has been on a nine-month leave of absence, and a second of the four division supervisors is making definite plans for a similar leave next year. Such people can ill be spared, but we are convinced that the ultimate gains will far outweigh the immediate losses. Last summer two of the six field supervisors, working out from the state office, were granted leave for summer-school attendance. A third, now serving as field supervisor, was among the early group granted educational leave.

Two of the county administrators who cannot meet the requirements for admission of professional training, but who, nevertheless, are handling their programs most acceptably, were selected for summer-school attendance in order to build up further background and to take advantage of certain professional courses open to them as special students during the summer quarter.

We have felt so strongly the value of educational leave and its effect on the growth and development of the whole program, that the recent decision of the Social Security Board to share in administrative costs for such leave is indeed most encouraging, as much for the principle it establishes as the actual funds it may assure.

At this time the work of the thirty-nine county welfare de-

partments is carried forward by a total of thirty-four county administrators; in the case of four counties, the work is combined with that of one or more neighboring counties into a single administrative unit. Of the thirty-four administrators, a total of sixteen have had the advantage of from six months to a year or more of professional training as a result of educational leave. In some instances, such leave permitted the extension of professional training taken earlier and before admission to the program, but, in most instances, it represents the first and only formal public welfare training. An additional six of the administrators had had professional training prior to coming to the program, which means twenty-two of the thirty-four have at least six months of such training and, in many instances, more. In a great many instances, the administrators are handling rural counties where they have responsibility for both administration and supervision.

A further group of nineteen, who have had educational leave, are serving as case supervisors in the more thickly settled counties, and an additional group of fifty of those granted educational leave are handling child welfare and other case-work assignments in the various offices. In all, ninety-two staff members have been granted educational leave over the last four years.

Of the group on leave this year, a larger proportion have been visitors and will return to case-work assignments for the immediate future. This will assure a further strengthening of experience before responsibility is accepted for administrative or supervisory work. There is no question but what many of those to whom educational leave was granted in the first years were immediately plunged into more responsibility than they were ready to shoulder, but they rose to the responsibility and in most cases grew with it.

As indicated earlier, as of April 1, 1937, the Board of County Commissioners was made the local administrative board for the program, and a merit plan of appointment was put into operation. By that time many of the weakest spots, in so far as

administration was concerned, had been strengthened through shifts, dismissals, and educational leaves. It was gratifying that in practically all instances the administrator not only made a satisfactory merit rating, but in all but a few counties, was selected by the commissioners to continue the operation of the county welfare program. In the remaining four counties a change of administrators was desired by the commissioners, in three instances favoring another member of the staff than the previous administrator, and in one instance only, choosing a person on the merit list who had not had previous experience in the program.

Since April 1, 1937, there has naturally been less freedom in moving personnel from county to county to strengthen weak spots; the merit plan of appointment and local administration has tended to work in the opposite direction, but this is as it should be. The need for such ready shifting is much less than it was, and there are, instead, gains to be had from the assurance of more stability in personnel.

As a further by-product of the educational-leave program, there has been a strong stimulation of interest in training on the part of many other staff members than those actually on leave. A great many have taken leaves of absence of from three months to a year in order to return to school, either to complete undergraduate work or to take professional training. It has been further evident on the two or three occasions when staff layoffs were necessitated, that certain ones voluntarily withdrew, wishing to use that opportunity to better equip themselves, recognizing that in so doing they would add to their value to the program and better their chances for continued participation.

There has been a recognition throughout of those contributions to staff development which could be looked for entirely outside the program, as in educational leave, extension courses, etc., and those which were the immediate responsibility of the department and a part of in-service training. Among the latter, over this same period of time, the most significant is the gradual strengthening of local supervision. The six field supervisors

and the local supervisors have been building up by their day-to-day supervision a staff, which each month reveals a greater appreciation of the responsibilities and the opportunities which the program offers in the art of human relations and the meeting of human needs. The quarterly meetings of the last three years have also played a significant part in staff development.

In 1937, when the district offices were given up, the areas previously included within the district were assigned to field supervisors, in most instances, the social worker who had served as assistant administrator. Among her responsibilities has been the holding of area conferences. These came between the quarterly meetings and, more recently, are coming to replace the quarterly meetings. The latter became so large with the addition of the county commissioners in 1937, that the plan has been modified, and area meetings are proving more helpful. The part these play in staff development and the extent to which they reach all members of the social service staff have varied with the area. One area made up of six counties, most of whose programs are comparable in size, and none of them exceedingly large, has been able over a period of years to hold regular monthly area meetings for administrators and quarterly meetings for all members of the social service staff for the area. These have been the responsibility of the field supervisors with members of the state and federal staffs and of private agencies taking part on invitation.

Similarly, the field supervisors have assumed responsibility for induction courses for new staff members. These have, for the most part, served an area, have been conducted at one point in the area for a period of six weeks, and have included a limited amount of field work under close supervision, accompanied by regular discussion periods. In the three larger counties, such induction courses have been conducted for the one county only and, at least in the case of the largest county, have called for practically the full time of one member of the staff.

A more formal plan and closer co-ordination between the areas is needed in the matter of induction courses for visitors.

In the absence of a full-time supervisor of staff development for the public assistance divisions, the field supervisors individually and through committees have carried full responsibility for this part of the program and are feeling the need of help in its further development. It had been our hope that similar opportunity might be developed this year for special supervised experience in a center, emphasizing the needs of the rural area.

Prior to this year, the staff-development program has been handicapped by the fact that no one member of the state staff could devote his major time to it. A few months ago it seemed possible to designate one of the members of the state staff who had had broad experience in administration and also in teaching as supervisor of staff development. In co-operation with the University of Washington School of Social Work, the supervisor of staff development helped to conduct a seminar in "Problems of Administration and Supervision." During the fall quarter, about fifteen of the administrators from the larger counties enrolled for the seminar meeting, held once in three weeks for a two-day period at the university. This seminar was given for credit and was entirely under the supervision of the School of Social Work, though with the participation of the supervisor of staff development, as indicated.

Plans have been tentatively developed for a seminar for the medical social workers handling the crippled children's program, who, because they are few in numbers and scattered over the state, have felt the need of a definite opportunity for group discussion and instruction in fundamentals to insure a more comprehensive piece of work.

The University of Washington, through the School of Social Work, has included courses for the summer quarter for the benefit of those who might attend for such limited periods but who for various reasons could not take advantage of the courses during the year. Similarly, certain noncredit extension courses in "Medical Information for Social Workers and Problems of Mental Hygiene" have been arranged at points where there were a sufficient number to warrant a course. We are advised that the

State College of Washington is planning to develop a graduate school of social work, beginning this fall, with special emphasis on preparation for rural social work.

It is hoped that during the coming year more emphasis can be put on the service which the various universities and colleges throughout the state can give in making available, through extension and otherwise, basic courses in the social sciences which are needed by many staff members as a foundation for later professional courses. To date, these have been available only in a limited extent but can be developed more fully, we feel sure, as the need is made known and more careful plans worked out. A close working relationship with the State University and the State College is further strengthened through the Board of Sponsors of the Merit System. The presidents of the two educational institutions were asked to designate one faculty member from each to serve on the Board of Sponsors and to assume definite responsibility in the working-out of policies and procedures for the selection of personnel.

One further contribution to staff development in the summer of 1937 may be of interest. Recent legislation had provided for home teachers for the blind, and it was quickly recognized that few, if any, people were available with the sort of equipment called for. Twelve young blind women were selected for a six-week training period in handicraft and other services suitable for home teaching and in methods of teaching. These courses were held at the State School for the Blind and in close co-operation with its faculty. The Merit Office gave examinations, using methods suitable to blind persons, and six staff members were appointed from those who passed with the highest rating and met the requirements otherwise.

From those who took the training, five were chosen, again with the help of the Merit Office, to serve as home teachers to the blind and have so served all winter. As a second step in the development of this group, arrangements have been made for the coming summer with the department of education of the University of Washington to conduct a six-week summer course

for credit and under a competent faculty, again in teaching methods with the blind.

It has seemed to us wise to take advantage first of any professional training opportunity and to follow that with in-service training, rather than to rely unduly on the latter. As a part of in-service training, there was developed during the past winter a Child Welfare Center where selected staff members from various parts of the state were assigned for a four-month period of intensive supervision. Most of those so selected had had at least six months of professional training but lacked as full preparation for the child welfare field as was desirable. Others had full professional training but lacked experience to undertake programs in remote areas and with limited supervision. In a few instances, staff members without professional training but with natural aptitude and special interest in the children's field were included.

The information service for the department has made a generous contribution to staff development as well as to lay understanding of the program through the *Co-ordinator*, a department publication issued monthly and aimed at interpretation of the program in some of its broader implications. In the same way the issuance of some twenty-five monographs on a variety of subjects has been helpful in supplementing the regular bulletin service and the development of handbooks. The development of a library as part of the state program, in charge of a trained librarian and working very closely with the state library, has been significant.

My emphasis has naturally been on the development of social service staff, but it might be of interest to indicate that it has been our plan to have one member of the state staff administratively responsible for staff development in all six of our divisions. This includes the Employment Service and Unemployment Compensation as well as the four Public Assistance divisions. It is our thought also that in-service training should be planned to include all members of the staff, irrespective of the type of their assignment. The Employment Service and Unem-

ployment Compensation have designated the member of those division staffs who will carry actual responsibility for staff development, and, similarly, the Public Assistance divisions will, in my opinion, need to have at least one full-time person, in addition to the member of the administrative staff, if the possibilities for leadership in staff development for members of the state and county staffs are to be further realized and fully developed. The staff itself has a substantial contribution to make to plans for its own further development. The channels for making articulate the needs and plans for the group must be deepened and kept clear. We believe that we have made small but significant beginnings in staff development, which give us courage to continue to push ahead.

CHANGING EMPHASIS IN PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

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IN A searching historical account of *The Professions*, Carr-Saunders has shown the constant interplay of educational institutions and the field of practice in the development of standards.¹ Recently a committee of the American Association of Social Workers adapted to social work the complex of characteristics Carr-Saunders felt identified a profession, and they offer an excellent background against which we may examine the changing emphases in professional education. Social work, according to the statement, has a special body of knowledge and skill which has been accumulated by the practitioners, and which should be passed on through education in order to insure adequate performance; second, social work demands the constant exercise of responsible judgments and self-discipline in the interest of efficient service to others; third, the professional association makes certain that "the important discretionary powers which social work holds over the lives of others are vested only in practitioners equipped with that minimum of special education and experience which has been proved necessary for the competent discharge of such responsibilities."² As Carr-Saunders has expressed it, this "hall-marks" those who have the required competence and distinguishes them from persons who lack that competence.

Our purpose is to trace the ways in which practitioners,

¹ A. M. Carr-Saunders and E. Wilson, *The Professions*. Oxford University Press, 1937.

² "A Suggested Statement of American Association of Social Workers Purposes," *Compass*, April, 1938.

schools of social work, and professional associations have contributed to the development of professional education. Practice creates new techniques which must be integrated into the content of preparation for social work and later carried back into the field for further testing and modification. The productive quality of professional education rests fundamentally upon keeping open this two-way communication through which both practice and education are enriched.

When social agencies first felt the need of training for their new workers, they developed the apprentice method. Occasionally during the apprenticeship an attempt at formal instruction was carried out through assigned readings and regular conferences, but the content of discussion centered mainly about the particular agency's function and method of work, and major emphasis was placed upon the practical work to be accomplished. Apprenticeship, however, did imply a teaching-learning relationship between supervisor and apprentice as they dealt with the day-to-day material of the agency's work. Apprenticeship was also characterized by an awareness of progressive development in ability to perform, recognized by salary increases at the end of specified time units. The new worker was required to remain in the employ of the agency for a definite period of time, indicating that the well-established social agencies in larger cities undertook no responsibility for training for other than their own needs. "Such an apprenticeship," Dr. Jesse Steiner comments, "cannot be called training for social work, for it gives the worker no well rounded view of the whole field but prepares him merely for specific tasks within a single organization."³

Schools of social work were started in the beginning of the twentieth century by social workers to provide a broader, more formal preparation than was possible through the efforts of separate agencies under the apprenticeship plan. During the years schools were staffed by social-agency executives giving

³ "Education for Social Work," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1921, p. 481.

part time to teaching, they maintained a close relationship to the field. As the schools began to reach out toward university affiliation, they were required to build curriculums with roots in whatever academic subjects contributed to a basic understanding of social-work practice. The result was that social-work education became too largely the business of the schools. In the dichotomy between school and field, agencies grew defensive of their practice, their limited funds, and their staff. Schools intrenched in the perfection of their theory were accused of remoteness from the changing reality of the social-work world. For a time the depression with all the pressures it brought to bear upon social agencies seemed only to increase the gap between schools and field. In the end, however, the rapid growth of public agencies, the changing function of private agencies, and the increased demand upon schools of social work to fill not only an unbelievably large number of positions but a long list of entirely new ones strengthened again channels of communication between the field and those who were feverishly preparing workers to take on heavy responsibilities in newly defined areas of social work.

At present, not only are the trends in education for social work significant, but the auspices under which plans are being developed represent a large number of local, national, and official groups. Field-work supervisors are probably closest to individual schools in unifying course content and field practice; from their experience they also help to modify and create the substance of what goes into both classroom discussion and field work. As state public welfare organizations have been established and, in some instances, have set up training districts in connection with schools of social work, or even for their own staffs, they have formulated the body of knowledge which is pertinent to their practice. Not only state public agencies but federal agencies have formed divisions of technical training to clarify their own needs and carry forward programs of professional education that will dovetail with the opportunities available through schools of social work. Going back to Federal

Emergency Relief Administration days, when a joint committee of the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work assisted in advising on scholarship plans, the reciprocal relationships between schools and field in public welfare progress have been strong. Ever since the beginning of the Social Security Board, a committee from the American Association of Schools of Social Work advisory to the United States Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Public Assistance has contributed to the tentative plans for staff development, recognizing that as the work grows modifications will be necessary.

National functional agencies are also concerned in defining the substance of professional education as it relates to their particular fields. The Family Welfare Association of America, for instance, has had a committee on professional education for the past few years. Composed of public and private agency workers as well as school faculty, the committee has concerned itself, not only with problems centering about selection of students and courses, but also with the means of strengthening agency and school relationships. Within the past year the National Association of Travelers Aid and Transient Service has consciously sought to bring to schools of social work the particular needs of its field and clarified the ways in which pertinent material may be introduced into the curriculums. The American Association of Medical Social Workers has for long years been in a position of authority with respect to the substance and quality of medical social-work courses. Other national agencies are giving increasingly more time and attention to the professional preparation of their future practitioners.

The American Association of Social Workers is concerned most directly with the maintenance and extension of standards in all areas of social work, and will necessarily assume responsibility for defining and analyzing the qualitative and quantitative needs which professional education must be strengthened to meet. A professional association has a primary stake in evaluating the equipment existing educational opportunities have provided, and testing this equipment in the light of new

requirements for competence which are being produced in a changing practice.⁴ The American Association of Social Workers cuts across all fields of social work, and its membership requirements and familiarity with general practice offer much needed support in the general development of professional education.

From a different point of approach, the American Association of Schools of Social Work has concerned itself primarily with building standards to guide schools of social work and to bring some uniformity into course content. Until now, limited funds have made more difficult this formidable task. A recent gift of \$36,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation will be used during the next three years for the development of schools of social work and for research, particularly in the content of preparation for public services. Already a large advisory committee has been appointed representing the fields of practice involved.

Any understanding of the changing emphases in our education for social work presupposes some such review of the various directions from which stimulation and guidance are coming. The pattern is complex and often confusing in its contradictory utterances, but the vitality of the forces and the constant efforts from central organizations to sift out what seems most valuable would seem to assure us of agreement on concepts to be inculcated and agreement on procedures which offer channels for continuous exchange of thinking and joint planning.

Professional education is not static. What has happened in the past few years as the result of the rapid growth of public services, for example, is only the beginning of a whole new educational structure which will expand and change in its turn as the Social Security Act is in operation longer. The inevitable struggle for qualified personnel has only just begun, and the preparation of such personnel requires a thorough study, step by step, of the various aspects of the work.

⁴ Preliminary proposal for a Study of Professional Education from the Division on Personnel Standards, American Association of Social Workers, April 16, 1937.

Public agencies have influenced the trend of professional education. Case work, for example, in the present public welfare agencies centers about the determination of eligibility and service in any of the categories as defined by law. Since eligibility alone is the basis of case load—and we have not yet apparently exhausted the number of persons eligible under the law—the size of case load has made possible only a minimum of case-work service even where the client asks for it, and it is recognized as a means of preparing him to carry on alone in the future. According to M. Antoinette Cannon:

The question has been raised whether we now actually have in existence two kinds of social case work, one tending to be more and more psychiatric or "clinical" in character, the other tending to be more "categorical." "Categorical" case work is thought to be more closely allied to community organization than is the "clinical" social case work. It is also thought of as closely allied to public welfare, and as having in it a large administrative element which relates it to the other administrative activities in the general field of social work.⁵

Under such a plan elementary case-work courses would stress the process of individualization which is a requirement for all practitioners alike, while courses in the "clinical" type of case work would emphasize the treatment relationship more particularly as it pertains to psychiatric content.

While I have taken case work as an illustration for public welfare workers, in addition to basic case work, a group of supporting technical courses is being organized to cover such subjects as community organization, social insurance, public housing, public finance, public assistance, social legislation, and agency organization and administration. Indications are that practitioners in this area will be concerned, not only with the problems of the handicapped and the disadvantaged, but their attention will be directed increasingly to the correction of the forces in the social, industrial, and political structure which create the problems of their clients.

Controversy has centered particularly upon the training de-

⁵ "Curriculum Changes," *Bulletin of the New York School of Social Work*, July, 1937.

sirable for public administration. Outside the professional fields the conviction grew that administration was a body of knowledge in and of itself which could be applied by those who were not familiar with the function of the agency they were administering. In many colleges and universities, both graduate and undergraduate courses in public administration were built up. Social work joined other professional fields in holding that a knowledge of administration alone was not "an adequate preparation for policy-making and policy interpreting." As Wayne McMillen says:

Social workers are in complete sympathy with the effort to improve the quality of governmental service, but they are persuaded that the public social services will be more constructively administered by those who have experienced a baptism of fire in the actual field of social treatment than by those unacquainted with the dynamics of social practice.⁶

Interestingly enough, at its last meeting, the American Political Science Association, which has been very active in the promotion of training for public services, stated that professional training in a field is preferred as basic education for public administration per se, and that the responsibility for defining qualifications and curriculums for their respective fields should be left to the various professional associations. Here again professional education on a broad foundation has won out over a narrow technical training.

Although the American Association of Schools of Social Work has long included among its members state universities, some of which have been land-grant colleges, the pressure for a large number of public welfare workers has led to an accelerated development of social-work courses in state universities. Advocates of education for public welfare by state universities stress the real need of additional schools of social work in which training for rural work is emphasized and the logic of tax-supported state universities carrying out educational plans for tax-supported public welfare programs, especially when the cost of education in state universities is so much lower than in private

⁶ "Education for Social Practice," *Survey*, May, 1937, p. 141.

educational institutions, and when state residence is a requirement for employment. Salaries for public welfare workers are low and not likely to attract many social workers with adequate professional education. On the other hand, college graduation has been made a requirement for many public welfare positions, and yet college graduates without any special preparation in social work are less likely to meet the comprehensive demands made upon them. The situation has resulted in the widespread introduction of undergraduate courses in social work, which have created confusion and misunderstanding as to what really constitutes professional education in public welfare.

The Association of Schools of Social Work has been concerned over the threatened breakdown of graduate standards and the quality of course content when instructors lack competence in the field of professional practice even though they are competent teachers of social science. Moreover field work within a reasonable distance of many state universities is a problem which centers around adequate field-work supervision and facilities for transportation in rural districts. The American Association of Social Workers is also being pressed by special applications for membership from persons who have not had the educational background to meet their qualifications. At one point the threat of a separate association of universities offering education for public welfare and a separate association of public welfare workers seemed imminent; but help to the state universities in clarifying the nature of professional standards and the reasons for them has apparently averted this danger. Both our professional association and the association concerned primarily with standards of professional curriculums are trying to build sound programs for public welfare in the state universities directed toward a broad basis of education rather than preparation for a craft.⁷

⁷ Material for the discussion of social-work education in state universities has been secured from the *Report of the Advisory Committee on State Universities and Membership Requirements of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, May 21, 1938*, and a recent report on the same subject from the Committee on Personnel Standards of the American Association of Social Workers.

Leaving now the particular constellation of factors centering about education for public welfare, one is aware of a recent trend in social work toward an evaluation of practice. For a long time social workers and, for the purposes of our study, case workers in particular, have been so involved in the day-by-day job that they have failed to explore the validity of the methods of case work as a basis for the further improvement of skills. Unlike medical practitioners they have not been concerned with research which would add to our accumulated knowledge of process. Recently, however, in spite of all the well-known imponderables, social work is attempting to appraise the results of its practice, and if we continue in this direction as energetically as we have in our efforts to improve technical proficiency, the possibilities for research will be unlimited. Professional education is responsible for giving future practicing social workers a receptive attitude toward research and a basic understanding of its methods, as well as preparing a smaller group with social-work background for research in our field. In child welfare the Federal Children's Bureau stimulated studies in infant mortality, child labor, juvenile delinquency, illegitimacy, and other problems. While other fields have been less fortunate in the existence of such an agency to inspire their research, they have begun recently both as research groups and as individuals to examine more closely into the structure and method of their work.

The place of field work has changed since the time when it was accepted as a series of unrelated experiences, more or less routine and often of questionable educational value. Agency supervisors were not always skilled in supervision or, under the pressures of their other work, particularly interested in students whose exact position in the agency had never been defined. For some time now, agencies and schools have been exploring not only the content of field work but its relation to other courses and the way in which it can be realistically and constructively integrated into the whole learning process. Class material must be repeatedly discussed in the field so that the student is helped

to relate it to practice. This repetition, re-emphasis, and re-interpretation, through field-work supervision, both individual and in groups, clarifies for the student the actual meaning of theoretical concepts, because, in field experience, he sees them not in a vacuum but as he himself must make application of them in relation to particular practice. This implies on the part of supervisors in the agencies not only skill in case work but teaching ability and responsibility for constant awareness of the relation between what the school teaches and what field-work experience is giving to students. "One of the weightiest problems with which the philosophy of education has to cope," says John Dewey, "is the method of keeping a proper balance between the informal and the formal, the incidental and the intentional, modes of education."⁸ That balance is, in a sense, what we are trying to achieve in the individualized teaching necessary in field work.

Interest has shifted from the number of hours of field work a student may take to consideration of the kind of field work which, at a particular stage in his professional development, will be most helpful. This strikes at one of the most baffling factors in field-work evaluation. Unlike other course material, field-work standards involve two elements. As one student after another arrives, at the end of a given period, at a certain stage of understanding and skill, through his work in the field, school and agencies come to think of that development for the time being as the norm. On the other hand, no standards of field-work achievement can be accepted as more than relative. Students vary in their way of learning, in their capacity for growth, and in the speed with which they develop; in order for each to have a maximum opportunity for professional growth, no set approach or plan is possible. Students can have only limited opportunity for field work in their two years of professional education, it is true, but most schools now accept the value of field-work experience in several agencies as a better

⁸ *Democracy and Education*, p. 10.

basis for a broader knowledge of the problems and practices involved in social adjustment.

Groups of student supervisors and school directors of field work over the country are putting a tremendous amount of time and effort into the clarification of the complexities of field-work content and evaluation. Their inquiries have covered not only the general principles involved in the teaching relationship of supervisor and students and the specific knowledge and skill which students are expected to achieve, but practical problems of method and setting, such as the place of the student in relation to the agency's function and the responsibility he may be expected to assume. Likewise the flexibility necessary in balancing the educational needs of the student with the fixed agency situation covering standards, policies, and routines, especially in public agencies, has been considered important. While field work has been available in case-work practice, in group work, and to a lesser extent in community organization, only recently have opportunities for field work in research and administration been developed in a few schools.

Field work at the present time is not expected to produce skilled and experienced practitioners, but rather workers who have begun to show possibilities for growth in their professional capacity. One measures field-work performance then in relation to the stage in the cycle that has been reached; first intellectual understanding, then a practical application of concepts that set up the necessity for coming to grips emotionally with the situation, and finally a return to the intellectual use of that emotional situation, which is what we mean by the mastery of reality. In field work, then, limited as it is, the student snatches out of the current only the fragments upon which he can dare to try out his feelings.

Growing out of the realization of the heavy demands of effective practice, several developments within the past few years point, not only to the enlargement of social-work curriculums, but also to lengthening of the time for social-work preparation. In at least five schools of social work a full-time program for a

third year of study is now offered covering the fields of supervision, research, and social case-work treatment. Some mention has also been made of a third year of specialization in public welfare. The third year includes both courses and field work. A return for another year of study after experience gives one a broader perspective and knowledge upon which to move forward. This involves, however, a certain amount of unlearning on the part of those who return to study from the field, which may be quite devastating. Perhaps that is why so few people as yet have been willing to give up the security of a position in order to return for study, although actually salaries are not often high enough to make possible savings large enough to warrant a whole year's loss of income. A third year of study is financially difficult also for the student who has just finished two years in a graduate school, and yet he is the one most likely to feel the need for bridging the gap between a protected student situation and the overwhelming demands of a job.

To meet this need, two ways of assuring a sound continuous growth for the novices in social work are being tried at the present time. One, in the private case-work agencies, is comparable to the internship of the medical profession. It includes a more consciously planned induction of new workers into the agency, relating the tasks to their recent educational experience and stressing the agency's role as an integrated part of a total community program as well as of a functional subdivision of social work. Supervision would focus also upon the growth of the worker as a professional person with an increasing identification with the professions and a growing ability to integrate the contributions of the leaders in the field with their own practice. The content of the year of internship in any particular field or agency is in the process of being explored, but it rests fundamentally upon the quality of supervisory leadership available and upon an agency's willingness to build the staff slowly into the structure of its organization rather than to block progress by too sudden introduction to the multitude of responsibilities practitioners are supposed to meet. The

question of the school's participation in the interne year is still a matter to be settled on the basis of deciding whether a clean break from the student role will have more positive values in accelerating the development toward full responsibility, or whether continued connection with the school will integrate present professional experience more helpfully with the student's earlier development.

Public agencies have approached some of the same problems in what they have come to call in-service training, which "refers to those educational efforts planned by an agency and given to its staff members for the purpose of improving the services which constitute the agency's function."⁹ In-service training has not been considered a substitute for professional education, because "instead of being a professional discipline in broad preparation, it is a service agency's administratively constructed plan to reinforce whatever it has in personnel to do whatever it is functionally its business to do effectively."¹⁰ A further distinction is made in that in-service training gains for the individual, work credit rather than professional status, although following professional education work credit has a plus value. The value of work credit, however, without a minimum professional equipment is much decreased, and Agnes Van Driel has made the point that

sound personnel standards will not be established or that such standards will not be maintained if once they have been established, if in-service training is seized upon as a way whereby incompetent persons may be inducted into the agency's service and then (miraculously perhaps!) trained to do the job while on the job.¹¹

Our exploration of present-day professional education for social work has been lengthy. Unfortunately, it has presented merely the skeleton structure upon which future developments

⁹ "In-Service Training," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (1937).

¹⁰ Christine Robb Thompson, "In-Service Training for Social Work," *Compass*, February, 1938.

¹¹ (Memo.) Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, January 25, 1938.

must be built. Certain points have been deliberately selected for detailed discussion, not because others were less significant, but because these fitted our purpose and happened to be the material with which we were more familiar. Hopefully, the description of the numerous influences which are shaping the content of education for social work has clarified rather than confused the issues. In any case, the professional field itself will have to proceed from this tentative analysis of complex factors to a more searching evaluation of all the important parts of our method of preparing social-work practitioners for full participation in our growing field of operation.

In the past social agencies made the first attempt to train workers through apprenticeships, then the schools took up the cudgels and for some time seemed to bear the major responsibility for what should be included in the body of knowledge to be taught. Now we have returned to a period of joint responsibility in which both the field of practice and the field of education share in defining content, method, and changing emphases. Only through continuous and more consciously directed examination of education for social work can the future hope to build with strength.

SUPERVISION OF CASE-WORK STAFFS

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SUPERVISION is the process by which the case worker can learn how to use herself most constructively in the helping role with her clients. It is essentially a learning process, but, because the content of the body of knowledge from which the worker learns is such a variable one, concerned as it is with the reactions and the behavior of human beings, this process has an emotional content beyond and more involving for the worker than other learning. She is not just engaged in a struggle between her desire to learn and her resistance to learning, but she comes to understand others only through understanding herself and, through this understanding, there develops a difference in the integration of her whole personality. This requires a real discipline of the worker within herself, which she needs the help of another (the supervisor) to acquire. It is through the supervisor's understanding of what is involved in this learning process for the worker, through helping her at the points where she needs help, and through leaving her free at other points to try herself out, that the worker comes to feel how she can really use herself in a professional way.

Supervision has come to be what it is today through the development of social case work, for knowledge and understanding of supervision have grown only as far as knowledge and understanding of case work. Supervision is an entity in itself, but it exists because of the worker's need to learn how to do the case-work job. Throughout the years of its development case work has changed the points of its emphasis, and supervision has changed with it. The content of supervision has been based,

then, on a constantly shifting body of knowledge and of changes in the concepts of how to help people. Aside from the concrete knowledge that the supervisor can teach the worker, there is the psychological element involving how most successfully the worker can learn. In spite of the difference in their aims, case work and supervision have a point of similarity in this psychological element, for whether the client comes to the case worker for help or the worker to the supervisor to learn, each, if he is to profit by the experience, must come with the desire to use what is in the situation for him.

In order therefore to trace the development of supervision it is necessary to look at the development of case work. When family case work centered around a thorough investigation of a client on the basis that an individual could not reveal himself entirely, so that it was necessary to consult relatives, employers, churches, etc., in order to organize sources of helpfulness as well as to arrive at a diagnosis and plan, supervision centered about teaching the worker how to make an investigation of this kind. The work was closely checked by the supervisor; loose ends in the investigation were pointed out, and it was understood that the points the worker had missed would be covered. Case work at that time had a large authoritative and advice-giving element, and so had supervision. There could be no real growth through supervision as it existed then, for the worker could not put her whole self into the process. Either she would identify with the supervisor and carry out instructions and so be "successful," or she would react against the supervision and, as there was no understanding of this reaction, she probably would take herself to another field. That is, she either would take on another's way of working or would reject it so that there was no fundamental change in her own personality, for she learned only a way of working.

But this authoritative way of working with people had disappointing results, for the few clients who functioned under authority did not grow but stayed indefinitely under the care of agencies. Those who were more mature and independent

had no need for this kind of help and were inclined to use agencies only in emergencies. Gradually, the people who were engaged in this one-sided way of working realized its futility and began to see the clients more as individuals who had within them potentialities for working things out, and so became interested in learning a way of helping people to help themselves. This approach was aided by the thinking that was developing in the psychiatric field, as well as by a different way of thinking and feeling about living, by which people as a whole were less controlled by authority and by a rigid set of standards to which individuals must conform, than they had been in earlier years. In our first attempts to understand the individual, history was paramount. Our interest was in learning what experiences an individual had had in life that made him behave as he did, and on the basis of this knowledge workers could accept his behavior. Histories were concerned, however, with obtaining information in order to help the client, and not so much to help the agency administer its funds wisely as investigations had been earlier. But similar techniques were used in obtaining history as had been used in making investigations, so that the supervision continued to have an authoritative aspect concerned with the securing of a definite set of facts. Histories led to diagnosis, usually by a psychiatrist. For a time case workers were satisfied with this, but gradually from diagnosis there grew an interest in how to help the client to act in a more constructive way in his reality situation. In the first thinking about a new kind of treatment the procedure was to let the client talk, with the worker's activity centered around the point of keeping him talking.

This was a very introspective period. Supervision consisted of analyzing the material that the client brought, but it was not known how to use this knowledge in actual treatment, and there was consequently no dynamic quality in the supervision. It would seem as if in an attempt to bring something vital into supervision the worker was led into discussing her own personal problems and the supervisor, with her new found knowledge,

into treating them. Often these problems would involve the worker's whole life-situation, and there was no limit. The clients were completely lost in many conferences. There was no consideration of what this meant in terms of the job, rather it was rationalized by explaining that if the worker had this experience she could then treat her clients. Whereas, in reality, the supervisor herself knew practically nothing about treatment, and the whole process went little beyond that of a confession on the worker's part. Once begun there was no thought of when it would end. There was no real responsibility taken for this treatment of the case worker, and it had no place in the learning process.

Case work has developed now to the point where it undertakes to help the client around some point in his reality situation for which he is seeking help, according to the function of the agency to which he has come. The client may want help only on one point, and it may be a very brief process; or, as his life progresses, he may want further help, but always this help would be organized about the particular thing he is asking at the moment and around the capacity he has to deal with it. The outcome is that, having used this help at the points where he needs it, it may contribute to the integration of his personality, and so it may be possible for him to meet, through the resources within himself, other situations as they develop. As case work is practiced today, it is no longer necessary to analyze deeply the material about each individual client; instead, the worker becomes active around the behavior of a client in his immediate situation. The worker then in the supervisory situation becomes less concerned with her whole life-experience, but more with her reaction to a given situation. Thus it is the content of the case-work job which has really shown us what the supervision process is, for, in learning how we can organize our help in the case-work process, we have learned to define and limit supervision as a teaching and working relationship.

Supervision is an educational process, but it differs from every other educational process in that it is only between two

people, and it does not set out to teach the worker a definite body of knowledge. In her other educational processes the worker has accustomed herself and her learning to the group. Her standards for herself are those of the group, and her self-satisfaction or self-criticism lies in her likeness to or difference from the group. Not only is this group influence true of education, but of life as a whole. It is more marked in its difference between school and supervision, because in the whole of life, although the individual is dependent on the attitudes and approvals of the group, there flows along with it, for each individual, relationships which change and modify her feeling about the standards and opinions of the group. In education, for the great majority of people, there is no individualistic teaching; in the rare instances where there would be this type of teaching it is oriented around a very definite body of knowledge which again goes back to group standards or ideologies. It is natural, then, that the beginning worker feels lost and fearful without her group, for in supervision she can bring only herself and her own equipment. It is possible for her to enter into such a situation because of the individual relationships that she has had elsewhere in life and because of agency seminars which serve as a balance to the supervisory situation and give her an opportunity to measure herself as for or against the opinion of the group.

The knowledge of what the group has represented educationally in the individual's life gives many leads as to what must be inherent in the supervision process if it is to be successful. This process with the worker cannot be too different from the way in which she has been accustomed to learn, aside from the fact that many of the principles of education are fundamentally sound. Criticism and approval and the necessity of accomplishing certain tasks by a specified time are necessary techniques in learning, for few individuals have such an acceptance of their own will that they can learn without this assistance outside of themselves. But in supervision, because it is an individual process in which the worker can within certain limits proceed

at her own pace, it is not so necessary for her to resist it, and, because she is working with one person who understands both the "going with" and the "pull away," she gradually comes to feel these two processes within the self and can grow and develop around them.

In the last analysis the worker has to learn to be responsible for what she does with another individual. This is tremendous responsibility for anyone to take, and it is no wonder that it stirs up fear in the worker when she is in this learning process. I think of one situation in which a client came to a worker saying she had about decided to place her son, who was a behavior problem. Now the circumstances in this family were such that this was a wise move on the mother's part, but, instead of seeing the purposefulness and strength in the mother's wish to place the boy, the worker weighed with her all the pros and cons involved in such a step, so that the client became confused by all the possibilities the worker opened up and lost the strength which she had when she made her original request and was powerless to move. The worker here was fearful of taking the responsibility of supporting the strength in this client and evaded the responsibility by presenting so many issues. This worker did this quite unconsciously, and when her supervisor talked over the interview with her she was able to rationalize about the use of this technique, for all these issues were possibilities. Here then it was the job of the supervisor to help the worker get to the point where she could feel that she was just as responsible for what had occurred in the interview as she would have been had she supported the client in her decision; in other words, that she was as responsible in hindering her from acting as she would have been in helping her to act. When the worker was able to take into herself the responsibility for her activity in this interview, and so to see its destructive effect, she made a real step forward in her own development.

Perhaps one of the most difficult things that the young worker has to learn is that she cannot protect her clients from life. She probably comes into social work with a pretty idealistic

conception of it and of how she can help. Her clients are a group who have been deprived and for whom life has been harder than it has been for those who are not in the client group, so that her natural impulse is to give through service and relief. It is difficult for her to come to feel that through so much giving she is taking away from the client something that is the innate right of everyone—the struggle that is involved in living, which each one must achieve in his own individual way. But when through supervision, she becomes aware of this, she has developed a real respect for the integrity of another individual and is herself in a helping role. She is aided in realizing this by the supervision process and by experiencing its limitations.

The supervisor, on her part, needs to be aware of the capacity and the potentiality of the worker whom she is supervising, so that she can help her develop to the limit of her capacity and yet, on the other hand, not urge her beyond what she is able to do. In supervision just as in other areas, the individual creates her limits through her own makeup, but can learn to function around these to the best of her ability. In other words, the supervisor cannot put into the worker something that is not there, but she can help her use what she has within herself. How the supervisor knows what the worker's capacity is, is something that can be learned only through the experience of working with many people and so being able to evolve, through herself and through her agency, standards of what is expected of a worker and how the worker on her part measures up to them. For the supervisor to be able to do something as judgmental as this, it is important for her to remember that she is not evaluating the worker's whole life-adjustment, but is evaluating only her capacity to function in the case-work job. And in this one area the supervisor has the knowledge and responsibility to make such an evaluation.

Frequently the advantages that a worker is getting from the supervisory process are lost or weakened if she is supervised too long by the same person. For the supervisor and the worker

can become too well adjusted to each other, the worker can feel which parts of the supervisor's personality she wants to use, and the supervisor responds to this, so that as time goes on there is little that is new which each has to bring to the situation. It seems wise then for workers to be transferred to different supervisors at the end of a two-year period. This transfer has a second advantage, in a districted agency, of giving the worker the opportunity of working in a different community and in a new setup.

There is something innate in the supervision process which produces growth, and so it does not need to justify itself by considering whether or not therapy has a place in it. The function of supervision is entirely educational, during which growth and change in the worker take place, and it exists for this purpose alone. It is an intellectual process in which, in the worker, who is thereby learning to do the case-work job, are produced certain emotional reactions which vary with each individual because of her own way of learning. Therapy is not an educational or intellectual process. The function of the therapist is to help the patient integrate his personal self, while that of the supervisor is to help the worker develop a professional self.

I would say that it is impossible to mix the roles of supervisor and therapist; for in considering therapy as having a part in supervision, the function of supervision is lost. Supervision gains by keeping to its function; it has a definite place in the educational field of social case work and is as important in this field as therapy is in the field of personality difficulties. Considering the worker, a supervisor has no right to offer a worker help with her deep personality problems when she comes to learn, for by so doing she deprives her of the experience that she has come for. It is often true that the worker will try to get the supervisor to work on her problem and so escape the difficulties of what she is there to learn; but does the supervisor have to be caught in this and so help her escape from the real issue? This can so easily be seen when it is the other way around, for the therapist, by letting himself become involved in

supervising the patient's cases, will not let the patient escape from the reality of his own situation.

When the worker brings her personal problems to the supervisor, if the latter listens carefully enough she can see where these relate to the job and to the worker and can utilize the material as she would any other resistance and help the worker proceed in her learning. Often the supervisor is responsible for a misuse of supervision by showing too much interest in some personal incident the worker may tell or by attempting to relate the case material to the worker's personal experience. Both of these techniques are really leads to get the worker to talk further about herself. One worker's fear that this will separate her from the supervisor may be so great, that she will be cautious about revealing herself; while another may go on to such lengths about herself that the situation will be out of the supervisor's control. Again the worker may attempt to treat a particular case on a level which is far beyond her capacity. When the supervisor cannot guide her back to the level where she is capable of working with the client, it would indicate that there is a personal issue involved for the worker in this particular client's problem. Here the supervisor can keep to her real function and avoid getting involved with the worker's deeper problems by transferring the case to another worker. Thus in an active way she shows the worker that she cannot help her with her own problem, and she then can help the worker again find herself in the job through the other cases she is working with.

There are, occasionally, workers in whom the whole self is organized against learning, and here the function of the supervisor is to break this total into parts, so that either the worker can find some points on the job around which she can function as a whole in a constructive way, or the worker can realize fully that case work is something that she does not want to do and become free to leave it. Often the worker with this type of reaction will have done exceptionally good work academically or in other fields.

Supervision is a dynamic process which, because of its educa-

tional aspect, has within it the element of evaluating the capacity of the worker for the work in which she is engaged. It is this educational aspect which defines its function, limits its scope, and makes it a workable process; it gives the worker something to work with and to react against and makes supervision a real process. The goal of supervision is to help the worker develop a professional self which is responsible for offering and giving help to others. For the worker to accomplish this it is necessary that certain changes take place in her own personality. She must see and feel herself to be the representative of the agency for which she is working and conform to its practices; she must examine her emotional responses, her likes and her dislikes, her prejudices and her fears, and must find through herself an understanding of others which she can use in a vital and active way so that she can be helpful to them. She learns through a positive going with the process and a negative assertion against it, and each worker's own emotional adjustment determines how much of either element predominates. Both elements must be present; if one persists to the exclusion of the other, there is little or no learning, for the whole self is not engaged in the process. The positive side of this learning process is the expression of growth and change. With many workers the negative aspect in the supervision process might almost be considered a barometer which indicates that somewhere in the personality growth and change have taken place, but the self as a whole is not ready to take them over and be responsible for this new part.

The worker does not come to the place where she has developed a real professional self without considerable conflict—to give up the old and to find the new is a painful process. The worker needs help in doing this and in finding herself in a new way. Where she blocks herself because of the pain involved in the change, the supervisor can be aware of this and can function in a way that leaves the worker her own integrity, but gives her something that she can grow with. This the supervisor does through her own training and understanding, which

involves leaving the worker free to operate on the part of her personality that is going with the process and using the part that is not in such a way that it is free to assert itself and so become part of the whole. Thus the worker becomes aware of both the positive and negative aspects within her own personality and, if able to accept this in herself with a minimum of guilt, can be of help to her clients in the same terms.

RELATION OF CASE-WORK STAFFS TO INTERPRETATION, OFFICIALS, GOVERNING BOARDS VOLUNTEERS, AND THE PUBLIC

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WE HAVE within the wording of our subject some guideposts in the exploring of an otherwise unlimited field. Though we may separate later, the starting-point of our trail is well defined, for our title says three things which give immediate direction to our thought. First of all, it says that we are talking about interpretation, and not about fact-giving. Interpretation may involve the giving of facts; it certainly has to be based upon factual material. But interpretation is something more than the stating of fact. Webster defines interpretation as "giving the meaning of." In this sense interpretation involves giving with the facts an understanding of their significance, helping the recipient with his evaluation of the information. Interpretation takes some responsibility for his thinking and feeling in relation to the facts.

In the second place, our title limits us to one particular group in relation to interpretation. We are thinking only about the case worker, the person whose daily contacts are in the homes and lives of those dependent upon the agency for help. What we are to question is her function as an interpreter separate from that of her supervisor or her administrator, who bear special responsibilities toward the groups named in our title.

That the case worker has such a function is implied in our subject. It seems to have been implied in our thinking about the case worker over a period of years. It is not new to think of the case worker as an interpreter; it is new to think seriously

of this part of her job. We have had occasion to become thoughtful about it as the past few years have brought us face to face with the public to whom we did not interpret in the past. We were swept from the efforts of private agencies to interest and educate, even sometimes to cajole, their clientele, to the sudden need to defend social work and social workers against bitter attack. With the very existence of our profession at stake, we interpreted because we had to. When that period of extreme stress had passed, reflection showed how much of our early devotion to interpretation had been lip service only, for, in the storm, the cause of our clients as well as of our profession had tottered on a weak foundation. We looked soberly at the plain fact that the case worker must actively and planfully take up her role as interpreter, not with an eye on the next chest campaign, not as a secondary job for those less active moments, but as the fulfilment of her position as a responsible professional person.

If we are still together at the starting-tape, if we mean it when we accept the statement of our subject that the case worker has a relationship to interpretation, we are ready to explore the first question growing out of our assumption: What does the case worker have to interpret? Are we adding to an already overburdened staff member the necessity for taking courses, outside reading, and research? The case worker may be only one of a staff of dozens in a big relief organization; what does she have to contribute to those on the outside?

The case worker has one field that is all her own; her special knowledge is of the people with whom she works. Her concern is for individuals; she sees among her clients the intimate results of social planning. Her case load may be the Social Security Act in operation in miniature; the dramas of this or of that program are enacted before her eyes. She can speak with authority of what old age assistance has meant to the old people whom she knows, how the lives of the Brown girls were transformed by Aid to Dependent Children. She knows exactly how programs work out in their final results, both for good or ill.

She also knows intimately the individual needs which have not been met. At first she may not be interested academically in the gaps in social planning. But when over and over again she sees Johnny White and Mrs. Adams and Grandpa Jones in desperate need for which no agency has help, she turns to a concern for unmet needs and programs to cope with them.

Furthermore, she has the same close view of the activity of other case workers like herself. She knows just what responsibilities and problems the function of her agency places upon the case worker. She sees the policies made in the director's room go into operation in the field, what they mean to the worker as well as to the client. She knows from the inside what the case worker of the agency really does.

There is a field of knowledge, then, which belongs especially to the case worker. She alone is able to speak with the authority of actual experience on the meaning of her agency in individual lives. She is the only person who can interpret to the group we have named, or to anyone, what her agency means to Water Street or Pumpkin Hollow.

Vivid and authoritative as this knowledge may be, does it have importance to officials, governing boards, volunteers, the public? Will they value this sort of interpretation?

Those of us who have known rural areas will be the first to answer "yes." In the small community we can see in operation what is also present in the large one—keen interest by citizens in one another's lives and the doings of "our town." In the rural area programs are in terms of people: A.D.C. is "the mother's pension the Widow Black needs," child-placing is "that orphan boy at the Edward's." The case worker's interpretations here bring information in the terms already valued by the local audience.

In the city it may not seem so easy to trace the interest in the individual. Yet the newspapers cater to it constantly. Their relief stories are in terms of starving families, not statistics. And who has not been brought to earth after a speech at the woman's club by a listener who asked how it all applied to "a little

woman I know"? That close relationships are harder to maintain in city life only makes the case worker's knowledge more valuable to the lay person who is reaching out toward people, and responsibility for interpretation greater.

How much this sort of personal knowledge may influence policy-making has been apparent in the activities of boards and officials. One agency experienced a radical change of policy in this way. A board of directors in a children's agency, feeling hard pressed financially, shut down the agency's intake, to the dismay of the workers, surrounded daily by suffering and need. The next week a tragedy occurred to tenants on the farm owned by the president of the board, and four children were left homeless. Did the president explain calmly that the agency had reached its capacity under the support given by the Community Chest? No. She called a special board meeting, and the children were accepted with the statement: "We'll get the money somehow." The case workers of that agency were baffled by what they felt to be erratic behavior, but as we look at the situation now, is it not clear what forces were in play? The children of the tragedy were real to the board president; those on the waiting list were not. The case workers had not pictured them to her so that she felt their suffering as she felt that of the children she saw. It was not a lack of generosity or humanity on the part of its board of directors which was cutting off the life of this agency. It was lack of skill in interpretation on the part of the case workers who knew and could see the children.

Again in the public agency we find the tendency to make blanket rulings, forgetful of the individual human beings to whom they apply. In the early days of the depression there were ultimatums against dogs, radios, automobiles, and children in relief families, which somehow sounded as if they were directed against a strange new race. In the present we often have complicated procedures strangely unmindful of the human beings who must carry them out. Again this is not because county commissioners or welfare boards are hardhearted and mercenary; it springs only from the human tendency to think in careless general terms when there is no check by individual

facts. Public officials are human beings who will respond to human needs vividly and wisely presented; the case worker has at her finger tips the knowledge which they must have. Does she not fail both her clients and her superiors if she does not present this knowledge?

Related to this interest in individual cases, on the part of lay people, is their groping after meanings, not facts and figures. This is particularly well illustrated at the present time, when social problems are bewildering and the public agencies designed to cope with them, complex. The intelligent lay person, met singly or in a group, is not asking "how many?" as much as "why?" or "how do you account for?" He wants to know how to think about and how to understand social questions; he wants interpretation.

Consider your own experience with public speaking during the past year. At the service club, the P.T.A., the Grange, what questions come from the audience? Aren't you always asked: "Why are so many people still on relief?" "Why can't they get jobs?" "Are people on relief being pauperized?" Even sometimes the naïve "Who are the people still on relief?" These are not demands for statistics, they are gropings toward understanding.

This desire for meanings, coupled with the need for learning in warm, human terms, presents just the right challenge to the case worker. She has at her command the knowledge which the lay group wants. Her audience is prepared to value the interpretation she has to give.

However, this give and take is not as simple as it sounds. There remains a further consideration. The giving of meaning to others is a dynamic process involving the attitudes and philosophy of the case worker as well as those of her audience. Preparation for this experience and willingness to grow within it are essential. Our final question is, therefore: What does the role of interpreter involve for the case worker?

Orientation within her profession is basic. The foundation upon which the case-worker's interpretation rests is her grasp of the goals, present achievement, and problems of social work,

and the relationship in which she is placed to these by her training and experience.

That there is confusion within the ranks regarding professional questions, we all admit. Differences in training, in attitude and philosophy, are presented every day by our fellow-workers and evaluated by us as well as possible for practical use, while our profession is still in the pioneer stage. The layman, however, is not able to make such an evaluation. How bewildering for him are the differences he finds in the group he knows as social workers. He hears the members themselves referring to "trained" and "untrained" workers but is unable to see for himself a clear-cut distinction in attitude, method, or position. Though the agency in which he is interested may take pride in a "trained staff," the layman is baffled by a group with differing approaches and emphasis in case work. This confusion is probably the greatest present handicap to the standing of our profession with the public. The case worker who would interpret to the lay group must have sorted out these differences for herself, have attained some clearness about what is fundamental in social work, before she can represent the profession wisely. Furthermore, thoughtfulness about her profession will lead her to examination of her own techniques as a practicing member of it. Her individual methods must be scrutinized and found to be in line with the philosophy of social work, though they may differ in some details from those of other social workers. Only by this justification of her own techniques can she feel free to act as spokesman for the profession.

This weighing of her profession and herself, undertaken seriously, will bring the case worker face to face with the fundamental challenge to interpretation: the obligation of any profession to society. The final step in the growing-up process of a profession is its recognition that its discoveries may not be held within the group for the profit and prestige of its members, but must be surrendered to humanity for the good of all. In the medical profession, for instance, every step forward in the conquest of disease is immediately proclaimed to the world—to doctor and layman alike; the knowledge is considered to belong to human-

ity. This willingness to allow its principles to be understood, this obligation to share, seems to distinguish the profession from the craft and to distinguish the professional practitioner from the craftsman. Might it not be that the final step toward professional maturity for social work is indicated here, and that as each case worker assumes her obligation to interpret she enters into the professional spirit? Experience has brought us the right as a group to some authority in the realm of human needs and behavior, but it may be that we have kept this knowledge for our own uses while our profession needed to gain its strength. During that period our interpretation rose from our own needs—it was not free sharing. If we are to grow up, the time must come when our discoveries about handling people are generously given to other professions and to the lay group as a contribution to human knowledge.

This does not mean that we deliver over our techniques to the casual listener. The professional obligation to share is accompanied by the retaining of responsibility for the profession's skills. The medical profession shares its understanding of the causes and treatment of appendicitis but not the actual technique of surgery. Just so, social work may share its understanding of human dependency and its handling by society but cannot lay bare the techniques of the therapeutic relationship of case worker and client. That knowledge must remain in the hands of the skilled practitioner.

It does mean, however, that the profession must welcome the right of others to discuss and to understand its principles. Our superiority in the field of human problems must come to rest, not upon some mysterious knowledge that we cannot verbalize to the lay person, but upon conclusions which we freely present for discussion and for testing, in the true professional spirit. The part of the case worker in this process is important. As she enters upon the role of interpreter, she is like the individual scientist in the laboratory. His part in the total scientific process may not be large, but the scientific spirit is there just as truly as if he directed the research. So the individual case worker bears

the obligation to share her knowledge and, as she interprets even in her small area, reflects the true spirit of the profession.

Finally, there lies before each case worker the choice of her goal as an interpreter. We have been speaking of interpretation as a function assumed with full awareness of responsibility. A part of this must be knowledge of the ultimate purpose of her interpretation. For some workers this will be making real to a limited circle the problems of her group of clients and others like them. As her wisdom about people grows she will lend it by personal contact to those who can make life easier for her families. The corner groceryman, the landlord, the teacher, the neighbor, learn about human behavior, the agency, and case work, through talking with her about grocery orders, the rent, Johnny's truancy. Her audience will not be large, but its contribution to human happiness will be.

To another worker a case load will mean a tiny fragment of the human misery which she knows exists in her town or county or in the world. For her the burden of the total misery will be so great that she will feel futility in her daily efforts. Her drive will be toward a larger audience, toward boards, committees, groups, which can be enlisted for better social planning. Such an interpreter thinks of Johnny, the behavior problem in her case load, as only one of a group of boys whose neighborhood should have a playground; when Bob and Charles steal a car, she thinks of all sixteen-year-olds out of school whose idle unhappy days may lead them into mischief. When she tells the story of her clients, she feels upon her a responsibility toward the many others like them and directs the thought of her audience toward the total problem.

That we are developing a group of such workers has become apparent in the past few years, as the complexity of our social questions has made it impossible for the most unimportant staff member to evade thinking in terms of the state or the nation. We cannot escape translating our experience into larger terms and moving toward conclusions in our social thinking. How we can best use these conclusions for social betterment is a question to which we must find the answer.

Experience, temperament, many factors, determine the flair of the case worker in interpretation. The function of her agency may require certain forms of expression or place limits upon her activity. Some agencies do not approve of soap boxes! Furthermore, her talents dictate the choice of her medium. She may face the microphone bravely but be unable to write a newspaper story. The important point for each case worker is the conscious determination of her individual form of interpretation and her individual goal. With these choices she becomes a person who will influence social thinking, whether her sphere of leadership is small or large.

Is leadership a strange word to apply to the function of the case worker? We associate leadership with the administrator or the supervisor, who have power within the agency, but the case worker is the person who carries out the orders, whose job is the daily routine. Yet we cannot think of the case worker in the relationship we are considering without thinking in terms of leadership. A case worker who is aware of the special knowledge brought to her by the daily meeting of human problems, who is conscious of the obligations of her profession, and who shares with the audience that is hers, becomes a leader. She knows that every day her activities affect the cause of social work for good or ill. By the interpretation that she gives or withholds, she molds the community's attitudes toward human welfare. At first she may accept this leadership only for the sake of her clients, to create for them the opportunities they need. The goal of her interpretation lies in the present. Later, as experience confirms the power of her leadership, she humbly recognizes her obligation to the future; for she sees that in creating understanding of human needs today, she builds for tomorrow. The challenge of the case worker in her role of interpreter lies just here, for as a contemporary has aptly said: "The concept of social work in any given community is the lengthened shadow of some social worker."¹

¹ Gertrude Springer, "Miss Bailey Says."

RELATION OF CASE-WORK STAFFS TO INTERPRETATION, OFFICIALS, GOVERNING BOARDS VOLUNTEERS, AND THE PUBLIC

Virginia Howlett, Welfare Secretary, Association of Junior Leagues of America, New York City

DURING six years of serving as supervisor in a private case-working agency and one long year as supervisor in a public relief agency, I have given much thought to the subject of staff relationships. During all those years there were a number of volunteers on my staff. In addition, there were district committees, boards, and always the public. In a previous experience, as director of a small settlement house, I had been initiated in the direction of volunteers, having forty volunteers on the staff which included only five professional persons. During these years I was not only working out my own relationship to these laymen but also considering the problem of training and directing my staff in working with volunteers.

Three years ago I found myself on the other side of the fence. I was now employed by an organization made up exclusively of laymen—a group committed to a program of volunteer service. Because I was identified with them I received from them, and other lay groups with which I met, a frank picture of the reaction of laymen to this joint venture of professional social workers and laymen. I received at times a surprising picture of myself and my group of social workers—one which had never been presented so clearly to me before. From time to time I have shared this picture with fellow-social workers. They have not always accepted it. Sometimes it has been hard not to be defensive about the criticisms that laymen make of us. Sometimes we know so well the causes that lie behind these criticisms.

Sometimes I am afraid we haven't taken time or trouble to think it through.

I was asked by the Program Committee to bring you particularly the lay point of view—to be the spokesman for a group of volunteers, board members, and public, who might be too polite to say directly to you the things they say to me. Because I am at home in the case-work section, I feel free to share these with you. I bring them with no attempt to defend any viewpoint expressed. We can give them our thoughtful consideration both here and later in our own minds. Perhaps this discussion will have value if it serves to make us think this through for ourselves.

Because I did want to bring you a true lay point of view, I did not trust only to my memory all the bits I have gathered, but sent this letter to seventeen laymen:

Many times as I've discussed volunteer service, professional service, board membership, etc. with Junior League groups I have wished some of my friends among professional social workers could be little mice, listening without being seen or heard. Now here is our chance to present some of your points of view to this group. This meeting is a part of the program of the section on case work and I imagine it will be attended largely by professional social workers. I have been asked to do this because I am identified with the lay group—because I am your spokesman, so to speak, and at the same time a social worker.

The laymen selected represented every section of the country from New England to Arizona, from Wisconsin to Florida. They represented large cities with adequate social services and small cities with poorly equipped agencies. They were selected because I knew they had given serious thought to our subject. They represent volunteers, board members, and committee members. They are all women and in an age group from twenty-one to forty-five years. Many expressed in different words the same points of view. They cover a wide range from really basic relationships to small details which sometimes loom important. It is impossible for me to classify these expressions in neat categories. Let us reach into the mailbag together and see what we have.

Apparently there is a decided feeling that this serious responsibility for the welfare of our communities belongs to the whole, not to one group:

We must understand and estimate what we owe as a person to the community and in that understanding train ourselves to the height of our capabilities. As board members we must be the interpreters between lay and professional groups—able to view both sides—our learning is never done.

I wish the professional would see that this is 1938 and that the volunteer is no longer a babe-in-arms but rather a comrade-in-arms.

Often problems are met in a way laymen cannot understand, but if the case worker will explain this to the laymen—will take the public into their confidence—(*example: Our Case Committee*) they will be made to feel the problems are theirs—the agency theirs—and they will have a public that will not merely hope things will be better but that will act so that they will be better.

Social workers should stop telling volunteers it is a privilege to serve and convince them that they are necessary.

There is an often repeated feeling that while agencies seem to have largely accepted the fact that they must “have volunteers” there has been no clear defining of relationships and function and no planned training for these lay groups. One person speaks of “being thrown cold at the job.” To quote further:

The most important thing in volunteer work is good and adequate supervision. Supervisors should have genuine confidence in the possibilities of volunteer work. Supervision of volunteers should be part of the regular professional duties, not something extra to be squeezed in. The attitude of the staff member toward the volunteer worker should be the same as her attitude toward another professional worker—neither “toadying” nor belittling.

We wish to be treated as equals. We do not mean we are equal in training but in our own field of usefulness and with our own particular type of training we are ready. The nurses during the World War were not firing the guns but were held in as much respect for faithfulness in their line of duty as the soldier in his.

Another pleads for a “natural relationship” between professionals and laymen. She thinks “sometimes we get so wrapped up in our own little personal connection with an agency, we have a hard time seeing over the tight shell of that agen-

cy." And, she adds, "I do dislike being made to feel like a fifth wheel on a wagon, as if I were impeding progress by taking someone's valuable time, rather than helping."

It seems to be accepted by both lay and professionals that an important function of the volunteer is that of interpretation. I heard a very interested and active layman say recently that she wished social workers would not so often tell the volunteer that that was her function. She believed that volunteers who saw work well done could not help being interpreters.

It depends upon the time and trouble taken by the staff in training and interpreting to the volunteer as to how good in turn the volunteer will be in interpreting to the wider public—from whence after all comes the financial support without which nothing can be done.

I feel only a volunteer can be really close to what the agency is doing.

A qualified staff will instill respect for the agency—they help the public to take a long view of social work.

Another feels:

An interpretation of case work ought to be given in the broadest scope possible; perhaps pointing the view of community welfare as a whole, then the general remedial plan, then the immediate problem under discussion. Show the volunteer where her work fits in or where the necessity to rouse public opinion lies—*don't generalize*.

On the subject of the interpretation the social worker gives the laymen, there are two or three other contributions I think helpful.

Remember that a volunteer is nearly always uninformed on any welfare project except the one she is working on at the moment. For instance, don't refer to COS, Legal Aid, etc. without explaining what they are and how they relate to what you are discussing.

The average lay person is fascinated with the present trend of social work and is eager to know more about it and have a part in its progress. If the social worker tries to impress a person with her superior knowledge and talks down, it leaves the person cold. If, on the other hand, she starts out by catching the lay attention with lay language and lay thinking and gradually brings him along until he grasps the more technical side, she has really sown a seed that will bear fruit.

Another writes:

No matter how technically skillful and exact the work of any professional organization might be, unless it is credible to the lay mind, it will never have the active support necessary for successful accomplishment of the job undertaken.

Another urges that the social worker make the reports more interesting—not purely statistical.

Use human stories where possible. Give them a story they can use in casual conversation to illustrate the fine work the agency is doing; a point made disinterestedly at the dinner table or over a cup of tea carries far.

Another says:

Be a little more dramatic. How many times I have seen a group of women sit unmoved and unsympathetic while a case worker strove to interest them in "a family which we found was having a little difficulty." You can see them thinking, "We all have a little difficulty—why do they need a trained psychiatrist worker?" If only the case worker would say, "This family is in an awful mess: the husband beats up the wife and little Johnny is so upset over it that he has become a little brute. He twists the arms of other children and acts like a fiend in school." Don't you think she'd get better response? I do.

Two laymen protest against the "crusading volunteer." The social worker can do a real job if she can help the overzealous individual with little knowledge keep her feet on the ground. The other warns: "Far better to have a board made up of untrained figure heads than of untrained missionaries. The harm a poorly informed board member can do is limitless."

Further suggestions about boards are: "Board members should be educated for their jobs before asked on board." One suggests as training volunteer work, study groups, and training courses. This same person feels there should be limited terms for board members.

Another person who writes is discouraged because:

While the agencies seem to realize the necessity of tying in to the community through lay persons on their boards, they do nothing to make board membership attractive or stimulating.

She deplores the lack of any training for volunteers and says charitably:

We feel this situation is due to a lack of understanding on the part of the agencies as to what to do with volunteers, rather than indifference.

Emphasis is laid on the need for more intelligent placement of the volunteer in the job.

By judging her qualifications and assigning her work which is not beyond her capabilities, the case worker can encourage the volunteer and make her a constructive aid to the agency.

All emphasize the importance of the person (the social worker) who not only gives leadership to the layman but who so often represent to the laymen the embodiment of the goal for which she is striving. While not specific as to how it can be realized, we are told:

Social work as a profession should be made attractive to persons of vitality and attractive personality.

The social worker should live a well rounded life.

I should like to conclude these quotations from letters with this very thoughtful contribution:

If social workers could only think of the volunteer not as a filler-in or a necessary appendage but as an opportunity to develop the social conscience of one more individual.

In an attempt to sum up these contributions it seems to me the laymen are saying to us social workers something like this:

We have a stake in this job of yours. It is a joint responsibility. Because of your training and experience, because you have made it your life work, we look to you for leadership. But we expect from you a genuine belief in us—a belief that we are necessary. We believe mutual respect and mutual honesty necessary. We want you to give us facts as you find them—to educate us—that we in turn may widen the circle and that there may be a more deeply developed social conscience in a larger number of our population.

This is the challenge that is being thrown out to us.

The very fact that this meeting has a part on our program is evidence that we do, to some extent at least, accept the foregoing as our belief too. During the last four years, the National Conference of Social Work has given attention to laymen and their part in social work. Certainly over this same period there

has been an increased realization of the need of interpretation of our programs—the need for a much wider base of support.

Do case workers need training and direction in the skills of working with lay groups? Is it a God-given gift that some have and some have not? Is it a part of case-work training or a thing apart?

There is much evidence that case-work staffs do need training along these lines. During my years on the Junior League staff I have had occasion to interview many social workers who were candidates for positions in the Junior League welfare projects. Many were well equipped to handle the technical side of the job but afraid of the emphasis on community contacts. They felt equal to the case load but unprepared for working with boards, committees, or volunteers. Some frankly say they would not be interested in a job that entailed those responsibilities; they preferred to do a "straight case-work job." As I have talked with these workers and with the many social workers to whom our local Junior Leagues are turning for leadership and training, I have realized how many social workers in leading positions are not yet convinced of the need of a partnership with laymen (except where financing is concerned), and what little faith some have in the contribution of the laymen. It is significant that those who believe in them are those who have used them most.

We could spend much more time than we have at our disposal thinking through the reasons for difficulty in establishing a thoroughly satisfactory and workable relationship between the layman and the professional social worker. Perhaps the most evident one is the newness of social work as a profession. The layman was the social worker for hundreds of years. There are still those who question whether social work is a profession to be classed with law and medicine. The helping of individuals is not the exclusive area of social work. Is the professional social worker really secure in his own skilled contribution as compared to the layman? Is the layman so convinced of those skills? Is each a little jealous of the other?

I believe most sincerely that the training of case-work personnel in this field must begin in the formative period. As a case worker begins her professional training in the school of social work she is led to think consciously of her relationships. As she thinks through her relationship with her client, could there not be an extension of this to include her relationship to the rest of the community? The profession of social work involves a two-way relationship in a way that other professions do not—in that the services performed by us are to one group but paid for by another group. Recent years have served to break down lines between these groups. Insecurity is the lot of those in each group, including our own. Services are sought at times by the group that can pay. But by and large the foregoing is true. Hence, the need for the social worker to begin early to think clearly on these relationships. I am amazed at times to see a case worker who seems understanding, patient, and helpful with her clients exhibit bitterness, impatience, and intolerance toward a board member or a volunteer.

The schools of social work and the agencies giving the supervised field training are thinking of this, I know. Realizing the importance of training, the National Committee on Volunteers in Social Work several years ago appointed a committee headed by a school person, Miss Leah Feder, who sent out a questionnaire to the schools asking just what was being done by them in this line. The answers which came back indicated that the curriculum included very little on this subject. However, a committee of the Association of Schools of Social Work was formed at the request of the National Committee on Volunteers to develop this further. I feel that any of us who believe that such training should begin in the schools of social work should express this need to school people.

Some school people with whom I have talked believe that this part of training must come on the job itself. I agree that whether or not it begins in the school, the development of understanding and skills along this line as all others in social work comes largely in practice—preferably under good supervision. To this

end I believe that case workers should be given opportunity for working with laymen, using volunteers, meeting with committees, and appearing before boards. I think too they should have some actual responsibility here—not mere contacts.

If this is done then we will have greatly increased our interpreters, and, in addition, we are equipping these young case workers for the pioneering jobs which need them sorely. I believe, too, that no better interpretation is to be had than that from the worker in the "front-line trenches," and, when it comes, not relayed through a supervisor but directly, with all the emotion which the case worker feels from firsthand combat with the problem, it will carry a fire which is needed. If we as supervisors and executives are afraid of the interpretation our staff will give, then there is something more to be done with our staffs. You cannot build a fence around your worker, and she will interpret whether you wish her to or not.

I realize that all this means more time for supervision, more time to supervise your staff in one more activity, more time to educate and train volunteers. But, it seems to me the time has come when we can no longer evade this responsibility. We must take it into account and give it its proper place along with all the rest of our job. If we feel for a moment that a small army of social workers can solve these problems alone, then of course we need only to develop our own skills. But if we do believe with Mary Richmond that "after all society is one fabric," then we must "study and develop our work at its point of intersection with other services," and we will be able to "knit into that fabric the threads of our own specialty." Our skills will be more clearly defined as we relate them to the community life, and it is through our laymen who work with us as volunteers that we can most easily do this relating.

CONTINUED STIMULATION OF GROWTH AND STAFF EXPERIENCE

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THE title of this paper suggests that professional education is not completed at a specific stage but is a continuous process. No social worker, however experienced, can be a person who has "arrived." A sense of finality of attainment denies the opportunity for further growth, and growing is the force of life. Social work is a function in flux and can develop only through the persons who perform the function. The effectiveness of an agency, therefore, depends on the qualifications of its personnel. Qualifications, however, are not static, and if standards are to be kept constantly high, it is essential that agencies provide the soil which will stimulate and guide a continuous professional development of staff.

The importance of training new personnel both within and without the agency has been emphasized during the past few years. It must be recognized, however, that everyone needs development, regardless of his level of functioning. The professional needs of different individuals vary, and differences in content and method are necessary to meet individual needs successfully. Moreover, a very important fact to be remembered in our discussion of staff development is that it presupposes the existence of native abilities within the worker and technical knowledge that may be developed further. For the most part agencies can only supply stimuli to bring out responses, but these responses proceed from tendencies and capacities already possessed by the individual. If these capacities are lacking, no program, however well conceived and directed, can work miracles.

If practice is to contribute to growth, it must be accompanied by disciplined, systematic analysis and evaluation of the elements that comprise practice. On the other hand, that continuous practice cannot always be relied upon as a guaranty for development is a painful fact to many administrators of private case-work agencies. They are frequently hampered in their progressive program by a professional lag among some of the older staff members. These agencies, having permitted the tree to die from the top, are now confronted with the dilemma of having younger workers who have developed to a point beyond those in authority over them. The implications are serious and are well known to those who have observed both the conscious and the unconscious conflicts between these two groups. This situation frequently tends to retard the benefits which might come to the service from the new and better-trained workers.

Recognizing the importance of the principle of professional growth, we shall examine the basic purposes and the processes of stimulation of staff development. The aim of professional development always represents a freeing of activities toward the end of producing workers capable of rendering adequate service to the client and satisfactory functioning within the agency. Adequacy of service is relative and is determined by the function of an agency. Along with the recent significant changes in the field of case work, some agencies have expanded, and many agencies have redefined their major functions. They demand greater technical skill from their staffs than formerly, to meet the requirements of their new functions. We must look to schools of social work for formal professional education. A systematic program of staff development sponsored within an agency must be related to the function of the agency which it seeks to strengthen and is not a substitute for professional education. Miss Agnes Van Driel developed this point clearly in her discussion at the Conference last year.

Professional development is a joint responsibility of the agency and the individual. It is true that some individuals seem to achieve growth under certain unfavorable conditions, while

some fail to develop under most favorable circumstances. But it is also a fact that most people do not become self-expressive in a social vacuum. The encouragement and help provided by the situation are important factors. It is the agency's responsibility to provide a leadership which is well grounded in the philosophy and principles underlying social work; a leadership which can stimulate staff development and provide opportunity for staff expression and participation in policies and in program. Such opportunities provide incentives for professional maturity and enhance the value of the worker, who in turn is enriching and sustaining the agency. Leadership that is capable of developing mutual understanding, respect, and loyalty, fosters a spirit of growth within the agency. The working atmosphere thus produced stimulates in the staff their creative powers and professional solidarity.

This leadership emanates in the main from the executive, but, in an agency where the democratic process operates in its administration, the board of directors and the staff share in this responsibility. An executive, because of pressure of work, may have to delegate the responsibility for promoting staff development to an assistant, but he has to find ways to make himself available to individuals or small groups of the staff for exchange of thoughts and ideas. Without analyzing the possible psychological reasons, it is generally true that workers derive satisfaction and encouragement from contact with an executive who places value on their opinion. This is particularly true in a large agency where administration is decentralized and the contact between the central office and the district staffs is through administrative bulletins. No matter how adequate the personnel-practices machinery of an agency may be to reward competence, it cannot completely convey that quality of feeling that is derived from a word of recognition from the executive. In the very large agency this responsibility may have to be assumed by a department head rather than by the general administrator. This direct manner of encouragement is important to workers who have the feeling that the executive is too removed from

them to be aware of their initiative and faithful performance of responsibilities. The executive who guides the agency intelligently will not divorce himself completely from the educational program of the agency. In addition to availing himself of the opportunity of keeping up with the current thinking and practices in the field, he will by virtue of his greater maturity supply the controls which are at times essential in order to safeguard the agency against certain fads which may seriously affect the function of the agency.

An important medium of development is the staff conference. The program of the conference usually demonstrates to the staff what the agency considers valuable. The conference should offer possibilities for developing freedom to think creatively. This objective can be attained if the staff conference is viewed by the administration and the staff as an important educational medium rather than as a means of creating democratic machinery to handle details. Some details have to be brought in, but if this becomes the major interest of the conference, it fails in its primary objective, which is the enrichment of personnel. The conference offers a unique group experience. Careful planning with respect to group processes is growth-producing for the individuals and makes the staff effective.

The program can be built around such topics as reports of functioning committees, agency function in relation to community needs, case presentations, and discussion of professional literature. Individuals who participate in the community can inform the staff of what is going on in the area of their special activities. Outside speakers are stimulating, but the conference should primarily be a means for staff expression on vital issues.

In addition to adequate leadership and well-planned conferences, staff committees similarly provide opportunities for professional development. Case workers usually function under pressure and require some encouragement to reflect, either individually or in a group. In a service agency where the program is geared to action, there is often a tendency on the part of the workers to ignore the need for pause to consider general con-

cepts. The staff committees offer opportunities for channeling of ideas, as they make their way into the agency. Committees can analyze and evaluate agency practices in the light of current case-work concepts, and present the integrated parts to the entire staff for consideration. This process, which entails deliberation and discipline, is growth producing. Freedom of interchange of thoughts and ideas within the agency and opportunity to collaborate with others on projects bring vitality to the workers, and the infusion of new knowledge leads to continuous experimentation. To insure the values inherent in committee functioning, their leadership must be mature and capable of stimulating group thinking. The request of committees may come either from the staff or from the administration, but in any event it is always advisable that the staff have a voice in the selection of the leadership. Agency, as well as interagency committees, offer stimulating experience. An executive who is secure in his position with his board will also create possibilities for the staff and the board to participate in committees concerning matters of interest to both. One might list many kinds of committees that are usually found functioning in agencies. However, if they are to have educational value, committees as well as the general program of staff development must be an outgrowth of real situations within the agency rather than ones artificially stimulated.

In addition to the immediate interests of the agency are the broader problems of the community. Participation in agency committees offers the worker the opportunity to train for leadership, which he may apply to activities in the community, such as councils and various groups for social action. Historically, case-work agencies have always been concerned with community problems and their effects on the individual. Case work in its emphasis on the individual as the unit of treatment, has passed through significant stages in the development of its philosophy. Along with the acceptance of differentials in treatment and the boundary of agency function, there is also an increasing awareness of the social situation as an important deter-

minant in the diagnosis and treatment of an individual client. The limitations of case work become apparent at times when the social forces are so devastating to the individual that only fundamental reorganization of the environment can bring about the desired change. A progressive case-work agency is in the strategic position to interpret human needs as they appear in the daily work and to advocate the necessary social action for the individual's social well-being. In some communities this responsibility must be assumed particularly by the private agencies, which have greater freedom of opinion and action than have the public agencies.

If community leadership is recognized as a responsibility of case workers, the development of a staff in technical competence alone is inadequate. Not all workers will, of course, show interest or ability to develop in this area, just as others will fail in the development of technical skills. But given an effective educational program, workers will have possibilities of developing their capacities in the areas in which their interest is dominant. Training the worker for disciplined community action may be furthered by participation in councils of social agencies, neighborhood councils, local chapters of the American Association of Social Workers, and board committees. This will require a change in attitude on the part of the leaders in some communities, who believe that the older and seasoned social workers are indispensable at all times. They fail to appreciate the vitalizing effect young blood may have. The head of the agency should be aware of opportunities for participation in the community and present them to the staff. He should take initiative in recommending promising workers for community activities. In other words, it is necessary to push back the walls of the agency and bring the staff into community planning. This will also be of considerable value to the agency and the community, since no one or two individuals in administrative positions can possibly take part in all the community activities in which the agency is interested.

The subject of staff development cannot be viewed as a sepa-

rate and distinct program to be carried out at certain specified periods of time. It is a continuous and an inseparable part of the administration and the function of the agency. Its effectiveness also depends upon general working conditions and personnel practices. It is recognized that overcrowded quarters, great pressure of work, and lack of recognition for competence are handicaps in developing staffs. The physical setting of an agency which provides adequate space, light, ventilation, and essential privacy for staff and clients, contributes to the efficiency of workers and to their general satisfaction on the job. Most agencies have policies of salary increases and promotions for their personnel. The question is whether or not these policies are consciously utilized as incentives and stimuli for continuous development. Also, what criteria are employed in determining recognition and reward? Is it education, performance on the job, or both?

Every professional worker has an obligation to keep abreast with new developments in his field. If he fails to continue actively in the study of his field, he finds after a few years that the professional world has moved past him and he is out of touch with it. Education, however, does not guarantee competence. The ability to apply education and integrate it with practice brings about competence. This, of course, does not imply that an agency has no responsibility in encouraging education and making it possible for the staff to secure it outside. The extent to which an agency can meet this responsibility will depend on its resources and its general acceptance of the philosophy of staff development. It is important that agencies recognize this responsibility, particularly in view of the present situation in the field of case work. Because of changes and development in social-work organization, agencies have redefined and modified their functions. Higher qualifications are constantly being set up for new personnel, and the older workers are expected to equip themselves professionally in order to meet the new demands. The matter of financing a course of study is a serious problem to most workers. This is particularly true in

communities where there are no school facilities, and it means not only giving up one's job, but also incurring the additional expenses involved in living in a strange community. Their salaries are not sufficiently adequate to enable them to carry such a program independently. In order to encourage and facilitate further training, agencies should be willing to offer assistance in some form. Continued professional training might be obtained through a system which provides leaves of absence for a reasonable period of time, with scholarship and loan funds made available by the agencies. Though the same provisions will also be necessary in communities where professional schools are located, there is the advantage of having access to extension courses offered late in the afternoon or evening. Such courses afford persons in the field an opportunity to refresh their knowledge and to keep more nearly up to date. The policy of some agencies to allow time off for study in the late afternoon should be encouraged. Administratively it might be practical to determine what proportion of agency time should be devoted to these studies as well as other educational activities. Perhaps the best way to provide for advanced study is a sabbatical leave, as it is practiced in the teaching profession. In keeping with the suggestion that study should be encouraged, I quote from an article by Miss Bertha Reynolds: "The opportunity to study again at a time when one has become at ease in social work, and before ease has settled into habit, would seem desirable both for the individual and for the value of his work."¹

In addition to encouraging the staff in formal education, the agency may provide other mediums for staff education. Special consultants who assist workers on individual cases also contribute to the staff's technical knowledge and competence. Furthermore, because of their specialized skills and their experience with the work of the agency, they may be valuable as leaders of staff seminars. These seminars can be planned either for the entire staff or for limited groups with a view to defining and strengthening a specific function of the organization. Most

¹ *Family*, June, 1936.

agencies recognize that periodic seminars offer valuable opportunities for stimulation. Agencies in the larger cities are at an advantage in that they can call on a number of qualified individuals in the community for this service. The agencies in remote areas or in small cities are usually less fortunately situated in this respect and have to depend in the main on special occasions such as state conferences, which bring experts into their own or near-by communities.

Attendance and participation at conferences also afford opportunities to broaden one's horizon. Agencies should have liberal policies with reference to conference attendance. It is particularly essential that organizations having limited opportunities for staff development should make it possible for most of the staff to attend some conferences, either local, state, or national. Progressive agencies consider it a part of good personnel practices to include in their budget a special fund for this purpose.

It should be stated that education will not meet the needs of all workers. In some instances, there is a factor of superannuation presenting some very acute and real problems to the administration of any agency. A retirement system with a reasonably low-age limit and adequate benefits might be one solution. The problem is more complicated in the case of those workers who in terms of their performance might be said to superannuate prematurely. All efforts on the part of the agency to improve their quality of service are futile, and they remain a drag upon the agency. Major surgery may be the only solution. Agencies, however, should attempt to redirect these workers into more suitable fields of occupation and assist them in finding employment when possible. In some instances, the agencies might find it most economical to meet their obligation to these workers by a provision for a liberal terminal salary.

Another general problem which agencies are facing pertains to the utilization of the supervisor who has failed to keep up with new technical developments in case work, but is, nevertheless, capable of offering valuable service to the agency. This

problem is particularly evident in specialized case-work agencies. In the training of case workers there has been in recent years an emphasis on the technical skills involved in case-work treatment. The supervisors, who feel inadequate in this area, experience a sense of frustration on the job, regardless of their valuable contribution in other phases of the work. It would be constructive for the agency and stimulating to these supervisors if it were possible for them to function in the area of their greatest competence, without loss of status. One agency has met this problem in its districts by adding a case consultant to the staff. The older supervisor continues to be responsible for general administration as well as for the agency's leadership in that particular community. He also serves as consultant to the staff on resources and other community matters. This plan offers a possibility of introducing a needed balance in the development of personnel as well as in the general function of an agency. It permits a better service to the individual client and fruitful utilization of community contacts without sacrificing either. The success of such a plan depends on its complete acceptance by those who are actively involved. Should the older supervisor's emotional reactions to the plan interfere with his functioning on the job, it is questionable if he should be left in strategic positions where he may restrict the development of the work at its roots.

All workers need to experience a sense of approval and assurance of reward. Young workers in particular develop best in situations which offer them a sense of progress and opportunities for advancement. In the traditional setup of case-work agencies, case workers have no feeling of status nor a reasonably adequate salary unless they are promoted into supervisory or administrative positions. The larger private agencies have attempted to remedy this by devising a category of "senior" case workers for the more experienced and skilful practitioners. Fundamentally the problem remained as long as the ultimate goal for case workers was the supervisory positions which were limited indeed and were in the hands of a few who held on to

them, at times too securely for the good of the agency. With the expansion of the public welfare program, the situation has changed in that the skilled case workers are too readily drawn off into supervisory positions, but again the problem of lack of status and adequate compensation in case-work positions remains essentially the same. A private child-placing agency with a professional staff of thirty-four is attempting to solve this problem by doing away with the traditional district supervisor. The unique character of this experiment may warrant a brief description.

The case-work staff is classified according to competence into the following three categories: workers under supervision; workers independent of supervision; and case worker-supervisor. Each category has a definite salary scale, the maximum of which is usually reached at the end of the second or third year. This agency requires a Master's degree in social service or its equivalent for those who join the staff. A worker without any previous experience in case work is expected to be under supervision for three or four years. The degree of his development on the job, as well as his evidence of general professional interest, determine his readiness for advancement. The workers in the second group function for the most part independently, but consult the head of the respective departments in which they function, or the case consultant on administrative and case-work matters. Periodic evaluations are made of their work. These workers, as well as the rest of the staff, have access to special consultants who give part-time service to the agency. In the second year of their new status, some independent workers may be found capable of assuming supervision of a student. (A school of social service maintains a training unit for students in this agency.) To the worker this experience is an effective training process because of the discipline involved in organizing and articulating clearly the knowledge he wishes to impart in the process of supervision. Promotion for these workers depends on their professional development, their capacity to promote growth in others, and the agency's need for supervisory service.

After the experience in training students, he may be given the supervision of a new worker who has passed the probationary period in the agency. The case worker-supervisor has a maximum of two workers for supervision. He in turn is relieved of a proportionate number of cases in his load. As it is recognized that experience in case work does not necessarily equip one for supervisory responsibilities, and as facilities for the study of supervision are as yet limited, the agency arranged weekly seminars for the case worker-supervisors under the leadership of an educator from a professional school. Reports of supervisory conferences as submitted by the members of the seminar are evaluated and discussed in the light of current concepts and in the light of the unique educational process of supervision. These workers also meet periodically during the lunch hour to review current literature on supervision.

Opportunities for stimulation and recognition are inherent in the experiment just described. The plan offers possibilities for workers to carry increased responsibilities when qualified. It also makes it possible for the experienced workers to continue practicing their case-work skills.

An educational program in a case-work agency begins with the supervisory services. In areas removed from teaching centers, the supervisor provides the major professional leadership, and the quality of supervision determines to a large extent the professional development of the staff. For supervision to be effective it has to meet the needs of the individual worker according to his level of development. The discussion in this paper has been limited to the worker who has successfully integrated theoretical knowledge with practice within the agency and has learned the meaning of the use of the professional self in accepting and giving help. The supervisor's role in relation to this type of worker is that of consultant, being ready to share and to contribute from his wider knowledge and experience when the need arises, and to withdraw when it is helpful to the worker in his struggle for independence.

The increasing understanding of supervision makes possible,

and the goals it has set for itself makes imperative, a critical examination and revision of methods that will further the development of individual staff members. The present administrative structure makes supervision "a one man job." Workers do not share sufficiently in the direction and administration of their district and have little opportunity to test their abilities. Supervision is a co-operative procedure, and the case-workers' contribution is vital and should be sought. Intelligent supervision can continue to develop strength and perspective in the mature worker through encouragement in areas of greater responsibility and through testing his ability to assume leadership in new situations. The response of individual workers to increased responsibilities may differ and offers the agency an opportunity to judge the worker's progress. The growth of some workers may be considerably accelerated as they experience a sense of achievement; others may react with anxiety and regress in their work and be unable to function. The dependent worker may resist increased responsibilities because of fear of thinking things through and of analyzing his functioning in the new situation. A genuine attitude of tolerance, understanding, and an expression of confidence on the part of the supervisor stimulate a desire for insight and ability in making helpful self-analysis. These are essential to professional growth and make experience valuable.

The supervisor can also aid the worker in planning systematic professional reading. New methods and procedures in case work are being developed, and older techniques are being refined. A continuous program of reading is essential to the case worker if he is to keep abreast of new concepts in case work which are appearing in increasing volume. The agency that feels a responsibility for staff development will be aware of the importance of having a library which will make available to the staff all the standard books and periodicals in its own as well as in related fields. In smaller agencies where the library opportunities are limited, the workers can supplement by joint subscription to current periodicals. Reading should not be limited,

however, to professional literature in social work only. It is very important that the case worker keep oriented in the current socioeconomic and political problems. Reading of literature is an aid to acquiring a philosophical viewpoint which is helpful in this period of kaleidoscopic social changes.

The supervisory function of the evaluation of staff can be another constructive and growth-producing experience to workers. This process of evaluation presupposes supervision that is capable of gauging a worker's receptivity, development, and readiness for increased responsibilities. Within recent years serious thought has been given to the question of evaluation in case work, but no precise objective criteria have as yet been evolved, and it remains essentially a judgment. Evaluation takes place in a measure in every supervisory conference, but it is the periodic evaluation which is usually considered as the medium for "stock taking." These evaluations are in part administrative devices, and through them the organization learns the worker's equipment and quality of performance. A method of evaluation, which permits the workers full and productive participation, becomes an effective tool for training and development. The mature worker should be helped to take some responsibility for evaluating himself. Self-evaluation may be helpful, in that the worker can bring out material he can see and is ready to accept. Regardless of the adequacy or inadequacy of the material brought in by the worker, it can serve as a nucleus around which the supervisor builds and relates his analysis of the worker's total professional performance by introducing points of difference. Through this process the worker learns if the professional change that has taken place is in accordance with his capacities and the current standards in the agency, and becomes aware of the areas of his performance which require further strengthening.

In summarizing I want to emphasize that the agency and the staff should share in the responsibilities for a program of education. The agency should provide the opportunities which will stimulate and promote growth, and in turn the worker has a

responsibility to strengthen the working morale of the organization. In order to be most effective, the program of staff development should be an integral part of the function and general administration of the agency. Many of the agency's activities and policies, such as staff conferences, committees, supervision, and adequate personnel practices, are some of the important mediums for staff development. A consistent and continuous program of staff education is the "most competent means of achieving competence."

HOUSEKEEPER SERVICE IN MOTHERLESS FAMILIES

Jacob Kepecs, Executive Director, Jewish Children's Bureau, Chicago

WIDOWS' PENSIONS was a most effective phrase in securing consideration for the protection of the fatherless family, but no corresponding simple appeal or solution has been devised for the conservation of the motherless family. Motherless children are to be found in large numbers in institutions and child-placing agencies caring for dependent and neglected children, and until the introduction of housekeeper service in recent years, foster-care was the only recognized method of meeting the situation. For some unexplained reason the motherless family escaped the vigilant eyes of social workers, who are usually on the alert in regard to saving broken families.

There can be no dispute about the role of the mother in the home; she represents the interests of the family, and her absence constitutes the greatest single threat to the security and well-being of family life. Her loss is particularly felt in the case of younger children, and where the care of infants is involved, the family stops functioning altogether if the mother drops out even for a few days. The father is helpless when the mother becomes ill with tuberculosis and enters the sanatorium, or when she becomes mentally ill and is taken to a state hospital, or when she dies and the children are still too young to take care of themselves or of each other. The father cannot, as a rule, give his children the physical and intimate personal care which they require and at the same time provide for their support; he is faced with the necessity of breaking up the home or of maintaining it at the risk of neglect and hardship.

No organized or systematic effort existed in the United States on behalf of fathers and children until 1923 when the Jewish Family Welfare Society of Philadelphia instituted a housekeeper service to families during the temporary absence of the mother. Since then housekeeper service has been introduced by private child-caring and family welfare organizations in most of the larger cities of the country, and government agencies followed close behind. The W.P.A. is utilizing housekeeper service as a project for unemployed women and is furnishing the service wholesale, to the discomfiture of social case workers. In Chicago alone there is an average of one hundred and fifty motherless families kept together through housekeepers furnished by W.P.A. Considering the limitations of the hours of service rendered by the housekeeper, namely, thirty hours per week, and the lack of experience in the selection and supervision of the women and of the families, one may have cause for anxiety.

The United States Children's Bureau sponsored a conference on Housekeeper service in Washington, D.C., on November 6, 1937, with representatives of national and local agencies in the fields of social work, public health nursing, home economics, vocational training, and others present. The purpose of the conference was stated as follows: "To think through the possibilities for the future development of housekeeper services in terms of the fundamental principles of organizations and satisfactory standards of services and to consider the various means by which the development of such services might be guided along sound lines."

The discussion tentatively clarified housekeeper service as follows:

1. The employment of a woman to provide care and training for children and to manage a household during the temporary or continued absence of the mother is a highly specialized service. The homemaker must be skilful in housekeeping, have ability to manage expenditures on a small budget, be able to deal constructively with children of different ages, and maintain sound family relationships between the children, the absent mother, and the father. Her work must be closely allied to that of the case worker supervising the home, so that there will be mutual understanding of the problems to be met and the methods of dealing with them.

The types of family situations in which homemakers had been used by the agencies reporting were:

- a) Families needing care during a temporary absence of the mother
- b) Families needing care during a long-continued absence of the mother and when there was question as to her ultimate return to the home
- c) Motherless families under care of the father
- d) Families of children, including older children, that had been separated and re-established as a family group
- e) Families in which problems of neglect exist and there is need for thorough diagnosis of the value or disadvantages of keeping the family together

Those who participated in the conference were aware of some of the hazards involved in the mass use of housekeeper service, but there was general agreement in respect to the real merit of the service. Thus the need of the motherless family for special consideration has received national attention which may lead to substantial measures for the protection of motherless children in which housekeeper service must be an essential part.

The following discussion is based on personal experience with housekeeper service over a period of nearly fourteen years and on a study of that service which has been recently completed. The Jewish Home Finding Society of Chicago, which was merged into the Jewish Children's Bureau of that city over a year ago, inaugurated its housekeeper service in November of 1924. By a standing and accepted arrangement with the family welfare agency and with other case-working organizations of the Jewish community, the child-placing agency assumed responsibility for the care of children requiring agency care whenever the mother was absent from the home either for a short time or permanently. This agreement still holds. But prior to the introduction of housekeeper service all such children were placed in foster-families at board. Most of them required only temporary care during the hospitalization of the mother for observation, surgery, or childbirth. Approximately 40 per cent of the total volume of the work of the agency consisted of these short-term placements. It amounted to provision of temporary shelter in foster-families; the agency had no institutional facility

at its disposal for the purpose. Foster-family care proved to be a costly and unsatisfactory method of meeting the situation. The agency experienced a large volume of emergency placements, a quick turnover of children under care, and a high rate of discontinued foster-homes. It was under continuous pressure to find new homes which lasted but a short time, and it had to check constantly on the return of the mother in order to assure the prompt discharge of the children. Temporary placement work of this kind interferes with and often disorganizes the agency program on behalf of children in need of long-time care or intensive treatment; it often clogs up the whole machinery, homefinding, medical service, etc. From the point of view of the family, temporary placement always causes acute discomfort and unhappiness; the children are compelled to make an adjustment to strange people and strange environment, and if they are of school age they usually experience two school transfers in a single school term; if the family is large, placement often means a separation of the siblings; the father and working children are left practically homeless and with no responsibility, while the mother is, as a rule, anxious and uneasy about the situation, which only adds to the strain of her hospitalization. The whole family is threatened by a temporary placement and should be avoided if possible. It was with these disadvantages in mind that the agency introduced housekeeper service to motherless families in temporary situations. After several years of experience with temporary cases the service was extended to selected families from which the mother was absent on account of death or long-time illness. Some of these families have been kept together for as long as eight or nine years, while others are now on their own because the children have grown up. No attempt was made to select and employ a corps of housekeepers; they were selected as needed. No effort was made to arrange for their formal training; they were instructed individually and on the job. They were not put in uniforms or given official status in the family. But from the beginning and as a matter of principle, only mature women were selected, usually past forty-five

years of age, who had had experience in the care of children and in household management. There is no set wage scale or a given number of hours per day or per week. It is all done on an individual basis taking into consideration the needs of the family, the needs of the housekeeper and the limitations of the agency.

It should be stated here that housekeeper service in motherless families cannot be regarded as a home-economics function. Home economics enters into the situation as a matter of course, but that is incidental. This point needs to be made here because housekeeper service is sometimes confused with the service rendered by visiting housekeepers, whose function it is to teach home economics to mothers. The housekeeper in the motherless family does the actual work. She is an acting mother, acting in her absence, and is comparable to a foster-mother in many respects.

The problem of the motherless family is not primarily an economic one, at least not in so far as the welfare of the children is concerned, although the use of housekeeper service makes the economic asset of the mother in the family quite apparent; the "acting mother" has to be paid for her services. Aid to fatherless families, on the other hand, is primarily in the form of economic assistance, a substitute for the pay envelope of the breadwinner when the father drops out.

The study referred to covers the period between November, 1924, and April, 1937, or close to twelve and one-half years. It includes all the families served during that period, namely, a total of 573. Actually only 436 different families are involved, as 91 had housekeeper service two or more times. The number of children involved totaled 2,180, or an average of 3.8 children per family. (The average size of the family is smaller now than it was in the earlier years.) The objectives of the study were stated as follows:

1. To ascertain the extent to which the problem of the motherless family may be met satisfactorily through housekeeper service:
 - a) In temporary or short-time cases
 - b) In long-time situations

2. To describe and evaluate the methods used in the selection and supervision of housekeepers for the purpose of strengthening and improving such selection
3. To appraise the adequacy of the service from the point of view of case-work treatment and financial assistance with the view of improving and strengthening the service
4. To arrive at a basis for a future policy in regard to
 - a) Continuing the service in this organization
 - b) Recommending that it be transferred to the family agency
 - c) Division of task between the two agencies in accordance with the type of problem
5. To establish the merit of housekeeper service to motherless families as a general social practice

Limited time and space make it necessary that the discussion here be confined to the barest summary and substance of the findings of the study. As has been pointed out above, the number of families and children involved in housekeeper service represents approximately 40 per cent of the total volume of work of the agency; of the 573 families involved, nearly 80 per cent required housekeeper service on account of the absence of the mother from the home for a very short time. Thus, 457 cases terminated in less than three months, of which 314 received housekeeper service less than one month. Of the remaining 116 families, 57 required a housekeeper between three months and one year; 32 from one to three years; and 27 more than three years. Long-time housekeeper service was not attempted in the earlier years. The short-time cases are usually caused by the temporary physical illness of the mother requiring hospitalization, sanatorium, or convalescent care. Thus in 430 families out of 457 terminating in less than three months, the absence of the mother was due to physical illnesses and childbirth. In the other 143 families the absence of the mother was due to the following causes: death, 68, mental illness, 57, desertion, separation, and divorce, 18. The families were referred by family welfare agencies, private and public, clinics and hospitals, the juvenile court, direct application, etc.

The vast majority of cases, as was to be expected, terminated

upon the return of the mother to the home; this occurred in 417 cases out of the total of 573. Of the remaining 156 families, 38 were active at the time of the study, and 118 had been closed for other reasons, as follows: children placed in foster-care, 46, families made own arrangements, 32, families referred to and accepted by other case-working agencies, 15, children old enough to care for themselves, 14, and father remarried, 11. These figures no doubt indicate failure or partial failure of the original plan in many instances, and more particularly so among the 46 cases which ended in the placement of the children in foster-care. But it should be noted that the agency utilizes housekeeper service as an intermediary step pending other and more permanent plans. Housekeeper service can be utilized to good advantage by foster-care agencies in emergency situations and for observation.

The age distribution of the 2,180 children involved at the time when the service was instituted is as follows:

Under six years of age	622
Between six and fourteen years	1,106
Between fourteen and seventeen years	261
Seventeen years and over	191

This age distribution is not unlike the age distribution of children in foster-care, although in some agencies the two upper-age groups are more heavily represented. In regard to the age distribution of the parents, their ages are noted in the cases of 420 mothers, of which 401 were under forty; and in the cases of 416 fathers, of which 291 were under fifty at the time of application.

The economic position of these families is indicated by the following figures: Only 19 families of the total were able to finance themselves entirely, including the wages of the housekeeper, 198, or 35 per cent, were able to meet their household budget with the exception of the housekeeper's wages, while 62 per cent required supplementation of the family budget in addition to the wages of the housekeeper. The amount of supplementation varies; occasionally and for brief periods of time,

it is necessary to underwrite the total family budget. It is apparent that we are dealing here with a low-income group. During the early years of the service, and prior to the depression, nearly all the families given housekeeper service were able to meet their total household budget. Since the depression, the heads of these families have been hit as hard as others. It has been the policy of the organization not to undertake responsibility for children in motherless homes unless the budget is adequate, and the agency underwrites it when the family is unable to meet it.

The housekeepers employed, with few exceptions, are over the age of forty, and the vast majority are over forty-five. It has been pointed out above that the employment of mature women was made a matter of policy from the very beginning, and that selection is on the basis of experience in housekeeping and in the care of children. Additional training is given on the job by the case worker who is familiar with the fundamentals of home economics. The method of recruiting housekeepers is essentially the same as the finding of foster-families, but, owing to the emergency nature of the service and to lack of experience, these methods have been less refined and thorough. The turnover of housekeepers was rather heavy at first. A total of 1,006 housekeepers were employed during the period covered by the study; of these, 788, or 78 per cent, lasted less than three months, and 75, or 7.5 per cent were employed more than a year. One change in housekeepers was necessary in 113 families, while in 79 families two or more changes were necessary. Thus in 381 families, or in 66 per cent of the total, the service was completed with one housekeeper.

Housekeeper service varies from part time to full time depending upon the composition of the family, the hours of employment of the father, and his character, and the ages of the children, particularly the latter. Residence is usually required when the children are under school age or during illness. Housekeepers' wages vary according to their hours of work, number and ages of the children, and the standard of the family. For

full-time work wages range from \$10 to \$25 per week. The study shows that the largest number were paid from \$10 to \$15 per week; 183 were paid between \$15 and \$20, while in 50 instances the wage exceeded \$20 per week.

In addition to statistical data, the study included an analysis of a representative number of case records which revealed a variety of problems and characteristics of the motherless family. Thus, there is the family which has been dominated by the mother, and her absence leaves the family helpless and stranded. One of the families analyzed was given housekeeper service at the death of the mother. The father was found to be entirely helpless in meeting any of the problems presented by his family. He evidenced this by complete indifference in regard to any plan for his children. There were four children in the family, of which the youngest was four years of age. The oldest daughter was eighteen, a wage-earner who assumed the role of the head of the family. She wanted the home kept intact, but she would not consider giving up her job and staying at home, and the agency agreed. The family was kept together with a housekeeper for a period of three years, when the oldest daughter got married. The role of the housekeeper in this family was that of a household manager. The oldest daughter was the acting mother, and when she married it became necessary to break up the family. This family would not have been suitable for housekeeper service without her.

There are families in which the mother plays the main role but is not the all-dominant factor; such families have a better chance to adjust in her absence. In one family the father assumed a more important and active role in the absence of the mother, although she had been the acknowledged head of the family while at home. It was a well-knit, devoted, happy family, and housekeeper service became necessary when the mother developed tuberculosis and had to be admitted to a sanatorium for extended treatment. The father had left to his wife the management of the household and of the children. In her absence all the family plans centered about her return, but the

father was recognized as the acting head and he played his part well. The family was proud of its success of maintaining the home in the mother's absence, and it brought the family group still closer together. The status of the father was enhanced in the eyes of the children. The role of the housekeeper was that of household manager and friend. The four children ranged in age from ten to sixteen, and not one of them was old enough to assume the responsibility for managing the household without outside assistance. This family proved itself to be ideal for housekeeper service.

In some instances the absence of the mother tends to cement the life of the family when it has been disorganized on account of long illness or incapacity of the mother. On the other hand, there are families in which disintegration continues as a result of the absence of the mother, irrespective of any assistance that may be offered, and this is illustrated by the following family: The mother had been suffering from cancer for years; she had been the head of the family during her lifetime, and the father was the provider. The children had been well cared for and the mother managed extremely well on very low income and maintained excellent standards of housekeeping. The father was not interested in and had no knowledge of child care and training. He was inconsistent in his dealing with them and had no intelligent grasp of their needs in relation to discipline, diet, or preventive medical recommendations. Soon after her death each child presented serious personality problems with which he could not cope. The housekeeper-service plan had to be abandoned after a period of trial, and the children had to be placed in foster-care.

In the vast majority of the families served, the mother was absent and the father present, but some homes were maintained without either parent present. There were some fatherless families that were kept together through housekeeper service during the temporary absence of the mother, and a few exceptions were made in maintaining the home on a permanent basis in spite of the death of both parents; this was done only when the

siblings were fairly well grown and in cases in which there was a responsible adult member of the family present.

The ultimate possibilities and limitations of housekeeper service are to be determined only in the light of further experience but certain values have already been demonstrated. Experience over a period of nearly fourteen years and the study which included hundreds of cases justify certain conclusions, to wit:

a) That housekeeper service is not only feasible but a most practical method of tiding over families during ordinary crises caused by the temporary absence of the mother from the home, and it is the most economical method as well. It can be undertaken with reasonable safeguards and with a minimum of risk by any case-working agency; it can be rendered in the vast majority of cases of less than three months' duration. It is past the experimental stage, and its validity is no longer subject to skeptical questioning.

Without the availability of housekeeper service, two established facilities are used to meet the situation, namely, the institution for temporary care and temporary boarding-homes. The use of either has serious disadvantages. Housekeeper service in temporary cases is vastly superior to any other method of care. It has proven itself.

b) That housekeeper service may be utilized safely in certain long-time and permanent motherless families, for instance, where life was normal with the mother in the home, where the father participated in the rearing of the children, where the father is thoroughly reliable and desires to maintain the home, and where the children present no outstanding difficulties. Great care must be exercised in the selection of the housekeeper in all long-time cases, and the agency must be prepared to stand by the family with economic assistance when necessary and invariably with case-work supervision.

In cases in which family relations have not been entirely normal, housekeeper service should be undertaken only with utmost precautions and reservations, if at all. Experience thus far, although meager, is sufficiently encouraging to recommend con-

tinued experimentation with long-time cases under proper safeguards.

c) That housekeeper service can be very valuable as an intermediary step in connection with long-time plans which require controlled observation and more accurate diagnosis. This applies to cases in which foster-care of children is indicated but in which family relationships are obscure and the personalities of the children are unknown.

d) That housekeeper service may save children from neglect and families from utter disintegration in cases in which the father or children refuse to accept placement plans of any kind. In some instances it may serve as an entering wedge to future co-operation in connection with a more constructive plan.

The motherless family constitutes a distinct social problem, and the children of these families may be regarded as a distinct category in need of special protection. Usually the mother is considered adequate for the care of children in the absence of the father, provided that she can be given economic security. The role of the father in the rearing of a family is viewed as essentially that of a breadwinner. We have accepted the fatherless family as perfectly possible of maintaining itself. The question arises whether it is socially desirable or possible to maintain motherless families. There can be no difference of opinion in regard to the importance of the mother who represents the interests of the family. But no less an authority on human needs and relationships than Sigmund Freud holds that the child has a great need for a father-person as well.

We are naturally more sentimental and less optimistic about the motherless family. Its problems are more difficult to solve. Fathers and children present a more helpless and more forlorn picture of broken family life than do mothers and children. The motherless family is not as self-contained. As a matter of fact, the motherless family with young children cannot very well function without an acting mother. Children with a father-parent only, require a great deal more protection than children with a mother-parent only. Maintenance of the motherless

family entails a greater risk and social responsibility; it always means the interjection of a strange person into the family group, namely, the housekeeper, with all the hazards involved in such an arrangement. The keeping of motherless families intact on a satisfactory basis requires a combination of the best case work in family and child welfare.

Throughout the foregoing discussion it has been assumed that the handicap of the motherless family is primarily a problem in child care, and housekeeper service has been considered as an alternative method to institutional or foster-home care. Whatever its limitation may be, it is fair to conclude that housekeeper service is an established social service and that it is invaluable in the program of any foster-care agency and, as a matter of fact, in the program of any case-working agency.

HOUSEKEEPER SERVICE IN FAMILY WELFARE

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AS A service offered to families in their own homes, the whole development of visiting housekeeper or mother's substitute service in the social welfare field is bound to be of particular concern to agencies engaged in family case work. The ideals of preservation of the family as a unit and the procuring of adequate care for children in their own homes has for a long period been recognized as the outstanding goal of agencies operating in the family welfare field. Although less than a dozen family agencies were sponsoring any form of housekeeper service in 1937, the matter was considered sufficiently important for publication of two articles in the *Family*, and for an organized exchange of information on this matter under the sponsorship of the Family Welfare Association of America. In addition to the family agencies experimenting in this field, there are a few independent housekeeper-service bureaus, several under sponsorship of children's agencies, and by far the greatest number, in fact almost five hundred such projects, operating under the Works Progress Administration.

The varying levels of the service and the lack of accurate definition of functions within the programs was brought to attention by a meeting on this matter held at Washington under the sponsorship of the Children's Bureau in November, 1937. Reports of representatives of national and local groups at this meeting indicated that the service available varies from a part-time housekeeping aide who assists the mother only in the practical tasks of the household, to the substitute mother who lives in

the home of the widower, and around whom the whole family life seems to center. The discussion of these different types of service brought out the "basic need for job analysis, and clarification of the functions of different types of workers, and for the development of a terminology that would make possible more accurate analysis of the work of different agencies undertaking housekeeper service." There was noted at the conference a growing interest in the desirability of case-work supervision for such projects.

In this matter of case-work supervision, the projects, at present sponsored by family agencies, have a real similarity to each other. All are considered a vital part of the case-work program of the agency. The women who go into homes are thought of not only in terms of their practical tasks but in terms of the kinds of relationships they will form with different members of the family, and particularly the kinds of relationships they will help these members of the family to form with each other.

Although some of the projects are giving greater emphasis to the long-time care in the permanently motherless home such as those sponsored by the Dayton and Milwaukee Family Agencies, and some are emphasizing the short-time care during periods of desertion or illness of the mother, one feels in reviewing them that there is a fundamental similarity among these family agencies in their approach to this whole problem. For that reason, I feel that the Cincinnati project, under the sponsorship of the Associated Charities Family Consultation Service, is probably fairly typical of programs under way in family societies today. As has been indicated, the real difference lies in the fact that this particular agency is emphasizing the temporary care, with only minor interest to the possibility of permanent care in motherless homes.

In setting forth a few of the main characteristics of the program, reference is made to a recent article published in the *Family*, written by Mrs. Gretchen Bode, our supervisor, which describes this service in greater detail.

Cincinnati has the average good facilities for institutional

and foster-home care for children; a well-functioning Aid to Dependent Children Department, and a Public Relief Department which accepts responsibility for complete and long-time dependency problems. It is fortunate in having a Nutrition and Child-Care Department at its university and a Nutrition Service in the Red Cross, which show a vital interest in these aspects of social programs.

When we called together in 1933 our first group of women to act as visiting housekeepers, we did not have in mind a program formulated in complete detail. As family case workers we had witnessed the turmoil in homes that had to be temporarily broken up because of a mother's illness and had sensed the anxiety which so frequently resulted from this step for both children and husband. Case workers had seen, too, a great many of our mothers postpone much needed operations or periods of complete rest away from home, because they could not face the threat of a broken home. Our experience in attempting to meet these situations on an individual basis through a neighbor's help or through employment of another client had not been satisfactory, because we felt that in these situations we had undertaken too great a responsibility without sufficient system of supervision and follow-up.

The actual starting of our program arose from the fact that we had available some work-relief funds, which we were at that time privileged to use as the agency dispensing public relief in the community. Our primary purpose in starting the program, however, was not to give employment to women through a work-relief program, but rather to fill this long-felt need for families in their own homes. Although our approach was tentative, owing to a lack of experience in this field, we at no time had a purely temporary attitude toward the program. In other words, it was the general attitude from the beginning that the agency would continue this program if it was found to be of value, even though work-relief funds might be withdrawn at any time. As a matter of fact, the status of funds changed

within a few years, and by 1935 the program was supported completely through the agency's funds.

The housekeepers' program at the present time operates as an integral part of the family case-work program of the agency. Our case workers choose the homes which, in their opinion, could be benefited by the presence of the housekeeper. It is interesting to note that in the early stages of the program practically all the requests came for help in homes where the mother was to be away for a short period, and where the father had sufficient leadership to carry on his family with some practical and understanding help from the housekeeper. However, as the awareness of the case-work possibilities of the program developed, the applications for the service have shown a wider variety, and there is evidence that the types of situations are highly individual needs that do not easily lend themselves to classification.

Perhaps a few illustrations at this point would show most clearly some of the ways in which a family case-work agency can utilize this program in its case-work planning.

In the A. home a nineteen-year-old daughter was attempting to play the role of mother in a home composed of her father, a brother seventeen, a sister fifteen, and a sister thirteen. The mother in this family had died three months previous to the time that the family became known to the family agency. The father was a fairly quiet person who had evidently permitted his wife to manage all household matters and to make all decisions in regard to the children. Suddenly, three months after the death of the mother, the members of this family seemed to develop problems with startling rapidity. The youngest daughter was refusing to attend school. The seventeen-year-old boy developed a marked indifference to any of the home routines and an open chiding of his older sister as an old maid for fussing about any kind of order in the home. The father was retreating to longer and longer hours at his work and was showing a tendency in his short intervals at home to be critical of his older daughter because she was not able to manage the home as her mother had.

In referring this situation for housekeeping service, the case worker saw not only the possibility of practical help for the older daughter, but hoped that the housekeeper would be able to play a supportive role for this older daughter in the home. It was hoped that her understanding of the situation and her ability to discuss with the father on an adult level the problems of his household might help in developing greater leadership in the father and in lessening his tendency to express his frustration in terms of blame to his daughter. It is evident that in this type of situation there was need for a close working relationship between the housekeeper and the family consultant visiting in the home.

Another situation which called for this same type of close case-work association between housekeeper and case worker was that of a young couple who came for family consultation service as a last resort before deciding on an actual separation. In this home was the young wife's mother, and the new baby, three months of age. The young wife had not wanted the child. It was noticeable, that even though she verbalized an intention to do the best by the child, now that it was here, she could not even bring herself to hold him any other way but stiffly and awkwardly. She constantly turned to her mother for sympathy and help in all the bewildering routines which seemed overwhelmingly difficult because she received no pleasure from their performance. The young husband resented the unending visit of his wife's mother and took out his resentment by an over-managing attitude with money and a refusal to recognize the budgetary needs of the home. He tended to call his wife extravagant. She retaliated by indicating that most of the financial needs were due to the presence of the baby and by openly blaming him for the fact of the baby.

Although the case worker saw certain deeply involved feelings which would require long-time direct treatment on her own part, she felt also that an older understanding woman in the home would be an important factor in speeding up treatment in this situation. The wife's mother was encouraged to terminate her visit, and a housekeeper substituted. A housekeeper was

chosen who was very affectionate and felt comfortable in the care of infants. This particular housekeeper had a great deal of imagination and an ability to dramatize rather simple routine tasks. She helped both the husband and the wife in their discussions of budget and financial management, and in this way was able gradually to put the money matters on a sound basis in the home. The housekeeper's enthusiasm, her dramatizing of the baby, her protection of the young wife, and her encouragement of the husband were outstanding factors in the successful treatment of this whole situation. In the planning for this family, the housekeeper was given confidentially some understanding of some of the problems in the home and an interpretation of the role which she was expected to play.

In both of these situations mentioned, it is evident that there was need for practical knowledge and an ability in capable management of a household on the part of the housekeeper. But it is also evident that these abilities alone could never have brought about the result. By far the greatest importance of the housekeeper was her understanding of the situations and her ability to control her own role in relation to the needs of the situation as indicated by a case worker.

The question naturally arises as to the selection and training of women who are to play such a vital role in case-work planning. When we called together our first group of women to act as visiting housekeepers, we asked our case workers to find for us mature women who had been successful in the management of their own homes and families, and who would have a genuine interest in fitting into the homes of others. We asked for women who would be flexible in their ability to accept different kinds of people in a wide variety of situations and who would have within themselves personal qualities that would offer stability and some degree of guidance to the families they would serve. This emphasis on the personality of the housekeeper has continued to be of major concern during our five years' experience with the program. Replacements in the original group have been made through the local employment bureau, through re-

ferrals by the housekeepers themselves, and through direct application as a result of publicity concerning the project.

Co-operation of special groups locally has made possible the training for the housekeepers in the practical details of home management. Lectures covering first aid and simple health routines for the home, planning and preparation of menus, organization of household tasks, have been supplemented through the use of available literature and through both group and individual discussions with the case-work supervisor of the project. The most vital phase of supervision, however, has been the actual case-work teaching which we have seen as essential equipment for our housekeepers. Starting with the discussion of some of the more understandable mechanisms of behavior, they have progressed to the point of thinking in such terms as their own ability to accept people; the possible threat their own capabilities may have to clients. They show awareness in their discussion of the tendency of certain members of families to develop emotional as well as physical dependency toward them, and are able to recognize some of their own satisfactions in these situations and the dangers of prolonging them beyond the need of the families.

The minutes of some of their weekly discussions show their own growing understanding of some of the relationships between parents and children, and the manner in which their own relationship to a parent in the household may be vitally affecting those in the home. Just as in student-training and case-work supervision in our own field, however, the most real growth has come about through individual conferences with the case worker and with the supervisor of the project. The case worker strives in all contacts with housekeepers to show a real respect for the delicacy of the task assigned to the housekeeper.

In discussing any particular situation with the housekeeper, who is to be assigned to the home, every effort is made to preserve the confidence of the family, and very rarely is actual information of an intimate nature given concerning family members. By focusing the attention of the housekeeper on her own

constructive role in the situation, it is frequently possible to handle her natural curiosity and interest concerning others. She must at all times be protected from the feeling of "working in the dark," but she can also grow through a respect for the case-worker's role, which is different from her own, and which deals with more confidential material.

The position of the housekeeper in long-time placements—those due to death or institutional placement of the mother—has sometimes been likened to that of a foster-mother in the child-placement field. There is the essential difference, however—and a difference to us which looms very large—the substitute mother is going into the home of another family. She is fitting in to the traditions of another family and carrying on their ideals. The relatives who come and go and who must feel at home are the relatives of the mother and father and not her own. Although our own experience in long-time placement has been extremely limited, owing to our emphasis on shorter-time placements, we have come to realize the family case-work implications of the long-time mother-substitute and to appreciate that here is possibly one of the most difficult tasks in the whole social program.

As a service rendered to families in their own homes, both permanent and temporary housekeeper and mother-substitute service might logically be considered as an extension of services already rendered through the family welfare field. From an administrative point of view and from the angle of community planning, however, it seems to me to be still too early to attempt to relegate different phases of housekeeper programs to specially designated agencies or to attempt to combine all the various types of experiments into one program. Further discussion and study, and most important of all, a constant exchange of ideas among all those working in this area will eventually help us to apply some of our already accepted principles in division of function as between public and private, children's and family field, etc., to this new field. It must be kept in mind that the extremely large number of W.P.A. projects, while helping to

focus attention to the problem, might also tend nationally to a too speedy formulation of set ideas concerning the housekeepers and mother's substitute programs.

As family agencies we have evidence that the service is of value. Whether or not, however, family agencies are to be the permanent sponsors of these programs, it is essential that the point of view and the specific contribution of the family welfare field be a real part of any future local or national planning in this area.

AN AGENCY SCRUTINIZES ITS WORK

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IN THE agency under discussion, and upon which studies are now being conducted, an attempt has been made over a period of several years to make available resources in the form of facilities, procedures, and skills that would tend to offset some of the lacks pointed out in the various evaluation studies made on the treatment programs with behavior problems and delinquent clientele. Most of the findings point to the need for early treatment, for intensive treatment, for continuous treatment, and for an adequate and skilful follow-up and after-care program.

This agency comprises among its activities a child-guidance program for boys and girls of early and adolescent years referred by parents, relatives, schools, courts, and other community agencies; an institutional program for delinquent and problem boys and girls; an aftercare program for the boys and girls discharged from the institution; work in the field of illegitimacy through case-work services as well as a home for unmarried mothers; co-operative court arrangements and summer camps with an emphasis on individualized, and case-work aspects.

Speaking broadly and referring particularly to what now constitutes the child-guidance program, four main stages in development are discernible in the last twenty-years. We believe that these stages probably also reflect in a measure a general trend in the treatment of behavior problems. Some phases of these changes are attributable to the influence of contemporary treatment philosophies, while others are reflections of an attempt to cope with difficult problems of behavior, especially those in the

area of overt delinquency which have baffled and still baffle some of the best-equipped clinics and highly skilled psychiatrists and other practitioners. An effort is now being made to evaluate in retrospect the results obtained during these various stages. We shall refer to these studies later.

The first stage can be passed over briefly. It is the stage of the volunteer who alone, unassociated with any professional guidance, attempted to effect changes in conduct by means of advice, friendliness, sympathy, material services such as employment opportunities, and, in general, the Big Brother and Big Sister help. It should be stated here that at the present time the organization continues to utilize such volunteer service in conjunction with the professional program and under the guidance of professional workers in specialized areas and with selected clientele. The volunteer work of former years was based on the hope that sympathy and friendliness alone would produce beneficial results with maladjusted youth without regard to diagnostic implications.

The problem was found to be too time consuming and vast; the paid worker came into the agency with equipment ranging from general collegiate education to completion of some form of social-work curriculum. The second stage was thus ushered in, in which the psychiatrist played the dominant role. History-taking on the part of the case worker became a major concern, and most of his time was consumed with the gathering of facts in relation to early life and current experiences. The case worker was instructed by the psychiatrist to engage in certain manipulatory services in the interest of the client on the basis of a categorical diagnosis that the psychiatrist made, aided by the psychologist's report and the physician's examination. Depending on the emphasis that the psychiatrist placed upon the various factors in personality, the organic, neurological, endocrinological, or psychopathological phases were stressed in varying proportions. In this period also the psychiatrist tended to treat the child to the extent that time for treatment was available, and the case worker attempted to "educate" the

parents. The responsibility for psychiatric diagnosis and the plan of treatment rested primarily with the psychiatrist.

The third phase saw a swing away from the psychiatrist to the interview technique, in which the worker assumed sole responsibility for the treatment program in a given case with very little, if any, diagnostic basis for the procedures employed, with scant initial facts with the exception of those that evolved from the interview. In this stage there was almost a complete reliance on the effect of release on the part of the patient, be he delinquent, neurotic, or psychopathic. A psychiatrist was used for specialized-treatment situations not clearly defined. The case worker employed the free-association technique, largely borrowed from psychoanalysis but not often so admitted, and there was a minimum concern with external realities, the emphasis being placed on the release of emotional blockings. This stage is probably attributable to a dissatisfaction with the benefits obtained through categorical diagnosis of psychiatrists and the manipulatory methods by the case worker. The wide gap that existed between the diagnosis, on the one hand, and the attempts to do something about the problem, on the other, created a division between diagnosis and treatment that made for an artificial and ineffectual attack on the problem, resulting in a very unsatisfying experience on the part of the case worker. At this time also the influence of the psychoanalytic technique began to be felt to a marked degree in case work, and the emphasis on pure relationship divorced from other components of the analytic process became a dominant orientation. The swing was to the other extreme, away from the psychiatrist, away from facts, and even away from external realities, away from diagnosis, both categorical and dynamic, away from really seeing the total person, but overwhelmed by techniques in interviewing.

This period of course had its destructive effects, but with it came an enriched psychological thinking about mechanisms of behavior disorders, and it was the forerunner of the fourth stage in which the agency now finds itself and toward which other organizations dealing with similar problems are tending. Here we

find a reintroduction of diagnosis as a basic phase in treatment, but diagnosis inherent in the treatment process, the kind that is related to the manner in which a behavior disorder is to be treated. The psychiatrist's influence is felt, not necessarily in the planning of treatment, but in the teaching of workers and sharing with them his knowledge and understanding with an effort in the direction of making it possible for the worker to assume a more independent responsibility for psychiatric thinking and procedure. This shared experience on the part of the child-guidance psychiatrist and case worker is resulting in a diversification of treatment methods, a recognition of types requiring other forms than analytic case work, other forms of psychotherapy, the use of authority, the greater concern with external realities.

The existence of a school for delinquent boys and girls in conjunction with the agency's child-guidance activities has widened the staff's opportunity to observe the delinquent in the living situation and has necessitated a concern with delinquent patterns to an extent far beyond that which would have occurred had the staff been operating in a child-guidance clinic divorced from any institutional setup. The postinstitutional aftercare program tends to inject realistic concepts into the child-guidance treatment procedures. The institution, on the other hand, was influenced by the treatment orientation in the child-guidance service, gradually abandoning the concept of the reform school, inaugurating a clinical program with psychiatrists and psychiatric case workers with small case loads, introducing a creative form of group-activity program, and, in general, becoming concerned with the treatment of symptoms of behavior difficulties instead of merely curbing them. Administration became more complicated, but the procedures at the institution began to harmonize with those of the child-guidance activities outside. This introduced a new way of life into the institution not dependent solely on the existence of an intensified psychiatric clinic, but as an expression of a mental hygiene attitude on the part of the personnel, cottage parents and others

and, through permeation of case-work thinking, into all the experiences constituting the living situation for the boys and girls in the institution. The need for a continuous-treatment program with the boy or girl after admission to the institution, during his institutional stay with his own family in the city, and with him after his discharge became apparent to both the institution case worker and the child-guidance worker in the city office.

Aside from intra-agency forces, certain tendencies in the community in the very recent past have made the agency more conscious of the need for the development of skills and for the greater utilization of diagnostic facilities. The greater amount of case-work service in the general community, both public and private, has served as a selective force in directing the children and adolescents with problems of behavior to the organization. These increased case-work services in the private agency, resulting from the release in a considerable measure from the responsibility for the administration of relief assumed by the public agency, have become available for the treatment of minor behavior problems and for other needs formerly left unmet. The newly created resources in the city school system have made it possible for problems bearing on the school situation, as such, to be cared for by the school personnel to a greater extent than formerly. The net result is that the agency specializing in the treatment of problem behavior and delinquency receives the more serious problems, and hence its greater responsibility for skill in diagnostic and treatment procedures.

The Children's Court in New York City is becoming more like a social agency with clinical aspects, through the creation of the Adjustment Bureau and other measures of a referral and treatment nature. Its referrals for treatment purposes, therefore, also are of a more selected type than formerly, and the former traditional classifications of dependent, neglected, and delinquent are tending to disappear. When the psychological searchlight is cast upon them, we find that the proportion of children considered dependent, who are placed away from their own

homes, has greatly diminished in New York City, and of those called dependent, a large portion are really in need of treatment for psychological and social reasons. Such an analysis also reveals that the distinction between neglect and delinquency is frequently artificial, and that these children need the kind of care of an individual and social nature that will help rid them of the difficulties that they have developed as a result of faulty experience.

The increasing number of serious behavior disorders which we are called upon to treat and the greater demand on the part of the community for special care and specialized skills have made necessary the abandonment of the false theories harbored with reference to the possibilities of uniform treatment of delinquency and other forms of behavior maladjustment. The substitution for these vague hopes of not only more diversified and positive treatment procedures but also measures external to the individual has followed.

One such development is that in relation to the use of the group situation to supplement the individual treatment for either the overaggressive or the too timid child or adolescent who requires a sheltered group experience during the time that the individual treatment is going on. This group therapy, as it is being called, is designed to create security in the child by making available the affection of an adult, through the building of self-worth by means of recognition obtained from colleagues and leader, and through the encouragement of an interest in some creative activity. These groups are small—about eight or ten children in each—distributed in the neighborhoods where the children reside. The group treatment parallels the individual treatment which is contrary to the point of view that mere removal of emotional blockings will necessarily make it possible for the youngster to partake in a group experience. At the present time, both the individual and the group experience, for those who need both, dovetail each other and thereby reinforce the therapeutic objective.

The use of the camp, at which a psychiatric case worker is

placed, as part of the treatment program is another resource in the agency employed as a result of the diversification of treatment procedures.

A more clinical approach in case work tends to remove the antagonistic attitude toward the institution but, at the same time, makes demands upon it to provide a therapeutic program instead of a custodial regime. An institution whose object is to treat individually each of the children sent there through social, psychological, and educational facilities that are made available, one which is diagnostic minded and is constantly noting changes in attitudes and behavior and introducing different procedures as the needs are indicated should no longer be used as a last resort but should be employed as an important facility for treatment.

The staff, as it has gained deeper insight through training and experience into the treatment of a certain type of clientele, has raised a number of queries, arising from the application of whatever skills it has developed. In view of the fact that success and failure depend to such an extent on the policy of intake, should there be a greater restriction at the point of intake, making possible the acceptance of more promising material and hence more successful results? How reconcile the conflict between the community's desire for services for those who are most troublesome and those whose treatability is questionable, with the difficulty, if not impossibility, of creating a desire in the client to be helped as a basis for treatment? In view of the demand, is it the business of the psychiatrist to develop techniques of the case workers in the agency so as to make himself superfluous for as many cases as possible?

Under the question of the relationship between the psychiatrist and the case worker in the current situation, much thought has been given, particularly in view of the fact that not more than from one-fifth to one-third of the cases accepted are seen by the psychiatrists. The present approach that is being adopted calls for a joint effort on the part of the psychiatrist and case workers as colleagues, for a teaching program in which the neces-

sary basic knowledge as a background for treatment is made available to the case workers, with the result that the use of the psychiatrist is no longer left to chance but is based on the choice of the worker, related to the need. The emphasis on the part of the psychiatrist is to instil clinical thinking among the staff, necessitating courses in clinical psychiatry in spite of the fact that certain aspects of such courses are repetitions of what was attempted in the schools of social work. The mutual understanding between the psychiatrist and case worker in the agency makes the workers more ready to assume responsibility for independent treatment of clients but creates a basis for the case worker to know what help he needs to obtain from the psychiatrist.

To determine the degree of adjustment in the various periods of treatment procedures in the agency and to evaluate, if possible, the efficacy of various treatment techniques, two studies were initiated last fall—one on child-guidance cases and the other on those formerly treated in the Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School. The child-guidance study aims to determine the present status of cases treated ten, five, three, and one year ago, and to study the effect of specific treatment procedures. Cases to be studied are taken at random, cleared through Social Service Exchange, and communications are directed to all agencies who are reported to have had contact with the client or the client's family, except where there is already a record in the case. The client is contacted by a worker in person. Due care is exercised to avoid unwelcome disturbances to the client's established life. Confidential information is obtained whenever possible, from members of the family, former employers, relatives, teachers, and other people who have known the client. An attempt is made to have the client come in for an interview with the psychiatrist who is in charge of the study. The ratings for adjustment are made in accordance with the Witmer Classification as to adjustment at the opening of the case, at the close of the case, and at stated intervals after closing. Along with the evaluation of adjustment, an intensive study is being made of the

content of the treatment interviews, and specific treatment procedures are related to the client's adjustment or maladjustment. Emphasis is placed on actual treatment practice rather than on any theoretical approach.

In this study, the answer is sought as to what happened to the child or adolescent that we treated over these various periods in the agency's history and what things that were done proved most beneficial or least beneficial in effecting adjustment. We are finding this project costly as we continue to follow through thoroughly a large number of cases. The longer the period since closing, the greater the effort and time necessary to gain the desired information.

The institutional aftercare study similarly aims to determine the present status or adjustment of the individuals treated at the institution in the past, comparing the results of their adjustment with those treated more recently—no selection of cases is being made. It will be necessary to study five hundred cases to obtain a fair sampling of different types of individuals as well as adjustments made over various periods studied. Both the institutional as well as the postinstitutional records are being summarized on schedules. An investigator follows up the cases, interviewing parents, siblings, and clients. All cases are cleared through the Social Service Exchange. The client's home is visited. Here also Dr. Witmer's material for adjustment with reference to school, home, friends, and other activities will be used for final ratings.

The results of these studies, when ready, will be made available at a future time, but we know now that there are many variables that will affect the accuracy of the findings. Certain occurrences within and outside the organization, unrelated to the determination of the effectiveness of the various treatment emphases that the agency has employed and the procedures utilized, will influence the results. No doubt we will find that adjustment is not a static factor, that a problem might be arrested and then recur with varying intensity. We will also find many factors influencing adjustment beyond the control of

any one social agency. We shall no doubt discover how very much our case-work group attempting to treat these difficult behavior problems is in need of a more basic form of training than is now obtainable at the schools of social work. On the other hand, I believe we will find increasing psychological insight into problems of behavior on their part.

We will no doubt find, even though we have attempted to emphasize continuity, breaks in treatment due to various causes among which are the transition periods from a supervised life in the institution to freedom outside, absence of an intermediary adjustment facility such as perhaps a residence boys' club within the city itself. We will also discover, I fear, that much of our interview techniques are of a highly theoretical nature, and the evils flowing from unilateral or one-sided approaches in which the client is subordinated to method will become apparent. We will be reinforced in our conviction that most of us have had, that the eclectic point of view, expressed in diversified approaches related to the total need of the client by not only adequately trained but intuitively skilful workers with good psychiatric insight as well as full concern with realities, is the only wise one to hold.

The inescapable conviction that faces us is that the type of treatment required for difficult behavior problems is very costly, indeed, and needs to be calculated in terms of costs in the area of physical illness and high-standard hospital care rather than in relation to the expected low outlay incident to "friendly service" and custodial institutional upkeep. And, at best, we will be obliged to come to the conclusion that the effects of family tensions, unfortunate early childhood experiences, poverty, poor housing, slum areas, overcrowded and inappropriate schools, and unemployment play so powerful a role both in the formation of distortions of personality as well as in the relapses after treatment that our expectations from social case work and psychotherapeutic procedures can only be very modest.

CASE WORK IN DIFFICULT BEHAVIOR OR DELINQUENCY SITUATIONS—EMPHASES AND DIFFERENCES IN RECENT STUDIES

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THERE are earlier steps to be explored before beginning an examination of some of the current points of view regarding what we may hopefully anticipate are more effective approaches to conduct problems of upset juveniles and the causes of such conditions. There are changes that are seen as probable and possible when greater scientific understanding and a better and more universal use of case-work skills are made available. There should be scrutiny of the reliability and of the degree of adaptation of our knowledge in this field and of the existing developments therein that concern present problems. We should examine the status of the sort of practices and the services that our past growth, experience, and belief have led us to establish and maintain. These are both the administrative procedures and the social institutions that were to provide aid and to offer a degree of essential and useful assistance.

In the first place, definitions of what constitutes juvenile delinquency officially and what is generally looked upon as a difficult behavior situation—something usually to be dealt with in an informal manner—are extremely awkward matters to determine and to establish.¹ To have such definitions widely and reliably accepted in a community, or in different communities, as criteria for judgment, offers a serious complication. As a matter of practical fact, the actual consequence of such a formal

¹ Luton Ackerson, *Children's Behavior Problems* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

determination of an irregularity, as a definition tends to present, is slight and unimportant. Most children who must be dealt with have problems that demand competent service. This must be on the basis of established needs.

In the second place, there is a great deal of uncertainty in the measurement of delinquency, even when definitions have been established and accepted in fairly reliable fashion. Important information has often been gathered from juvenile-delinquency records, official and otherwise, but the lack of uniformity and the lack of universality in most such records are always limiting factors of much influence. There is failure everywhere to show the actual extent of juvenile delinquent behavior. The results of these efforts in determining amounts are selective and fragmentary at their best.

Wrong conceptions of what delinquency really is result from the use of unscientific statistical methods. They offer false impressions of the well-being of the community's children and often encourage the curtailment of citizen interest and professional services when, in reality, needs for better care are pressing and tremendous in number. Established standards² for reputable case-reporting and the development of substantial facilities for this purpose and for the useful analysis of such collected figures and for the further stimulation of local areas country-wide that should be also co-operating, constitute an immeasurably valuable contribution of one of the important service units of the United States Children's Bureau. The sound plan of this governmental agency on a basis of federal responsibility allows comparison of communities, in respect to their juvenile delinquency. Over a period of years there can be made accurate estimation of change and a determination of whether or not there is an advancing problem or a progressive decline of these delinquency situations. At the present time, the limited sampling is informative, but is not sufficient for many accurate conclusions.

The timely appearance of a new, clear, and authoritative

² U.S. Census reports regarding juvenile delinquency.

study that pertains to the special issue, *Can Delinquency Be Measured?*³ furnishes a scientific insight and allows a productive approach to the very crux of many baffling problems within the field of juvenile delinquency and misconduct and of its recording. Such has never before been so substantially available. Coming as it does from the program of the Research Bureau of the Welfare Council of New York City, it has great reliability and conclusiveness. Its aim is to answer questions concerning the amount and the nature of juvenile delinquent behavior and its significance. Throughout this book the author applies a carefully determined scientific attitude and method in the determination of this basic problem concerning delinquency of children. The brief digest from the text of the book that follows attempts to indicate the main findings of this study:

1. *What is delinquency?* The answer to the question, what is delinquency, must be that the legal definition is unsatisfactory, both as a distinguishing description and as a tool for statistical measurement. The concept of delinquency as an entity at present remains undefined.

While it is recognized that the initial problem for which a child is referred may be neither the sole nor crucial symptom of his anti-social conduct, in this study the offense for which the child was initially referred has been considered as indicative of the danger signal which the community regards as calling for attention either by the court or some other agency. To attach significance to the distribution of offenses analyzed on this basis involves both recognition that processes of change are operating in community attitudes, and that the labels are seldom mutually exclusive.

It has been shown that group attitudes and group customs enter definitely into this concept of delinquency. Whether or not the child's behavior will be considered social or anti-social is partially dependent upon them. Some agreement must be arrived at in definition and description of those types generally considered anti-social.

Court figures in New York City neither measure the extent of juvenile delinquent behavior nor do they represent necessarily the more serious types of anti-social conduct. A considerable number of cases represent minor offenses—children who are dismissed with a warning or a fine immediately after arraignment. On the other hand, a considerable portion of the children referred to agencies other than the court were brought to the attention of the agencies for problems evidently as serious as those to which the court caters.

³ Sophia M. Robison (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).

Differences in the distribution of offenses according to the residence of the offenders in boroughs of the city indicate that the registration of certain types of behavior by the court or other agencies is influenced by the presence of such factors as exposed railroad yards, extra police activity, changes in organization policy, special unofficial agency activity and the lack of provision of facilities for care of children of any particular race or any particular religious affiliation.

2. *Who are the delinquents?* Differences in the ratio of girls to boys in the court and in the total series indicate that if only the court cases are considered in a delinquency rate, a disproportionately small number of girls are counted as delinquents.

As in the case with girls and boys, children under and over ten years of age do not appear in the delinquency count in accord with their proportions in the population. There is apparently a bias against referring the younger child to the court when alternate agency care is available and considered preferable in the mores of a particular cultural group.

Different proportions of white and negro children are registered in the Children's Court and in other agencies. Factors other than color, however, are important in distinguishing the children of the two races and within the negro group there are differences as wide almost as those created by the difference in color.

Although the population of New York City is approximately evenly divided among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, the children of these three religious affiliations are found registered as delinquents in very different proportions. An analysis in terms of religious affiliation alone is apt to becloud the issue. Each one of the religious groups has strata representing very different socio-cultural backgrounds.

The fact that children of foreign parentage predominate in the delinquency count and appear in excess of the proportion of families headed by foreign-born persons in the city's population would seem to point to recency of immigration as an explanation of delinquent behavior. The significant fact, however, is that Italians and Jews both equally immigrant appear in such different proportions in the delinquency count. There is a possibility that the problems of adjustment to the American scene of these two groups are not equally difficult.

3. *Is a delinquency index feasible?* The data presented in this study definitely indicate that in the field of delinquency index-making is at present not feasible. The problems involved in numerators of rates have been discussed in terms of inadequacy of definition of the unit of measurement, the biased character of court statistics and the varying influences of group mores.

It is necessary to know the customs of each community, particularly in regard to the services of the voluntary agencies, before the extent to which

the Children's Court figures represent the actual amount of delinquency in that community can be estimated. As for the denominators for rates, it has been indicated that not only are there problems involved in the question of the choice of the size of area, but there is at present no justification for the use of highly technical mathematical procedures. The concern of the present study was to ferret out the conditions which artificially influence and distort an approximately inclusive measure of the extent of delinquency in a special group. Explanations of real differences as established by true measurement must await this first process.

The succinctness and the reliability of the author's statistical compilations and her clear interpretation of them and the social ramifications of her pertinent and orderly findings do a great deal to clarify in a degree at least many present-day assertions that come from an accelerated activity now directed to this probing for delinquency causes. It has directed striking and thoughtful attention to the possibility of more critical and better substantiated viewpoints, i.e., as they relate to some of the speculations now commonly presented, perhaps overly so, concerning delinquency and nondelinquent behavior. Such a professional and dependable approach should come to be more and more an essential part of what we think and do about these problems.

Literature in the fields of juvenile delinquency and the difficult behavior of children has made slow, patient, but progressive advancement. With the growth of the profession of social work and the prerequisite upon it as a profession that a large, serviceable body of useful and creditable reports, documents, and research contributions should be assembled and distributed, it is natural that special attention should be generously given to study and publication in the area of juvenile delinquency, as it is an essential part of social practice. It was an epoch-making occasion when, in 1912, the Russell Sage Foundation, always desirous to further professional growth and reliable interpretation, made it possible through a substantial financial grant for Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckinridge of the old Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy to publish their thoroughgoing and distinguished volume, *The Delinquent Child and the*

Home.⁴ Not only did they set forth therein most significant findings and conclusions regarding the methods of knowing needy children and dealing with them, but also they presented creditable and lasting methods for scientific study. They assured complete and continuing dependability in their research that has always had great recognition and credit. Although this early professional contribution has had much that has followed it from both these two distinguished social workers and from others in these later years, it remains today an excellent and inspiring authority.

Another invaluable guide of earlier years stands yet as a peer and prophet, still unforgettable and helpful literature in this particular area of social care. Dr. William Healy, first director of the Chicago Juvenile Psychopathic Institute, contributed immeasurably in 1915 to the ultimate well-being and better understanding of children's needs everywhere, when there was published his *Individual Delinquent*. So searching, so sound, so far-reaching, so useful, it offered the insight and the encouragement for practical child-guidance service that has almost covered the world around. Whatever the changes in concepts and practice that current developments and beliefs regarding causes, personality upsets and their treatments have tended to foster, this substantial illuminating text of Dr. Healy is proclaimed universally, and there is lasting tribute of a great and loyal following to this distinguished scientist and teacher.

Case workers, particularly those who assume some responsibility for children, have been much interested in the metamorphosis of new professional understanding of child welfare and of a more dependable interpretation of the patterns of all child life. They anticipate much in the development for carrying through with these children different approaches that can and do encourage more favorably change, growth, and development of each individual's personality. The application of these

⁴ This excellent resource, which did much to offer reliable and pertinent information concerning juvenile delinquency, is unfortunately out of print. The Appendix of this volume contained very important substantiating documents.

newer ideas in aiding those who are reported to have difficult problems seems especially important. All should be understood more completely. It should influence greatly, existing ways of case-handling, and this new understanding may alter upwards the level of many case-work accomplishments.

The bulk and the content of literature in this field today offer a good deal of genuine encouragement. There are not only new and interesting books and monographs, but as well rich fugitive material, timely articles in numbers of professional social-work journals and reviews, in occasional brochures from this social agency and that, and in the annual *Proceedings* of the National Conference groups. It is stimulating for the purpose of this paper to view briefly a few of the chief sources of new information, that there may be set forth in illustrative fashion changes in principles and practices of social care. They disrupt some old points of view with new and convincing evidence of better and more reliable explanations and procedures as might be applied reliably in situations that suggest conduct disorders. They indicate what constitutes the core of present treatment possibilities for children who are delinquent or who have behavior problems and for whom the possibility of altering conduct must be considered.

The first of the four is a digest of *Roots of Crime* by Dr. Franz Alexander, director of the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute, and Dr. William Healy, of the Judge Baker Foundation of Boston. This book sets forth a psychoanalytic study that traces step by step the motivations, development of habit patterns, and the general character of certain individuals who had criminal careers. There are declarations among its findings that show special relationships to an understanding of some problems of delinquency in children.

The usual approach to crime and delinquency through statistical studies, such as correlation of crime to environment, is thought by these authors to be inadequate. A better approach is through an understanding of human behavior in general, and of delinquency and crime, in particular. Factors like these,

which, statistically considered, are commonly regarded as major determinants in causation of crime, are thought to be factors which become effective only in a special setting and in combination with the reactive tendencies of certain personalities. Basic causes are therefore differing.

The authors point out that life of all persons is based on certain acquired restrictions of fundamental drives. Social behavior is a complicated balance between gratifications and renunciations. Therefore, emotional factors of all kinds are active in creating inner tensions which the individual attempts to relieve by criminal and asocial acts.

There are listed in the study some determining factors in personality formation. These are stressed here since they are important in all growth and development. Some of these qualities are carefully evaluated, such as the constitution or congenital equipment of the individual, the nature of early acquired reactive tendencies, personal influences and the members of the family, influence of social environment in the broader sense, and the ideological trends in a given civilization. To each of these considerable attention is given.

It is interesting to note that much emphasis is placed on the fact that many of these individuals were driven to fight for success. This conflict between the pioneer tradition of success and the real possibilities of life offered to the authors a crucial factor in the unconscious background of crime in America.

In the face of the complex motivation that lies behind most delinquent activities, they conclude that our present system of courts and jails, detention homes and correctional schools existing for the purpose of punishment, is useless. Instead, offenders should be given opportunity to gain through study that which offers insight into their own personal difficulties.

The second selection for special mention is the contribution of August Aichhorn, pupil of Freud and later in his own right a distinguished lay analyst of Vienna. This book, *Wayward Youth*,⁵ now available in English editions, offers his ideas of

⁵ New York: The Viking Press, 1925.

simple approach to children's problems. It sets forth a series of cases that show how well he handled in an experimental and productive fashion certain wayward and delinquent children who were his responsibility for care.

His attempt to influence dissocial adolescents by means of education which he himself directed and to bring constructive relationships through his own knowledge and understanding of the individual child's problems was peculiarly successful. Out of his practice and of his philosophy of treatment there come generalizations that might influence greatly present-day beliefs and methodology that relate to meeting needs in certain cases. It is particularly interesting to note that Aichhorn, for many years the director of state institutions for the care of delinquents, instituted therein progressive principles and procedures that mark his efforts. They place him among the advanced group in the still uncertain field of correctional school education.

The book presents the roles of the educator and his special preparation for service. It stresses the increased technical skills that enhance the reliability for treatment when there comes definite knowledge of the normal predictable course of all mental processes. *Wayward Youth* has much to offer those seeking new ways and better methods of dealing with these so-called difficult children.

An illuminating third contribution, current in this field, is *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment* by William Healy and August Bronner. It discovers causes of delinquency and formulates methods of treatment. The aim of this study was to ferret forces creating delinquent trends which were actively at play within the individual or between him and his intimate environment. Research was directed to the family and not to the delinquent child alone, and this, with much profit.

The book sets forth what are called new "orientations." The authors summarize their careful study of these under three generalizations: (1) that delinquency is but one mode of self-expression; (2) that delinquent behavior has meaningfulness for the offender; (3) a formulated outlook on treatment possibilities.

Each of these is a consequential matter for which consideration is rightfully demanded.

The authors present many points of view, several of which stimulate new thinking regarding these problems. Delinquency in one place is described as one small part of the total stream of an individual's life-activities, and in its significance it represents equally with other behavior, a response to inner or outer pressures. Findings show that the individual who has not primary or substitute satisfactions of other sorts easily succumbs to an impulse toward bad behavior as a result of a combination of dissatisfactions and ideas about delinquency. The importance of family situations to children is clearly stressed, and parent-child relationships are shown in their far-reaching aspects.

Consideration is given in the monograph to a plan of classification as it relates to the probabilities of outcome in treatment. There are conclusions to indicate that little can be expected from present methods and program unless there is recognition of these new implications of case-handling. The book has much that informs and stimulates the desire of case workers and others for better understanding and for constructive changes.

No list, however brief, would be satisfactory without mention at least of Dr. James Plant's *Personality and the Cultural Pattern*. In the Preface of this book the author himself describes what constitutes the central point of all this desire, effort, and expression of so many people, social workers among them, toward wiser understanding and better dealing with interrupted personal adjustments and with disrupted social contributions so contrary to what was wished and expected of them. He says:

My greatest debt is to those "stones which have been rejected" whose ideas and dreams this book seems to translate. The drama of their struggles and conflicts throws its beam upon the usual. Thus those, who stumble, light our way, those who fall teach us our next steps. Enmeshed in the censure of Society, the price they pay is dear; can we who ask that price justify it in using what we learn from them to make a better world for those who come?

The significant contribution out of this material as presented is chiefly concerned with directly furthering better treatment of

the child himself through adequate and scientific understanding of what science says about these issues. Coming to know each as a particular individual for whom reliable and distinctive services must be planned and supplied, workers tend more and more to use in the professional care of their cases all that is known anywhere about such problems. Old barriers among special schools of thought and practice are gradually being overcome.

In each situation, that which is most useful and reliable in case-handling from any area whatsoever that can offer help is being utilized for the analyzing and the improvement of the personal status of the child. It is in the interplay of these diverse approaches that suitable plans for service develop; and it is a favorable condition like this which determines mostly possibility and probability of encouraging progress.

Deep-set emotional deprivations and the unfavorable patterns of behavior and surroundings of these delinquent and badly behaving children show usually deep-set complications. Growth and development of the personality of any handicapped or antisocial individual is a serious matter. The situation demands aid that constitutes a professional service.

Case workers who undertake treatment of this kind, whose faulty and misdirected planning is always detrimental to improvement, must therefore possess knowledge and skills that are genuinely professional. There is widespread recognition of the growth of this professional aspect in much case-handling.

No brief description of case work can set forth in adequate manner the underlying philosophy and procedures that make this new approach so challenging and useful. It is encouraging to note in passing that the chief point of emphasis in this new thinking appears to be a shift from outmoded trial-and-error plans in handling cases to at least the beginning of a scientific determination of needs and of surer methods in practice. This, with the essential inclusion in all modern treatment of the wishes and the co-operation of the persons themselves who are accepting such case service, marks an important departure from the old charitable and reform activities of many agencies.

A professional worker in a welfare agency dealing with difficult children proceeds in an understanding, orderly manner on the plan that proposes to best affect proper case treatment. Possibility of improvement for the case generally grows in the first place from reliable diagnosis of individual problems, and, in the second place, from the subsequent steps that represent a co-operative undertaking. The child who is the client, as well as the worker, carries an important and determining responsibility directed toward his own growth and change.

Competent workers know of social resources and how to use them. Through training and experience they understand individual differences. They anticipate and evaluate the responses to methods of treatment as they are individually instituted. They are, moreover, qualified to mobilize and manipulate facilities of the community which afford specialized care to children, as clinics, boarding funds, and opportunities for protection, education, and recreation. They extend and intensify the usefulness of these limited resources because they use them only for appropriate and judicious purposes. Their service to the individual reaches deeply and extends widely.

To conclude, three simple avenues of approach, each from the viewpoint of a different social front, are offered to show how long-continued and careful planning, used successfully in other areas, can be carried over into these delicate matters of delinquency-handling and the reduction of its failures. Consideration of some similar setup to lessen the upset of children and to speed recovery for each of these individuals who is not in an acceptable social adjustment and to modify irritating conditions in the community that influence adversely achievements of all such persons is now in order.

Probably no more outstanding public service can be reported upon than the results in lowering the death-rates of infants and mothers which followed the hard-fought struggle for the enactment and the establishment of useful activities that resulted as under the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921. This was a nation-wide effort toward the improvement of infant and

maternal welfare. Despite tremendous opposition from its many opponents and bitter clashing over its controversial issues, reliable leadership and careful recording showed gradual improvement and an encouraging outcome.

It is generally agreed now that these methods as used had advantages. This was largely because there were concentrated into a single program of co-ordinated direction, three great national services. The office of the surgeon general, the commissioner of education, and the United States Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor were charged with this responsibility. The unity and strength and the wisdom in joint planning and in joint operation of this welfare project brought telling and favorable results to the movement. It demonstrated once and for all an important principle that emphasizes well the unlimited advantages of constructive, well-taken steps toward a national program of child care and protection.

Important federal bureaus are today independently considering and serving the delinquent child and his problems. The same unified aspects of organization that characterized those earlier governmental efforts in infant and maternal welfare must again appear in generous measure. That is, if progress in meeting delinquency problems is to be as anticipated. What immeasurable aid in these matters of dealing with juvenile delinquency could be immediately and enthusiastically provided for this joint purpose if some combination of the attorney-general, the surgeon general, the chief of the Children's Bureau, and the federal commissioner of education could be established, and co-operative services regarding this particular activity get reliably and productively under way on this federal basis!

A second excellent example of method is to be observed in the present-day status of Crippled Children's Services, as set up under the far-visioned provisions of the Federal Social Security Act. Here there is offered a plan for excellent interrelation of community services and their joint operation on federal, state and local levels. A dependability develops from this co-ordination that assures to all physically handicapped children the pro-

fessional attention that is necessary for successful and individual treatment. They make together a complete and reliable program for the proper care of physically handicapped children throughout the nation. Carefully and insistently, therapeutic measures are prescribed that are orderly and well suited. Aid is generously provided in this joint practice in order that needs of these differing children can be met on a certain, constructive, and long-continued basis.

This satisfactory process has its beginning in a survey of needs. The identifying and registration at early age and with completeness and accuracy of all physically handicapped children affords much that has great and lasting value. Through study of the individual, diagnosis of each child's condition and the scientific determination of a specialized plan for his physical and social treatment are viewed as essentials in every case. Regardless of cost and despite customary interruptions in carrying out treatment, there will be here the institution of steady, competent effort and service to prepare each crippled child and to fit him so that he becomes a useful and happy citizen. No restrictions as to seriousness, time, efforts, or expenditure—only a public and professional insistence that results finally be favorable and satisfying. This has become characteristic of present thinking about care for physically handicapped children.

The third of these suggestions directs us back to the viewing of earlier days and older ways when other persons in social work faced limited understanding and curtailed social facilities for their undertakings. They fought courageously to introduce changes, and the changes they wrought continue today to influence greatly our thinking, particularly of the behavior-problem area of children, for which there should be now much new and more satisfying planning.

We may look to the accomplishments of many of the early social workers to discover favorable cues to offset our own uncertain endeavors. There is much indeed in their pioneering methods that should help baffling situations that are current and pressing. It is stimulating to see time after time the far-

reaching outcomes of their natural and unpretentious beginnings.

The accomplishments of Jane Addams, whose spirit and understanding and service make us her debtors, forever, show us a way. There are countless illustrations of a simple principle of social change and progress in the record of Miss Addams and of the group that served at Hull-House with her. Let us review for a moment some aspects of the social usefulness of an early associate, Florence Kelly.

She saw, soon after her arrival at Hull-House, the harm of hazardous occupations to little children of the neighborhood. Her intelligent and unfaltering protests of single violations that she witnessed focused the attention of more and more people upon the problem. An aroused public opinion, prohibitive legislation, a factory-inspection system; and Illinois began to safeguard her children in industry! Then there came national consciousness of these same unmet needs through Mrs. Kelly's wise insistence; an active National Consumer's League and a National Child Labor Committee were established; later, important N.R.A. codes controlling the labor of children, and some day it is hoped the ratification of constitutional amendments with permission to federally regulate child labor! The accomplishments of Julia Lathrop likewise show momentous growth in this same, natural, and productive fashion.

"Not by might; not by power; but by spirit" may be for us a fruitful motto as we view the evidences of their great leadership and determine anew our responsibilities together in this far-reaching field of human welfare that has so much to do with lessening the delinquencies of children.

WHAT WE LEARN FROM THE CHILD'S OWN PSYCHOLOGY TO GUIDE TREATMENT IN A SMALL INSTITUTION

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THE field of child care as it relates to social work has for many years been sharply divided into two groups: the one made up of those professional experts, such as psychiatrists, psychologists, and social case workers who advised on methods of child care and training, and the other composed of that nonprofessional group of parents and foster-parents who actually provided care and training. Nowhere has the gulf been wider than between the professional case worker who planned for the child and projected methods of treatment and the non-professional institutional staff person who as foster-parent and group leader was expected to apply those methods. Obviously, one of the difficulties was that institutional staff was not on the whole adequately trained in social case-work concepts or in modern theories of personality growth and development. They frequently insisted upon procedures, rules, and controls so foreign to the case-worker's philosophy of individualization that he tended to reject all institutional care as unsound and abnormal. On the other hand, case workers undoubtedly projected planning into a medium of which they had no firsthand information and suggested forms of treatment which they themselves had never attempted. Likewise, neither group had ever adequately tested or analyzed the contributions or limitations of institutional care or determined what children under what circumstances could be best served by such care.

Today, most forward-looking people in both fields concede

that the institution does not provide an adequate home situation and should never be used for long-time care of normal children. However, the potentialities of an institution for purposes of temporary observation, treatment, and socialization are receiving a degree of recognition previously unknown. Likewise, the development of institutional units set up as treatment centers and staffed with professional or semiprofessional personnel under professional direction has largely overcome the isolation of the expert from opportunities for firsthand testing of the applicability and effectiveness of treatment methods. Within the limits of this paper nothing more will be attempted than a brief analysis of efforts to apply modern concepts of child-training in one such setup, and to share some of the successes and failures for what they may have to contribute: first, to a better understanding of child personality, and, second, to those special factors which enter into institutional functioning. Those interested in the actual setup in which these experiments have been tried are referred to a previous paper on "The Use of a Small Institutional Unit as a Treatment Center."

Since the institution, just as any other foster-home, fulfils its function as it serves as one of the tools of treatment in a general case-work job, it would appear to be an inevitable prerequisite for adequate functioning of such a unit that it be under the direct supervision of a person well oriented in case-work procedures and techniques who likewise has responsibility for the case-work functioning and is therefore able to integrate these two phases of service. However, there are certain readjustments in thinking which such a case worker must make in order to assume this broader function.

The social case worker, trained to deal with people in individual and controlled relationships, comes to look upon his methodology as adequate to any situation and to trust completely the effectiveness of the interview as his major tool. However, when a case worker undertakes the maintenance of an institutional unit, he must face the fact that he assumes responsibility not only for individual growth and development but for

group relationships and controls as well. Previously he could trust the family group or a stern social order to exercise these controls, and he remained outside, able to assume the passive role of interpreting them and assisting the child to come to some sort of terms with them. Even when placing the child in a foster-home or institution, he merely offered the child new environmental influences and controls, and he himself became no part of them. In assuming direct foster-parent responsibility, as one does in the maintenance of a children's home, all this intangible aloofness is abandoned. The worker becomes a functioning part of that environment and in a large measure personifies these controls. I am sure that in our own setup an original reluctance to assume responsibility for these controls brought the agency through a temporary period of disorder and confusion which could well have been avoided and prevented the adjustment of some children whom the agency would now feel competent to assist. For it is quite one thing to sit in the living-room coolly discussing with a foster-mother what she would have done yesterday when Johnny was about to throw a rock if she had just known as much about child psychology as the case worker, and quite another to stand beside the irate Johnny at the moment when, arm upraised, he menaces his world. And how Johnny reacts to an analytical discussion of his difficulty a day or two later sitting quietly in the worker's office has very little to do with what his reaction would have been to the same approach applied in the heat of his fury. Likewise, in the maintenance of the institution, Johnny's problem is not and cannot be the only problem with which the worker is concerned, for she also has responsibility for the welfare of Johnny's associates and for an understanding of their reaction to being threatened with a rock.

This failure of case workers to recognize the group responsibility of the institutional worker has probably been as large a factor as any other in creating misunderstandings. It will become real enough to him if he ever attempts to handle the group himself. For instance, many case workers see no reason why a

child should not be available for interviewing at any time that is convenient to them, even though this may be the time when the child is assigned to some group responsibility, apparently completely failing to realize that this upsets administrative functioning and places a child in a false relationship to his associates who see him as not carrying his fair portion of the job. If one finds dishwashing very unpleasant, it is no more than human then that one should develop, as dishwashing time approaches, a terrific emotional need to talk to one's case worker. Likewise, although it may be recognized that from the standpoint of the individual child it is desirable that he be permitted to release his hostilities, it is also well to face situations that may arise when such released hostility becomes contagious and must be checked in the name of group survival. But just as case workers must realize that there are times when such hostility must be checked, it is well for institutional people to realize that the moment when a child begins to overtly fight his world may be the moment of his greatest progress, and that only as he works through it unaffected by authoritative control can he achieve normalcy.

In spite of all their glibness in advising others as to methods and procedures, many honest case workers will concede that confronted with the necessity of maintaining order and discipline in a group of children they would feel extremely insecure. Confronted with the first-rate temper tantrum of even one hostile child, they are frequently most grateful for the opportunity to turn him back to the parent or foster-parent who may not handle him scientifically, but can at least keep him from major destruction. But why should it be so? Since he is going to assume to advise on problems of child care, why should the case worker not have some firsthand contact with direct child-training?

That is exactly the opportunity that is afforded in the closely knit unit of a small treatment center, and many a vague theory is shaken down into reality in a day-by-day contact with the child's "ups and downs" from breakfast to bedtime. I remem-

ber well an occasion when two pugnacious and independent first graders had played truant from school and returned home at noon, obviously very snickery and pleased with themselves. The supervisor took one look at them and suggested that they be given simple discipline and the incident forgotten. But the case worker protested. Surely there was some conflict here, some personality hurt, some unsatisfactory experience from which these children were attempting to escape. She wanted an opportunity to interview them. It was conceded. No sooner were they in her office when they offered the perennial alibi of childhood; they needed to go to the bathroom. She agreed to accompany them. A few minutes later hilarious shrieks and running feet could be heard from the second floor. The case worker returned disheveled and anxious to report that the boys were throwing water and threatening to run into the shower with their clothing on. The reappearance of the supervisor brought the situation immediately into hand. In no way unusual children, they were very shrewdly aware that they were dealing with an individual of whom they could take advantage, and they knew instantly when the scene shifted. I am not trying to ridicule the worker's desire to reach to the root of the difficulty or to be willing to hear patiently the child's story. I simply mean that a shrewder awareness of personality reaction would have convinced her quickly that these were not children in conflict, these were young adventurers trying out their world. And almost as undersirable as ruthless overriding of a real problem is a gullible credulity when a child is playing his ego against his world.

In the well-recognized need for more individualization on the part of an institutional staff, it must be recognized that this is not entirely a question of professional competence but is also a question of load. It is just as impossible for an institutional staff person to individualize in a situation where she has direct parental responsibility for twenty-five or thirty children as for a case worker to do intensive therapy with a case load of a hundred. For example, within our own setup, a competent worker—

aware of underlying causes of personality conflict, attempting to get only ten boys off to school—found that he had no time to give to one boy who insisted that he would not go, except insistence that he must go. If he had stopped to interview the child, nine other boys would have been late for school; so between hunting up coats and straightening collars and re-washing necks, he brought periodical pressure upon the dissenter. It was only when the child created such a disturbance that the case worker, whose schedule permitted individual conference, was called in, that the child sobbed out the story of how he had been laughed at the previous day because he did not know his geography lesson. Quickly he conceded that it was a previous truancy which prevented him from knowing the material required of him and that, therefore, the situation was a direct consequence of his own act, which would only be made worse by further absence. Also, he recognized that life would present him with many disconcerting experiences but that he could not eternally run away from them. Bolstered in his self-confidence, challenged to meet a difficult problem, he started off to school with good grace. Not infrequently in such situations the case worker feels chagrined that the house staff could not get at the root of such a simple problem, but this was not necessarily a question of relative skill, it was a question of relative free time as well. We will never approach the problem intelligently until we recognize that even granting professional competence we will have to increase the number of staff persons per group unit if we are to have an individualized job.

Although granting that many institutions have an alarming number of rules, it is well, on the other hand, to remember that life has rules and the child is being prepared for life. Some regulation actually simplifies the process of living by disposing of trivial things and leaving the creative energies of staff and children free for other things. The desirability of regular habits of eating, sleeping, etc., are well recognized. If three people are to do something together it requires more planning than if two are doing it. Obviously, therefore, if twenty people are to live to-

gether harmoniously there must be some understandings before you begin, or a great deal of dissociation will occur. The test of a rule should be whether or not it actually increases the well-being of the group and of the individuals in the group, and whether or not its enforcement is in terms of these values or becomes dissociated from them and sacred by and of themselves. If staff people remain prepared to discuss the validity of any rule with any honest objector, it will be exposed to a forum well able to reveal its imperfections.

Our agency has many more rules today than it had a year ago, but both staff and children would concede that they have simplified living without depriving of initiative or freedom. However, not only institutions but public schools have found that it is quite possible to replace petty regimentation with broad concepts of conformance. Thus children permitted to go at their own gait on their own initiative through a building may actually be more quiet and considerate than children marched through it. And the same holds on a hundred fronts.

Until recently, both case workers and institutional people seem to have been unaware of the rare opportunities for observation and treatment available in group living. In providing a medium in which a child can live with a varied and variable group under the direction of competent professional staff, it becomes possible not only to get an actual cross-section of a child's responses and capacities but to actually develop treatment methods, to test their effectiveness, and to project them into future relationships. Not only are the therapeutic skills of the case worker made available through interpretation and analysis, but a protected situation is created in which can likewise be applied the skills of the group worker able to assist the child in establishing satisfactory relationships, to help him to develop creative skills, and to guide him in assuming group responsibility. For example, a child referred for care who had an asthmatic condition so acute that it was necessary for her to sleep in a dustproof room, to subsist on a limited diet, and to forego almost all recreational activities, quickly showed by exposure to

the institutional group a complete withdrawal from other children, a hostile attitude toward men staff members, and a demanding relationship toward women. Night terrors reported to case-work staff proved upon interviewing to be connected with dream content that her mother became lost to her through remarriage. With assistance from the case worker the child quickly made the association that it was for this reason that she saw all men as a potential threat to her security. Source material obtained by the case worker showed that the child's entire life had been spent in an absorbing and overprotected relationship with her mother, which made her demanding of women and incapable of competitive relationships with children.

Here case-work analysis and interpretation coupled with a treatment plan carried out by institutional staff, in which the child was never given an opportunity to use her physical condition as an attention-getting device, was given many occasions for satisfaction on other levels. It was able to develop a relationship with a woman staff member on a less possessive but more accepting basis than with her mother, and she was taught creative skills which made it possible for her to win approval and acceptance from her contemporaries. This treatment produced in a relatively short time a child sufficiently robust, so that she moved voluntarily into the crowded and dusty dormitory, ate regular meals, and was able to go on long hikes without discomfort. Later, when recurrence of the asthmatic condition took place in a foster-home in which she had been placed, the case worker was alert to locate the personality conflict with a younger child in the home and able to interpret this to the child herself and to the foster-mother, with immediate results.

Another instance was that of an intelligent, hostile ten-year-old boy who had been so rejected and so brutally treated that he reacted to all efforts at control with a stoical, silent contempt and resisted all friendly overtures to the extent of refusing candy and responding to a genial pat with the sarcastic comment that he was no dog. Thus, while refusing to accept relationships, he exhibited an amazingly shrewd appreciation of what was in-

volved in them, being apparently aware of that very adult concept that no honest person accepts courtesies without being willing to return them. Great inhibitions, coupled with intense pride, finding their expression in complete negativism, offset by sudden unexpected loyalty in a moment of staff crisis gave clues to treatment. Acceptance meticulously free from condescension was made available but was never forced. Only after he had been given plenty of time in which to orient himself to the staff and to his changed situation was there a gradual and developing insistence upon certain small gestures of conformance. Following an act of major destructiveness, he was simply placed upon a chair and told that he must remain there, even though physical restraint was necessary. In no way was he injured except as he injured himself in fighting for freedom. The minute he was quiet, restraint was withdrawn. He was not expected to verbalize his capitulation, was given every opportunity to save face, but was set the specific task of picking up an object he had knocked from a table. Deliberately tension was built up until in a sudden burst of tears he was able to accept affection from the worker and to listen quietly to her brief interpretation, following which he picked up the article with good grace. It was necessary to repeat the experience two or three times, each time demanding a higher level of conformance. After each occasion there was a heightening rather than a diminishing of the child's loyalty to staff. Later, in attempting school placement, this and other experiences of the child were described to the school principal. Upon the occasion of inevitable conflict with school authority, the principal, unable to reach the case worker, followed exactly the procedure outlined, with the result that the child voluntarily wrote a note to the teacher and settled into the school system with diminishing upset. Thus during the period of residence, it is possible for the staff to obtain an actual knowledge of the child's reactions and to test treatment methods. After such a period, when a parent or foster-parent calls to report a difficulty, the worker is no longer using vague, intangible theory. He is able to discuss with assurance the con-

flict involved, to predict with some certainty the child's behavior, and to outline methods of treatment which are specific and understandable.

It is important, however, that there should be not only complete co-operation but also a clear understanding of the division of function between the person carrying the case-work responsibility and the person who, as institutional staff, carries the foster-parent relationship. The foster-parent lives with the child in a reality medium, interacting intimately with him and his associates, giving him acceptance and understanding coupled with control and direction in line with his emotional needs as gained through a knowledge of his problems and capacities. The case worker remains a passive interpreter—the one to whom the child may turn for that uncensuring analysis so essential to the therapy relationship. In those individual situations where circumstances force either to assume the role of the other, only a clear recognition of what has occurred can avoid conflict, and only repeated conferences can achieve integration. And there will be times when the case worker as well as the institutional staff person in such a setup will be confronted with situations when to attempt an interview is useless, and something specific must be done. Just what is done is seldom as important as the attitude assumed by the adult who does it. Fortunately we have evolved from that stage of case-work thinking when our emphasis was almost exclusively on skills and we seemed to be trying to develop a bag of tricks with which to control personality. Social work today has evolved no philosophy skills of direct training and control comparable to the case-work technique of interviewing. Not infrequently those assuming foster-parent responsibility find themselves caught in an attempt to devise new and unique methods of punishment. Without any question, that method which holds up best in the day-by-day running of our job in which many decisions must be made hastily and under pressure is the voluntary or enforced withdrawal of the child from group participation until there is emotional poise and an opportunity for interpretation. Not only does this re-

lease tension in the group and avoid for the child the need of saving face before his associates, but it gives the staff worker an interval during which he can reorient himself on the child's fundamental conflicts and needs, objectively analyze the factors in the immediate situation, and plan procedure in line with sound development for the child.

Considering all that modern science has to contribute to the understanding of individual personality, it is a sad thing indeed if the case worker has no more to rely on in that moment than his own limited life-experience. His professional competence is at stake. But many a case worker who may feel that he is completely free from any necessity for hostile reactions against a child in any situation might find his reaction very different if his shins were kicked thoroughly, if he was openly defied in the group, or if at the end of a long and fatiguing day the entire organization plan had to be altered because of the perverseness of one person. The almost horrified reluctance of many case workers to concede any form of physical punishment even for small children may be based partly upon their fear of releasing hostilities within themselves should they undertake such performance. Obviously there are tongue lashings and subtle rejections compared to which a spanking would be kindness. Although by and large our own agency avoids all forms of corporal punishments, I would feel I were being dishonest if I did not concede that there have been occasions when spankings have been administered with most gratifying results. I suppose no person with a background of case-work philosophy concedes physical discipline without a guilty feeling that had he been more skilful, less decisive and potentially dangerous methods could have been found, but granting lack of adequate skill, just what could be more destructive than to permit a child's omnipotent infantile ego to ride on into adulthood unchecked is hard to imagine. There is a phase of his development when every child resembles so closely the young pup who will chew a shoe if he can find it, that one wonders just why we withhold from him the intelligent discipline that we would without reluctance

administer to the pup, since life will be very cruel if he carries shoe-chewing over into adulthood.

The oft repeated assertion of institutional heads that all children must be treated alike from the standpoint of privilege and punishment would appear from our experience to be no more valid than the premise that if you give castor oil to one child you must force it down all children showing symptoms of ill-health. Although often carrying over from their homes or other institutions this attitude, which they rise loudly to defend, children can be brought quickly to see the fairness of a more discriminating procedure. One objection often made is that the latter process puts a staff in the position of having constantly to justify procedure. Fair enough, why not? Presumably we are preparing children to live in a democracy. Certainly no child should be permitted a privilege or subjected to punishment without being given the reasons why either is in order. Likewise, it has been established that it is not necessary to explain why another child is given different treatment, the staff being able to state frankly that no one could judge whether or not the treatment was fair without a knowledge of the child's whole personality, and that since the staff cannot discuss this, the test of fairness will have to be based upon the staff's relationship to each child as an individual, allowing, of course, some margin of error on the part of the staff along with other humans.

In a field so intangible as human personality, the margin of error is necessarily great, but it is probably safe to say that given honest acceptance of a child, coupled with a sincere desire to help him, a person may make a hundred technical mistakes and not lose the child's loyalty or injure his development. And, conversely, there probably is no amount of skill or technique which can surmount emotional rejection of the child. As long as there exists a need on the part of the adult to develop the child in the image of something he has set up for him or a tendency to see himself and the child as engaged in some ego contest, there is little enough that he can give him. And, in the last analysis, whatever improvement any child shows will probably be based

upon the development of a relationship with some staff person, through which it is possible to gain sufficient security to release him for courageous development.

The recent contribution of those institutions which through reduced numbers, adequate and professional personnel, and a discriminating and flexible functioning prepared to utilize all the skills made available through modern scientific method should leave little doubt as to the potential value of this previously much maligned service. The danger, of course, is that institutional setups will attempt such functioning or allege to be attempting it without the professionally competent personnel which could insure its success. The responsibility of institutional heads to face the need of professionalizing their service is all too obvious. Likewise, the case worker must recognize the need to test his theories in some practical medium and to face the fact that it is not how the child responds to him in his office that is of significance, but how the analysis and interpretation of the interview can be made to reflect in the child's adjustment to his associates and to life that is the measure of success.

But you may well say that the procedures found to be desirable in a unit setup for children presenting personality problems are not necessarily applicable in fields of work concerned primarily with the normal child. The difference is one of degree and not of kind. All life has conflict, all personalities imperfections, all individuals unreached goals and aspirations. I wonder if the difficulty does not lie in a lack of imagination which prevents us from interpreting life to all children as a growth process, growth not alone in stature and intelligence, but in stability, in maturity, in creative capacity.

WHAT WE LEARN FROM THE CHILD'S OWN PSYCHOLOGY TO GUIDE TREATMENT

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THE social adjustments of every adult have their beginnings in childhood. The roots from which they spring and develop are firmly grounded in family life. As the child grows older, his relationships with people and institutions in the outside world reflect unceasingly his relationships with his family group.

Social workers, dealing as they must with maladjustments and their by-products, have long been aware that, if they would understand the complexities of personality and behavior, they must find their clues far back in the childhood of the client. From the standpoint of diagnosis and research, such delving into the past is valuable. From the standpoint of effective help or therapy for the individual, it is often little more than a post-mortem. Experts in the field of delinquency and mental illness know this all too well. It seems vitally important that some of our energy now going into finding out how maladjustments start or into a salvaging job be directed into preventing their starting at all or recognizing them in their incipency.

The goal of the family case worker, stated in its broadest terms, is the maintaining and strengthening of family relationships. Although much of our work must be remedial, we need at the same time to accept a responsibility for helping families to attain a state of health that will be an insurance against maladjustments. Such a responsibility involves a real concern for the children who are still in the making.

The family case worker is in a strategic position to know the

child as he actually functions and reacts in his family setting. Specialized agencies organized for the welfare of children rarely have the opportunity to see in process the day-to-day interaction of the child and other members of the family group. This does not mean that they are not concerned with it. The recreational worker who generally deals with children extensively rather than intensively is more and more often coming to the family case worker for information that will help her understand a particular child and make the recreational program constructive for him. The vocational adviser is not resting content with an evaluation of a child's intelligence and special aptitudes supplemented perhaps by an "Interests blank." He wants to know in addition something of how the child's capacity and ambitions relate to his family situation. Children's courts are turning to the family case worker to round out the picture which they may see only briefly or second hand. The psychiatrist, with all his expertness in history-taking and his acuteness in reconstructing from symptomatic behavior the child's whole background of emotional experience, is still eager to have confirmation of his assumptions from one who has known the child and his family at first hand.

In view of all this it is interesting to comment upon the comparative newness of the family case worker's interest in the child as an individual. Ten years ago, in most cases, the children were little more than names and birth dates on a face-sheet. The parents talked about them only as they presented problems, possibly because that was the point at which we case workers became interested. Then, to do ourselves justice, we sprang into action with plans for tonsillectomies, intelligence tests, nursery care, scout troops, camp, or even placement—all with little or no knowledge of the child as a person. When young adults, whose families we have known in the past, come to us for help, we still with an unfounded optimism turn back to the old record, eager for clues. What kind of little boy or girl was this? What happened between these youngsters and their parents? What were their strengths and weaknesses, their satisfactions

and frustrations? How did they feel about us and the situation that brought us into contact with them? We have not the remotest idea. We learn that Johnny had curly hair and a dirty blouse the day we called to take him to the ferry for camp, and that Helen had a double mastoid operation and an I.Q. of 92 in 1920.

In the progressive family agency of today there has been a rapid increase of responsible concern for children. Perhaps this making-up of our lag is due to several factors—the more thorough and rounded professional training of our staff members, the contribution and interest of psychiatric workers coming to us from children's clinics, the popularization of child psychology among parents, which leads them to greater awareness and articulation about their children, and, finally, our own increasing interest and skill in the diagnosis and treatment of total family relationships, which leads us inevitably to a consideration of children as well as parents.

Any fairly rapid growth of interest may bring certain problems in its train. Undue enthusiasm for a new phase of our work may throw our total job out of balance and lead us to operate beyond our area of competence or outside our legitimate sphere of function in the community. It would be easy to let our preoccupation with children get out of bounds. Their helplessness in the face of family stresses and tragedies is strongly appealing, and we have a natural anxiety to salvage and rescue the young and more promising members of the storm-tossed family. It would also be easy, on the basis of our own anxiety and certain lacks in the community, to assume responsibilities beyond our capacity or function, such as intensive therapy for serious emotional problems because psychiatric care is lacking or inadequate, or child-placing because we become impatient with the necessarily slow operation of the regular child-placing machinery.

Since our role in the diagnosis and treatment of children is such a new one and so much in need of clarification and delineation, it seems timely to consider what the family case worker

needs to know about children and what part her treatment of them might play in her total job. Perhaps we should limit our discussion to the role of the worker with a general professional training, with the realization that here and there a worker with special capacity and equipment may undertake more intensive therapy and that certain community situations and needs may necessitate the assuming of special responsibilities or involve shifts of emphasis.

We might assume that we would feel a general concern and responsibility for all children whose parents come to us in trouble. We are likely today to know something of their personality makeup, their role in the family relationships, their needs, and their degree of involvement in any problems presented. Such knowledge is necessary if we are to make a sound diagnosis of the family situation and makes us more certain of our base for treatment.

In cases where there is chronic physical or mental illness, marital discord, or delinquency, it is obvious that we should inquire into the situation as far as the children are concerned, know their reaction to the difficulty, and take them into account as treatment is planned.

The question as to whether or not we shall work with a child individually arises in many instances, both at the point of intake and during the progress of a case. In some cases the parents in trouble may have the capacity to deal wisely and healthily with their children, trusting us sufficiently to ask for such help as they may need along the way. With these families our role may be mainly to direct the parents to such resources and opportunities as all children need—health care, recreation, and vocational or educational guidance. We may know the children in a friendly, more or less casual way, but we serve them indirectly through their parents.

In other cases the very nature of the problem which the parent brings to us may be an indication that direct contact with the child is necessary or advisable. More and more parents are learning through schools, hospital clinics, and children's courts

that the family agency is interested and competent in helping with behavior problems of children as well as other family problems. The child's problems may be incipient ones or may have reached a point that has made the parents seek a drastic solution, such as placement or court action. In either case the parent is likely to focus upon the child in seeking advice and help and will usually accept our knowing the child as logical. Even where we diagnose the difficulty as in the parent rather than in the child, we are wise to start at the problem as he presents it.

If we are to be of responsible service to a child in difficulty, it is important that we develop skill in history-taking of an appropriate type. In our first interview with the parent, we should get a picture of the problem as he sees it, with concrete illustrations wherever possible. When does the parent think the behavior started and how did it start? What happened just before and, if it was an overt act, what was the child's reaction afterward? How important does the parent feel the behavior to be, and how has the family reacted to it and dealt with it? How do the family, playmates, and teachers feel about the child, and how does he feel about them? This and other relevant information, even though it may not be literally accurate, will orient us somewhat to the child's experience and reactions in preparation for our direct contact with him. The skill required for such history-taking is not so much an ability to elicit information, for the parent is usually anxious to talk, as it is the ability to explore relevantly and effectively and to do so without embarking prematurely upon a treatment role. By focusing practically upon the problem of the child as it is brought to us, we can usually avoid tying the parent to us through expressions of our interest or concern regarding his own problem.

It is natural that most of the child problems brought to us at intake are overt-behavior difficulties which are obvious to parents and teachers. Other types of maladjustment, such as overdependence, fearfulness, or withdrawal from reality, may be less easily identified and less troublesome for the family and school. These reactions of a child are more likely to be discussed by

parents after they know us well and are sharing with us their less acute but equally vital concerns. The parent may ask at such points that we see the child or accept willingly our expressed interest in knowing him better, and we can do this quite naturally just as we do when the child's problem is presented at the start.

Beside the predominance or seriousness of the child's problem, there are other questions to bear in mind when we consider having direct contact with him. What is such contact going to mean to the parent? Is he suspicious of what he considers interference on our part or of what we may find out about him from the child? Will he be competitive with the child for our attention and consciously or unconsciously damage the child's relationship with us? Will he use us punitively with the child, threatening to tell us of his misdeeds? Will he be threatened by the child's temporary attachment to us as a loss to him? What are the chances for success if we see a child in the face of these hazards? In the case of a young child, especially, the parent is inevitably in control of the situation and can interfere effectively with our efforts in the child's behalf, if only by forgetting to bring him or finding slight pretexts for leaving him at home. An adolescent who is able to manage his own appointments and is eager for help may be less affected by his parents' attitudes, but even here we must weigh them carefully. It is vitally important that we work along with the parents to whatever extent possible. We must bear in mind that even the most friendly ones may have unconscious resistances to our treatment of the child and that such resistances may be strengthened by our disregard of his own needs or our failure to keep him in on the situation. Even where the resistance is conscious or where the parent's motives for having us see the child are hostile ones, it is sometimes possible for us to maintain contact with the child if we are careful to give the parent something on his own. It may help to have separate workers for the parent and the child, who can see them at the same appointment time.

Many of our contacts with children will be on a short-time,

exploratory basis. In such cases it is well for us to guard against forming a tie with the child which will be confusing or painful for him to have broken. He should be told that he is coming in one time, or two or three times, so that we may get acquainted with him. In other cases where treatment seems indicated, he should be given such interpretation of this as may be suited to his age. We are all too prone to get children in to see us on such vague pretexts as to talk about scouts, or camp, or school, or to play games, when the real problem is quite a different one. At best the child may accept us amiably and unquestionably as he would any well-meaning friend of the family.

It is even more important where children are referred to us because of delinquent behavior or because of plans for placement that we be quite honest with them about what we know of their problem. It is impossible to have a free relationship with a child if there is something of vital and painful importance that is kept under cover. Even though at first the child may react angrily, defensively, or apprehensively to our mentioning of his difficulty, he will become reassured as he learns from experience with us that we still accept him and like him. A skilful case worker will, of course, be wise in her timing of the discussion and will not press the point unduly in the face of a child's resistance.

It is important that we grant from the start, without evasion, the parent's role in the situation—that we tell the child we know that the parent is angry or worried or interested. If the parent has a positive concern and a feeling of warmth for the youngster, the child is likely to feel safe with us and to accept our working with the parent in his behalf. Where the parent is negative or rejecting and literally turns the child over to us in anger or despair, our role is more difficult. We need to let the child know that the relationship with the parent is hard for him without establishing ourselves in an ideal-parent role that will make his family relationships in contrast even more intolerable or throw him into confusion as far as his loyalties are concerned. So our efforts should be directed toward straightening out and

strengthening his ties with the parents rather than toward widening the gap between them by our own well-meaning attempts to be everything that the parent is not.

Nancy tells us that she is a very good girl in school. We know that the "goodness" is superimposed on a great deal of hostility and that she conforms under pressure of an overambitious mother and rigid teacher. We are tempted to reassure her by saying that as far as we are concerned she need not be good, but we must do more than that. We are more realistic if we say: "Yes, teachers like that, don't they? It makes things go better if you're good. Of course, it isn't always easy and you can tell me about the bad things you do or want to do too." Similarly when a child protests vehemently that he loves a parent or brother or sister, we do not merely say: "It's all right for you to hate them." We recognize the child's need to keep a balance and say: "Yes, I know you love them in some ways, and in other ways you might not. It's all right for you to tell me about all the different feelings you have." In short, we accept but do not line up with the child's negative or destructive impulses, just as we grant the value of conformity without placing an undue premium upon it.

One problem continually arises for the family case worker who is treating a child. What sort of interpretation do we give to the parent along the way? We are justly wary of an intellectual exposition of the child's behavior, and we have learned to distrust the mere giving of formulas for handling the child. If the parent is working through some of his own problems, it is conceivable that he may be gaining in understanding of the child. It is natural, however, for him to be curious about what is going on between the child and the case worker. Even where he accepts the confidential nature of the relationship, he is eager to know what the worker thinks of the youngster.

In one case where the seven-year-old child was seeing another case worker, the mother expressed so much interest that an appointment was arranged so that she might talk with the child's worker. We quote from the record:

The mother began the interview with "What do you think of her?" We said we think she is an interesting little girl. Mrs. Andros said, "Yes, she's a funny little thing, sort of impulsive and awkward. She seems always as if she was wanting to be loved, sort of hungry. She'll suddenly rush up and give you a hug. I pet her a bit then and cuddle her." We said we know she values any affection she is given at home. She tells us delightedly that sometimes her mother calls her "Honey." Mrs. Andros talked about the difference between the children. Maria (the older sister) is so easy and comfortable with everybody. And she's so smart about never going too far, "kind of tactful." It's pretty hard on Theonie. It has just happened that friends who give them clothing have given things that fit Maria. Theonie is so good about it, but you can tell she is hurt and disappointed. We asked whether Mrs. Andros had noticed that it is important for Theonie to offer something herself when she is given anything. She certainly has—Theonie has given away almost all her small Christmas presents. "I don't stop her though. It's a good trait." We remarked that it isn't usual for a young child to do this and Mrs. Andros agreed, saying "Of course, she's selfish in some ways." She sympathises with Theonie because she herself was an awkward girl and she knows how starved she was for affection. We said we had thought it might help for Theonie to come in and talk with us. It's harder for children to say some things to people they feel very close to. Mrs. Andros agreed eagerly. She knows that from her own experience, and Theonie just loves to come to see us. She calls the worker her "special friend" and when we write her, carries the letter in her sweater pocket. We asked how Mr. Andros feels about the children. Mrs. Andros said he is very reserved and undemonstrative though he loves them. He has been helping Maria with her Greek School lessons and Mrs. Andros encourages him to teach Theonie things too. . . .

Mrs. Andros said she is not beating the children now. They are less obedient to be sure, but it's better than to have them always keyed up and frightened. Theonie is anxious to be good. She says she is the teacher's pet and this seems to please her. We said Mrs. Andros may find her going to extremes—loving one minute and drawing away the next, now over-modest and now curious, now good and now bad. She is at an age when she can't always find the in-between place where it is best to be. Maria is perhaps unusually sure and confident. Mrs. Andros said she can understand this. She wants to encourage Theonie in anything she is especially fitted for. She is much more sensitive and artistic than Maria, she even cries over the movies. She has a sweet, true singing voice, "like a little bird piping." Maria can tap-dance "to beat the band," but has no real ear for music except for rhythm. Mrs. Andros will have Theonie sing in the children's choir at the church "if the Lord spares her."

We said we were very much interested in knowing Mrs. Andros' feelings

and ideas about Theonie. If she thinks it would help to have us know anything, she can tell her worker.

The value of an interview of this kind is not only in the reassurance it gives the mother. It adds to our diagnostic information about the child, gives us a picture of how she looks to her family and how they deal with her, and also indicates where the assets and liabilities of the mother will operate in our treatment of the child. Along with the need for clarification with both the child and the parent at the start and during treatment, there is the need to determine what the nature of our contacts with the child are to be. It is quite clear that few of us are competent to embark on intensive psychological therapy. We can, however, equip ourselves with sufficient knowledge to recognize in symptomatic behavior the existence of serious problems. We can then use our contact with the child, not to delve too deeply into these problems, but to enable him to accept skilled psychiatric help. If this is not available, we shall have to limit ourselves to a supportive job, meeting his reality needs and maintaining a general friendly interest in him. There is no danger in such a relationship even for a seriously disturbed child, provided we are aware that our role is a limited one. One safeguard against our going too far is the child himself. Children defend themselves unusually well against untimely or too deep probing. They have less need than the adult to assent out of politeness, and they usually show no hesitation in changing a subject, remaining silent, or even protesting if a question or interpretation is not to their liking. When we are certain of our capacity to handle a child's problem, we may occasionally push past his resistance; but generally we may have to respect his stop signals and wait for him to let us know that the road is clear.

It would seem wise for us to let children use us in the way that they themselves need most, with the proviso that we always maintain our own reality base. They may try us out as they wish and look for any satisfaction they wish. Sometimes they will succeed and sometimes they will be frustrated, but they will have the experience of relating themselves to someone who

gives or withholds on the basis of reality and not under pressure of coaxing or anger, someone who may not approve their behavior but does understand and accept them. Kenneth, who is continually indulged in a material way by his rejecting mother, begs the worker at each interview to give him presents. "Give me a quarter. Well, then, give me a nickel. Well, then, give me a penny." The worker says she cannot give him money, but she knows he would like it to prove that she likes him. He assents. She says that she does like him and maybe he will get to know it without having presents to prove it. She responds positively to his bids for affection and gives him such things as are legitimate—drawing paper, etc., but does not yield to his coaxings and demands for money and toys. As he becomes increasingly secure with her, he makes fewer and fewer requests. He has the thing that is really there for him.

Many children, like their parents, have a sense of the worker as someone who is interested and helpful in various phases of their everyday life. They take responsibility for making and keeping appointments and discuss their current interests and concerns. Mario, a fourteen-year-old boy in high school, asks the worker what he can do to persuade his mother to let him explore the city. "The fellows call me 'Greenhorn' because I have never seen the Aquarium." His mother, in spite of her old-world ideas, trusts the worker as Mario does. They all work together toward a plan for more freedom for the boy. Theonie has a major problem for a seven-year-old. She must have her tonsils removed and she tells us it will be lonesome at the hospital overnight. She won't cry, but do we think she might have her doll with her? We see that she is troubled and we talk it all over with her, explaining that she will go to sleep for a while and when she wakes up her tonsils will be gone. Her throat will be sore for a few days and then she will be all right. She listens intently and is obviously relieved. She sends us a message by her mother when she is called for her operation, and we send her flowers. When she comes in later, she thanks us conventionally, then says, "They forgot to give me my doll that my mother

brought but I had my flowers anyway. I loved those flowers, I was carrying them with me all the time." Many of the problems are relatively small, but we always take them seriously and treat them with respect. After all, the child has taken the initiative in asking our help with them. The way in which they are handled often determines how he takes the next step or whether he takes it at all. Our interest in his lesser problems may make it easier for him to ask for and use help when he is faced with more serious crises. Family case workers whom children know and trust have been of immeasurable service to them at times of illness or death of parents or when for one reason or another they must be separated from their families.

We still have much to learn about case work with children as one phase of family case work. There are problems to be worked out in relation to other agencies dealing with children—child-guidance clinics, child-care agencies, courts, and schools. Where can our job be integrated with theirs and what are the criteria for differentiation? What are the relative advantages and disadvantages of working with a child in the family setting where we have other stakes? How can we learn the things we need to know to be clear diagnostically, in what ways a child lets us know that he wants help, what is normal behavior for him that would be pathological in an adult, what conflicts and solutions are characteristic of certain stages of development, and what of deeper significance lies beneath his play activity and chatter during the interview? We may not use all that we observe even where we interpret it rightly. Understanding may lead us away from rather than toward treatment. We shall have to find our base as case workers and not strive to be rival or even substitute psychiatrists. Granted that basic case-work principles are universally valid, what differences in application are necessary in our treatment of children?

Of some things we are certain. Our work with children, even when superficial and unproductive, has not been damaging to them. In many instances we have seen definite benefit derived by the child from direct contact with a case worker of general

but not specialized equipment. And even as early as this in our experience, we have evidences of marked change for the better in a child's whole functioning where a case-worker's special skill and capacity has been available for him. We feel sure that our growing knowledge of children and our increasing efforts in their behalf have enriched our service to families and have given our jobs new meaning for us.

It is sometimes stressed that the family case worker can exercise a preventive role by knowing and helping children. It is true that the springs of delinquency, mental illness, and serious maladjustment are found in family life. Yet the word "preventive" seems to focus too strongly on disaster to come. We should rather think of our role as helping children and their parents to reach through the channel of healthy family life an adequate and satisfying adjustment of the larger world of society.

THE GROUP IN DEVELOPMENT AND IN THERAPY

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VERY recent studies by group-minded anthropologists like Margaret Mead show that some characteristics which we are accustomed to consider as basic are really derivative. Attitudes toward offspring, love, sex, possession, power, suicide, co-operation, and competition are so different in different groups, that to consider any of them as an integral inherent part of man's constitution would be a gross misstatement of fact. An interesting by-product of individualistic competitive, primitive cultures, for example, is compulsory or voluntary suicide as a part of the group mores. When a member fails to achieve a set objective or to meet the group standard and requirements, suicide is an expected outcome. In co-operative or noncompetitive groups self-destruction is almost unknown.

Thus we see that the group attitudes and values become the attitudes and values of the individual. But not only does the group as such affect the attitudinal constitution of its individual members. The number and variety of experience that the group provides also determines that which we call richness and fulness of personality. One who grows up in impoverished circumstances is bound to be more or less impoverished, unless chance throws him in with people who widen his horizons and extend his experiences and opportunities in later life—when it isn't too late, that is.

In the course of the child's development many groups play their respective and important roles. The family group with its balance or unbalance of emotional relations among its members lays, we might say, the foundations of the feeling tones that

make up the motif of one's life; but, it must be added, on the background of native constitutional factors. The major contribution of the family (though by far not the only one) is to give the child a feeling of acceptance and unconditioned love. Then there is the nursery group, if any, or/and the play group somewhat later, in which the child's needs for participation must be met. The school comes in the order of social development of personality with its major value in meeting the creative and dynamic requirements of the growing personality. Here there ought to be provided opportunities for expressing the drives of curiosity, experimentation, exploring, testing, and inquiring. Although the power drives are ever present and operate in the growing child, they are most active at the school-age level. The classroom group should, therefore, become a small cultural group in which these trends should be emphasized and activated.

As we go up the chronological and psychological scale of growth of the child we come upon the voluntary one-sex group, or the club and gang. Adequate experiences with such groups are of greatest importance. The major value of these to personality development are two, though we must again repeat that they are far from being the only ones. First, such a group continues the process of identification with other people which was begun in the family. Its importance, however, lies in the fact that this identification takes the direction away from the family. In this we must see the very significant happening of the child's becoming more socialized. Through this enlarged circle of people with whom one identifies, one becomes prepared to participate in the work of the larger world. For final socialization of the personality is a slow imperceptible process from a state of strong egocentricity to a gradual socialization, and this occurs through becoming a part of ever larger groups. The second value of informal unisexual groups lies in the reinforcement of one's biological destiny. The boy must test out his masculinity in groups of boys. He must become convinced of his powers, of his aggressiveness, and of his ability to take his

place among them on their own level. This need is strongly brought home to us through the observation of problem boys. One of the major sources of maladjustments among boys and men is their need to assure themselves of their masculinity; they must make certain they have the strength and aggressiveness that in modern culture are considered appropriate. They go out of their way to prove to themselves and others that they possess these desirable qualities. Crimes are often committed as a result of such a search. We have found that therapy groups for problem children serve their purpose in some cases, mainly through the fact that they help the client to become sure of his own worth as a member of his or her sex group.

Next to the unisexual group in point of developmental hegemony is the heterosexual group. As the periods of later adolescence and early adulthood are reached, the youth seeks association with members of the opposite sex. In the early stages of this seeking for heterosexual association it occurs in group rather than on an individual basis. The approach to a girl is made by a boy when he is in company of other boys. This is true in the instances of girls. They will also stop to talk to a boy when in the company of one or more other girls. It is as if these youngsters draw from members of their own sex group security and assurance before they muster sufficient courage to choose individual boy and girl friends. This courage is established empirically, as it were, through trial and error. The function of this adjustment is to continue the process of sexual reassurance begun in the one-sex group, but instead of testing one's self out on a sexually homogeneous group, the field of operation moves to the two-sex level.

This upward development is indicative of an increased psychological growth. It extends the focus of interest from the self and the like-one's self to the unlike. It also aids to diminish the egocentric trends by redirecting energies and interests into wider spheres than heretofore. In terms of the deeper psychologies, we may put it that self-love is further displaced by object love. The sociological significance of this trend lies in the fact that

this heterosexual adjustment aids race survival and social continuity. From this brief summary it is clear that heterosexual groups are important as factors in wholesome and integral development of the total personality and must be included in an enlightened practice of group workers.

Having made this heterosexual adjustment, and often in the very midst of it, or because of it, the youth launches upon the quest for an occupation. Just as he had tried himself in the past with the other narrower groups and found himself either adequate or wanting, he tests his power in this new culturally determined endeavor. He looks for a job and attempts to establish himself in the community on this basis as well. The success or failure in this direction is of extreme importance to personality development. It is not necessary at this point to emphasize the obvious facts that a satisfying occupation successfully discharged is an essential to personal happiness and constructive social participation. Nor do we need to discuss at length the equally evident fact that success here gives the very much needed economic security which is in modern culture a prime essential for serenity and happiness. All these are taken for granted, and it must not be assumed that because we pass them off so briefly they are less important. This is done because we deem it of greater value to bring forward some less-known psychological aspects of job-getting and joblessness.

To fail in the realm of occupational efforts threatens the survival needs on the biological levels, such as actual food-getting, sexual gratification, and race perpetuation through parenthood. The failure here, however, has even deeper and more direct meanings to man's psyche. The jobless person feels that he had failed to meet the culturally determined group standards and he becomes conscious of a social inadequacy on his part. A sense of failure sets in and the ego suffers with all the consequent evil. In primitive societies this usually led to suicide. In modern times under such circumstances, one feels himself a failure in respect to the earning groups of the community; that he is rejected by them. And in view of the fact that in industrial soci-

eties where the tools through which one secures race and personal survival are in the control of another class, the owning class, finding and keeping a job becomes a particularly important social concern.

Further, once an occupation is learned and a job is obtained, there is a need to acquire status here as in all other antecedent groups. One wants to be recognized as a fast, a thorough, or a reliable worker. In other occupations and professions there is a striving to make a contribution, to show originality, and the like. That is, in all cases and whatever the occupation is, there is a striving to gain a place or status in that group.

The needs for social acceptance are further sought by individuals in the various voluntary groups that each one of us, especially in urban communities, joins. Although it can be assumed that joining groups is an expression of the primary collective tendencies, gregariousness—present in lower animals as well as in man—we can recognize in the latter other needs in addition to those that proceed from survival needs. These are tied up with the psychological strivings, such as aggression, response, acceptance, and similar socializing experiences. Thus we recognize here in the joining of interest groups, church leagues, granges, lodges, and clubs a bid for social acceptance.

Finally we reach a point in the group life of members in modern society which was also our starting-point, namely, the family, only the functions there are reversed. The founding and supporting of a family was the major objective of every normal person until recently. Under the conditions of present-day life, this cannot be said as a normal or desirable objective to an ever increasing number in our population. However, this situation should be viewed as one of the major symptoms in our social pathology. Parenthood is a biologic need. It is, as well, a social duty. But it is also a psychological necessity. It seems to me that the average person acquires a sense of social responsibility through the awareness of the needs of his children. The world becomes a place in which children do and will live. There arises, therefore, a heightened interest in the environment

which, under proper guidance, can be easily converted into social idealism. The relation of a parent, especially of a mother, to the offspring is one of love in its purest and most unselfish form. Parenthood seems, in deeper psychologic terms, as the most socializing of all group experiences.

The major functions of the various groups to psychological development of personality can be expressed in tabular form. We must re-emphasize the fact, however, that these are not the sole, but rather the major, values for all these, and many others not discussed here are ever present at all the stages in the developmental succession of the individual.

TABLE 1

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF SUCCESSIVE GROUPS TO PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

No.	Group	Major Contributions
1.....	Family	Acceptance and unconditional love
2.....	Nursery or play group	Social experimentation (socialization)
3.....	School	Creative-dynamic expression
4.....	One-sex groups	Identification (socialization); sexual reassurance
5.....	Heterosexual groups	Heterosexual adjustment
6.....	Occupational groups	Social adequacy; economic security
7.....	Adult voluntary groups	Social acceptance (socialization)
8.....	Family	Mating; parenthood; self-perpetuation

Several outstanding facts appear as one peruses this table. First, throughout, there is the underlying motive of acceptance. Beginning with the family and down the list the imperative striving is to function successfully in these various groups and to be accepted by them. The second important fact that impresses one is that the trend in these group influences is to socialize the personality from its original self-loving or self-centered stages to include others in one's responsiveness, awareness, and considerations, first, on an unconscious level and later as a part of one's philosophy of life. This growth would seem to be the major value of education, for the true objective of all education is to transform the primitive auto-erotic and omnipotent fixations that the child has upon himself into other-conscious-

ness and group awareness. In this way group education assures the gradual maturity of the personality.

A third and an even more interesting observation one can make from this discussion is that groups one to five, i.e., the family, the nursery or play, school, and one-sex and heterosexual groups are consciously designed by society for the education of its young. The remaining, i.e., the occupational, adult voluntary and the later family groups are the ones which the individual finds as they are and to which he must make his adjustment solely through his own initiative and effort. The adjustment to the first five is mediated and helped by adults as a part of education. The latter, on the other hand, impose their own laws and demands. The first five groups may be designated as the microculture, the smaller culture designed to serve as preparations for or transitions to the culture of the larger world, which we designate as macroculture.

Barring congenital or organic factors, all personality deviations and distortions result from dislocations with some or all listed groups in the foregoing table. If the adjustment in any or several of these groups is unsatisfactory, i.e., if the contributions to personality evolvment are not adequate in any stage of development, we may expect difficulty requiring special attention. The lower the group life in the scale of development, the more serious is the effect likely to be. Stress in the early family life, for example, is the most serious. Failure at school is often found to be the cause of other maladjustments outside of school, though this situation itself may be the result of problems arising from the family. Heterosexual adjustment is likely to be inadequate in those who did not belong to groups of their own sex and identifications with members of that group. And so along the line. It must be noted that the foundation of growth, the capacity to derive benefit from these and other experiences, and life are laid in the earliest of all groups, the family. It is here that practically all distortions begin, and therapy must aim to substitute for the absence of essential experiences in the family and to correct the undesirable ones.

The modern case worker with training in the newer psychology and psychiatry is aware of these facts. He knows full well that if he can only reach the deeper layers of the personality and correct them, he may be able to straighten out the kinks that cause the problem-creating or delinquent behavior. He therefore attempts to reach with the client these levels, discuss them with him, and make him see his difficulties in a new light. The case worker also aims to give the child some of the satisfactions which the child did not experience in the past, but which he must have before he can correct his attitudes and eliminate the compulsion for undesirable behavior.

Many of the more enlightened case workers have found, however, in their work with young children, that the interview method, talking through, is not adequate by itself in a large number of cases, and that a smaller number cannot be reached at all through the medium of words. A still more limited number, they feel, would be definitely harmed by a revelation of their real, deep-seated and often perversive drives and desires. Such workers provide for their clients, experiences other than just the interview treatment, and even substitutes for it. They have found that in some cases the client's removal from his environment is indicated; or group experiences are necessary. Because of the awareness of the group as a factor in producing pathology, many case workers have turned to the group-work agencies for help in the therapy process, just as the latter are turning to case workers for help with their own more difficult members. In a large number of instances the average club and other free-choice activities in a center are sufficient to meet the needs of these clients, for many of them are able to participate in the ordinary recreational activities of neighborhood centers and derive from them the necessary socializing influences. While the less difficult children usually can be absorbed into the ordinary group-work program, there are cases of overly aggressive and hostile children whose behavior is a disrupting influence and who, therefore, cannot be tolerated by the average settlement or center. To the extent that these are excluded from

membership and thrown upon their own recreational resources, their potentiality for delinquency is increased. It is a known fact that the worst boys in a given neighborhood are rarely interested in or acceptable for center membership.

There is another group, equally large in number, who are too timid or withdrawn to be able to participate in ordinary group activity. One such boy who joined a therapy group after many invitations expressed his feeling this way: "I didn't want to come to the club because I thought this is a big club and a lot of boys would stare at me. If I knew it was such a small club, I would have come long ago." It frequently takes a case worker months to work through this timidity with the child, and sometimes it is necessary to bring him to the group personally for the first two or three times.

In the case of the workers of our agency in New York who sought to place their more difficult clients in existing centers, it was discovered that many of the kind described above could not be accommodated. Because group-work agencies are primarily designed to serve the normal needs of normal children, and because they are limited in the type and training of their personnel, they are unable to provide individualized treatment for the problem child. As a result of these discoveries, the agency decided to develop a group life that would meet the needs of these individuals.

The basic principles of our group therapy aim to meet the four fundamental needs of the child which he desires from all his microcultural groups that we described. First, every child needs the security of unconditioned love from his parents and other adults who play a significant role in his life. If this love is not forthcoming from these sources, a substitute for them must be supplied. The case worker and the group therapist are such substitutes. Second, the ego and sense of self-worth, which are frequently crushed in problem children, must be built up. This is done in group therapy through recognition of all constructive effort on the part of the child, by praise and encouragement. Destructive behavior, on the other hand, is ignored by the

adult; its correction arises from the group itself. Third, the creative-dynamic drives must find expression. In group therapy we provide activities in the constructional, plastic, graphic, and other arts and occupations. There are various tools and materials at hand which the children use freely to create in whatever medium appeals to them. The amount of latent talent which has been uncovered amongst these children is astonishing. If it is true, as many observers believe, that the incidence of artistic talent is greater among problem than among normal children, then supplying the opportunity for creative self-expression in a group environment looms as an important tool in the prevention and treatment of delinquency. Fourth, the fourth and last value of group therapy in rebuilding distorted personality lies in the opportunity it presents for a significant experience in group relations. Of primary importance is the generous praise which members of such groups spontaneously offer one another. But the opportunities for personality interaction are much more numerous. The members of the group work together; they quarrel, fight (and sometimes strike one another); they argue and haggle, but finally come to some working understanding with one another. Sometimes this process takes six months or more, but once it has been established it becomes a permanent attitude which is carried over to other group relationships in the home, in school, and at play.

In the Family Substitutive Group Therapy of our agency, each group meets in the neighborhood where its members live. It is supervised by a person who in addition to a case-work understanding has completed a course of specialized training in group-therapy leadership. The first part of its meeting is spent in free activity of the kind described above: free play, or idling, if the member so chooses. The latter part is devoted to a social hour. Refreshments are served, and the group sits about a table eating and talking in family fashion. These meetings are varied by trips to places of interest in the city and its environs, as well as visits to gymnasiums, picnics, and outdoor play in the parks.

Detailed records are kept of each meeting. Progress in the

group is reported on every member at least once in three months, and "integration conferences" between the case worker and the Group Therapy Department are held regularly to evaluate the effectiveness and relations of the two methods of treatment and to outline further steps. In about 26 per cent of these selected cases it was found that the group treatment alone is adequate, while the others require both types.

The improvement noted in these clients can be obtained only when the children are allowed to express freely their resentments and hostilities without fear of the adult. In the initial stages of the group's existence he remains quite neutral; he is no judge or censor, and the opportunity to release pent-up resentments and hostilities is certain to help in stabilizing and normalizing personality. This is the principle of a permissive culture as differentiated from the prohibitive environment which wrought such havoc with some of these children. After almost four years of observation of some twenty different groups of boys and girls of varying ages, we feel safe in stating that in all cases the groups developed satisfactory restraints to assure normal behavior at meetings, though with many of them the start was quite hectic, to use a mild word, and what is more important, this improvement was carried to all group relations—the home, the school, the play group—and helped social adjustment generally.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ADULT EDUCATION TO GROUP WORK

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THE phrasing of this subject, "The Significance of Adult Education to Group Work," constitutes a challenge to adult education. That it should be so considered is, I assume, the deliberate if not malicious intent of the program-makers. That it is in reverse to the normal and natural order of thinking has been indicated by the spontaneous comments I have had from individuals, principally group workers, who, when asked how they would treat such a topic, have said with becoming modesty, "Well, if you turn it around you may have something." I am not turning it around, neither am I sure I have anything.

Before the apology gets well under way, it might be useful to point out the kinship that exists between the two movements—a relationship that comes less from a common ancestry than from certain acquired characteristics which make them siblings at heart. Each of them, for instance, is a little baffling to the outsider; as far as that is concerned, many a person on the inside, caught up by the mechanics of the job, has his doubts as to what the real purpose is; each of them attempts to function in all and every political and economic climate; they share the same eloquent spokesmen—Kilpatrick, Dewey, Follett, to mention a few; each is enjoying the process of self-evaluation, and as a counterpart each is a little uncertain what its professional affiliation, if any, is. The resulting insecurity expresses itself in almost identical bids for status, an immense amount of verbiage, many too many books saying too little, training courses with the

content a little thin, and finally as a result of this insecurity a certain skepticism that each has for the other, not of fundamental values but of the processes and the methods used.

It is at these points of skepticism that significance begins. Group work, in part, feels that adult education relies too largely on the time-honored course and class as the means of an extension of knowledge, and, in an effort to exhibit its superiority to such an old-fogey notion of the learning process, group work occasionally goes so far as to dispense with the labeling of any departmental function as "education." Now while, I admit that formal education has fallen into disrepute, I did not know that its standing was quite that low. Incidentally, this doing without the word is apparently quite a strain. One organization that I happen to think of has transferred its former adult education classes to a department called "Physical Health and General Classes." Group work says, too, "Your purpose is fine, but much too slow; the forces at work in the world neither can nor will wait for your orderly education of adults."

On the other hand, adult education says to group work: "You mean well, but aren't you trying to substitute a bag of tricks for sound knowledge, and in your zeal for social action aren't you forgetting the democratic process about which you talk so much?"

There is a modicum, maybe more, of truth in all these statements. The reasons why the two movements have not served each other better need to be understood. Certainly that the group-work agencies have dealt largely with children is a poor and inadequate explanation. A cursory history of the movements may offer us a few leads.

Adult education as a name and really as a movement started in this country as short a while ago as the early twenties. It emerged after the war as an almost spontaneous though belated confession of man's frustration at the hands of the complicated machinery of the times. Graham Wallas gave a neat expression to it in the English setting when he wrote: "Our present excitation and anger is not a conviction that the world is a worse

place than it has ever been, but the feeling that we have lost grip on the course of events and are stupidly wasting the power over nature which might make the world infinitely better." The clear intent of this movement, as I interpret it, was that it be social education, that it attempt to know and understand the current scene to the end that it might better direct the march of events. That, as I said, was the intent; but adult education could no more separate itself from its setting—the present colored by the past—than can any other movement or institution. This was not the first time that adults in America had been led to the educational trough: there was Concord and the Lyceum and the Chautauqua. The enlightenment they introduced carried with it an overtone of culture—capital *C*—which has proved to be almost irresistible. In the perpetuation of this particular form of education they have been ably assisted by the women's clubs. The power of this influence was felt even in workers' education. Until the past few years it was difficult on reading the programs of the I.L.G.W.U., the Amalgamated and the Rand School, to distinguish them from university extension. Literature and psychology were more firmly in the saddle than was economics.

The second influence that colored and still colors adult education was that of the academic institution with its high note of individualism. The insurgent movement in the profession, progressive education, was never taken to the bosom or never took to its bosom adult education. The effect of these influences is more clearly seen if we contrast adult education in America with that of other countries where it has flourished. In the Scandinavian countries it has been so closely tied to the co-operative movement that it is hard to know where one stopped and the other began; and in England it was from the beginning a part of workers' education, even though some critics are now saying that the influence of the universities has made it somewhat effete.

Group work as I understand it is both logically and philosophically far more revolutionary than adult education, but its

growth has not been protected from the contaminating influences of its setting. Its contribution lies in its faith in the group, in collectivism, as the agent which will lead us out of the morasses of ignorance and inertia. Its affiliation with progressive education and its insistence on the democratic process seem natural developments, but alongside of these is the expression of a faith in the power of the individual and in using the group as a means of developing the separate personalities within it. This has come about largely as a result of the fact that group work grew almost entirely in social agencies, and they, from the schools of social work and their own experiences, early accepted the concept known as case work as the cornerstone of the profession. I am inclined to the heretical notion that the two, case work and group work, are basically antithetical. This is said in spite of all the studies and the speeches, which tend to show how they rely on and partake of each other.

Here then are the two movements, each clear as to intent, but confused in its process. If this is true how can adult education be useful to group work? The contribution, it seems to me, is one of emphasis. Adult education will insist that there is no substitute for knowledge; and it will deplore heat without light just as we should all regret the academic illustrations of light without heat. It will insist that where within groups intellectual curiosity is aroused, that it be provided with knowing and wise leadership. It will remind the group worker, in case he should forget, of the tremendous and invigorating influence of the person with a wide store of knowledge—in fact, of the teacher.

Principally it would point out to the group-work agencies their impressive audiences of adults who have in their relationships to the agencies their best, if not their only, exposure to social education. I am speaking here of board members, of committee members, and of volunteer lay leaders. For the past few months I have been engaged in the fascinating but nearly hopeless task of trying to find out what social workers and particularly social-work executives are saying to these groups of lay people and, in the second place, how they are saying it. It

is not, with some notable exceptions, a very heartening picture. It may be that we shall have further to confuse our social-work training schools by asking that they include courses on adult education, if for no other reason than to indicate to future executives that they have an educational role.

Consider the usual group-work agencies representing national organizations in a city of considerable size. Scoutmasters, together with committee and board members, will number anywhere from five hundred to one thousand, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A. will have in like positions at least another five hundred, the Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls several hundred more—all these adults exposing themselves willingly to whatever social education the agency is prepared to give them. Again, with notable exceptions, I find that executives are pretty vague as to what they have to say to these persons save in respect to certain skills that are in conformity to the national program. Consider also what a force these two thousand individuals would be if they were working toward any common goal. It would be interesting, for example, to see what could be done in the way of improving race relations. Not long ago I was talking with an executive about the way his volunteer leaders were trained. It was the usual pattern, and as he described the program there was indicated that the agency exerted little control in the choice of leaders. They were, unhappily, I felt, chosen by democratic means. I asked what was done when the leadership qualities were not all they should be. It was explained that if attendance fell off, if the children lost interest, then the organization stepped in and as tactfully as possible suggested to the sponsoring group that a change would be desirable. I fished around for a hypothetical illustration, avoiding in self-protection the selection of any economic issue, and finally said, "Well, suppose you found that one of your leaders was a victim of considerable racial intolerance. He just did not like Negroes, and he was indoctrinating his group with his own set of prejudices. Would that be a situation in which you would

have the right to protest?" No, I was told. There were a lot of such people in that community, and it just could not be helped.

While it is obviously not the prerogative of adult education to point out to a social agency what its social values should be, it is in its province to suggest the need for clarity as to what the agency is teaching its adult participants and that the executives, willy-nilly, are educators.

Adult education and group work may have significance for each other in that there are areas for their development which are common, which are largely untouched, and which are difficult. I refer to the use of leisure time of the middle-aged man and woman who are displaced by industry and who need for their own sakes and that of society's to be brought into some participating relationship. There is, too, that challenging area of organized groups, pressure or otherwise, which are interested neither in group work nor in education, but who constitute powerful forces in a community.

On the way out here I re-read *Mr. Fortune's Maggot*—good preparation, I thought, for a conference of reformers. It is the tale, you remember, of one Mr. Fortune who goes as a missionary to the South Sea Islands. The tables are turned, and instead of saving the natives he is reformed by them. We may be pretty sure that unless we as reformers do something with groups, they will reform us.

The challenge to adult education is not group work but the group. That social group work faces a like challenge is obvious. Perhaps the two movements working together may find a way of extending knowledge as a basis for social action.

HOW GROUP-WORK AGENCIES FUNCTION CO-OPERATIVELY IN THE COMMUNITY A COMMITTEE INQUIRY

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I

THE proposal which gave rise to this paper may be viewed as one more factor in the continuing process of consolidation and advance that has characterized recent group-work interest and activity. In a sense it represents a logical progression. Having been for some years now concerned with definition of subject matter, standards of work, quality of personnel, techniques of performance, and evaluation of results, we group workers ought to be ready to consider how we employ this body of knowledge in a joint attack upon the group-work needs and problems of our communities. We should, in the title of the paper, be both interested in finding out and ready to say "How Group-Work Agencies Function Co-operatively in the Community."

Let me explain first about the interest in and the method of finding out. It was suggested in Indianapolis last year that those staff members of councils of social agencies specifically assigned to group-work divisions or sections of the council had a sufficient number of problems in common to make it worth while for them to meet in between the annual national conferences. The proposal for this paper furnished a concrete subject for these meetings. Unfortunately, complications of time, central meeting place, and pressure of regular duties limited the extent to which it was possible to invoke the committee process in the

writing of this paper. It had originally been planned that a small committee of four or five would outline the method for writing the paper, would canvass the approximately fifteen known group-work secretaries in councils of social agencies throughout the country for comments and suggestions on method, would then, as a committee, write a first draft of the paper and circulate it to the entire group for advice, and, after a final committee discussion, delegate the assignment of re-writing the paper for presentation to the person who would read it. I outline this scheme in detail, even though we did not follow it, because it still seems to us a sound approach. If this subject should receive further consideration at future conferences, we hope it may be dealt with through the procedure here outlined.

Because of the difficulties which I have referred to, our actual procedure was limited to the following steps: Through the assistance of Mr. Bradley Buell there was obtained from the office of Community Chests and Councils a list of the member councils of social agencies (as distinct from community chests or funds) throughout the United States and Canada, as well as a list of group-work secretaries and a brief statement of the work of about twenty of these councils in the group-work field. From a topical outline of these statements a brief questionnaire was prepared to go to all councils of social agencies. This questionnaire was mailed to the group-work secretaries asking for their suggestions as to its utility and for their co-operation in serving on the paper-writing committee. The questionnaire, which in effect simply asked for the statistical and organizational facts about the group-work division of each council and for a copy of the most recent available activities report, was then sent to the 102 recorded councils of social agencies. Sixty agencies replied. Since these represented cities of varying size in all parts of the country, it was felt that the sample was adequate, and no follow-up was made of those agencies which had not replied.

Though no formal meeting was held of the group which had volunteered to serve as a committee, informal discussions were held, as opportunity presented itself, in New York and Pitts-

burgh. Those participating were Joseph P. Anderson, Pittsburgh, M. W. Beckelman, New York, Lucy Carner, Chicago, Edith Coulson, Washington, D.C., Joseph Hoffer, Philadelphia, Norman V. Lourie, New York, and Clinton B. Nelson, Cleveland. With the exception of Mr. Lourie, who as a student at the New York School of Social Work was assigned to the office of the welfare council of that city, where he assisted materially with the preparation of materials for this paper, all the others were staff members of the respective councils of social agencies responsible for council activity in the group-work field. These discussions concerned themselves primarily with the functions and problems of the group-work secretary and the substance of them, as it relates to the topic, is embodied in this paper. So much for method.

II

This paper is not a statistical treatment of the subject. Such statistical data as were obtained in the course of its preparation will be appended to the mimeographed version when it is ready for distribution. But a few figures may serve as a frame of reference for consideration of the material here presented. As already indicated, this paper is based on information received from sixty councils of social agencies throughout the country. Fifty-six of this number are in cities which have a community chest, either separate from or merged with the Council of Social Agencies. The majority of these councils came into being after the organization of the Community Chest. Thus, one of the questions which the committee had asked itself—are there significant differences between the activities in the group-work field of councils of social agencies in cities where there is a community chest and in cities where there is not—cannot be adequately answered on the basis of the information available for the preparation of this paper.

Of the sixty councils responding, forty-three have sections, divisions, or departments into which the group-work agencies of the community are organized. This figure is limited to councils with regularly organized divisions on a permanent basis and

excludes those in which group-work agencies have been brought together briefly from time to time for a special project. The phrase "group work" is included in the title of twenty-one of these divisions, either by itself or in conjunction, occasionally, with "recreation" or "character-building." Other titles for these divisions are Recreation, Character-building, Youth Agencies, Leisure Time, Education, Community, Neighborhood Work, used either singly or in combinations. The complete list of titles represents almost all the permutations and changes which can be rung on this series. In most cases where it does not appear, the absence of the phrase "group work" in the title of the division means that the term has not yet been considered; in a few instances, however, "group work" has been part of the title in the past and has recently been abandoned as inadequately representative of the division's area of interest.

As far as the committee has been able to ascertain, only ten councils of social agencies have staff members specifically and regularly assigned to the service of group-work divisions. As already indicated, six of these participated in the informal discussions which preceded the preparation of this paper.

III

The material on which the summary of activity which follows is based consists of the annual reports of the responding councils, supplemented by correspondence. The date of the information presented may thus vary from 1936 to 1938. It has been sorted into the major categories suggested by Community Chests and Councils in its analysis of the function of councils of social agencies: (1) the provision of a medium for educational activities; (2) efforts to secure direct action; (3) the administration of services; (4) the co-ordination of services.

Under the first category there group themselves a variety of programs: regular and special meetings of agency delegates; meetings of agency staff members; committees, and study groups. Three subjects recur with significant frequency in this area. First, "Group Care in the Treatment of Personality

Problems," alternatively known as "Group Work Case Work Relationships," "Individual Approach in Group Work," "Problems of Juvenile Delinquency," and by similar designations which reflect the growing interest in methods by which two types of social agency may focus their skill and service in behalf of the individual. (It should be noted, however, that where the term "juvenile delinquency" is employed, a somewhat different approach and emphasis is usually involved.) Second, study groups and meetings on the "Purpose, Objectives and Standards of Group Work." Third, consideration of local community and neighborhood organization as devices for improving the adequacy of coverage provided by existing agencies and coordinating their administration to reach their areas more clearly and completely. Other subjects which occur with sufficient frequency to be considered representative of the self-education programs of group-work divisions are: "Group Work Interpretation and Publicity" (methods and purposes as distinguished from actual publicity itself, which is referred to later); the "Fine Arts in Recreation Programs"; "Camps and Summer Programs, including Special Committees on Youth Hostels"; "Committees on Co-operation with Schools, with Parent-Teacher Associations, and with Housing Authorities"; studies of group-work record keeping; of personnel standards and of adult-education programs. Only two councils reported special consideration to vocational guidance in their group-work departments.

This may be said to sum up the organized group-work activity designed primarily at self-education of the regular participants in council programs—the agency representatives and staff members. In addition, many councils sponsored general educational programs for other social workers, for lay people, and for the interested public. These included conferences and institutes on "Boys' Club Work," "Youth Problems," "Unemployed Girls," "Camping and Women's and Girls' Activities."

Turning now to that portion of the educational program commonly included under publicity and publication, we find the

following typical activities: radio broadcasts, open-house days or weeks, during which agencies attempt to present demonstration programs which fairly reflect their activities, and the group-work division seeks, through a community-wide publicity program, to bring the general public to visit the agencies, leisure time and hobby shows; and campaigns designed to stimulate participation in recreational activities. Publications include chiefly directories of recreational facilities, which vary from brief alphabetical listings to elaborate descriptions of activities, equipment, membership policies, and hours of service.

The second category suggested by Community Chests and Councils is activity designed to secure direct action. The chief programs reported in this field dealt with efforts to expand or improve or co-operate with the public recreation program. Almost half the group-work divisions reporting indicated activity in this area. Committees, both of private-agency representatives exclusively and jointly with public officials; studies and reports; and delegations to public officials and legislative bodies were the typical methods invoked. Second in extent in the field of direct action were a series of similar activities in about ten cities, designed to improve and extend recreational facilities for Negroes. Other forms of direct action undertaken by group-work divisions in the promotion of larger facilities and programs or their more adequate use, were interagency activities and contests and city-wide interagency meetings or conferences of members and membership delegates for a discussion of common problems and the formulation of membership programs. One group-work division of a council of social agencies reports having taken the initiative in stimulating the National Recreation Association to hold its annual conference in that city.

In the third area, that of common services, we find a wide variation in council activity. More than in either of the preceding categories, size of community, number of agencies in the division, availability of council staff for service, and presence of other federations or subfederations of group-work agencies are factors which influence the content of the program. Further-

more, in some of the larger councils of social agencies, common services, such as statistics, surveys, and reports are handled by a separate research department for all functional divisions of the council, which in smaller councils each division, for this purpose, the group-work division, handles for itself.

Bearing these factors in mind, we may consider the common services carried on by the reporting group-work divisions. Most frequent are central bureaus for the placement of volunteers, speakers' bureaus, central training courses for volunteers, and training institutes for recreation group and camp workers, these last often in co-operation with the National Recreation Association. Group-work agencies in some fifteen of the reporting cities participate in the United States Children's Bureau registration of group-work statistics, clearing through their councils of social agencies. Group-work divisions in five more of these cities have their own systems of central reporting and publication of group-work statistics. Other statistical and survey projects frequently reported under group-work division auspices include analyses of the extent to which group-work agencies are adequately covering community needs, clearance of publications, research projects, and bibliographical material in the field, studies of youth characteristics, needs and problems, and preparation and publication of camp standards.

The fourth category, co-ordination of services, is often not clearly distinguishable from operation of common services. Though separable in principle, in that the former involves performance of service by individual agencies under joint planning and policy-making by council staff and committees, whereas the latter implies direct council staffing, supervision, and administration, the dividing line is in practice frequently a fine one. However, the following programs may be assigned to the category of co-ordination of services: co-operation with N.Y.A. and W.P.A. in selection and preparation of recreational projects, and choice and supervision of workers assigned to these projects; co-operative relationships with public-law enforcement, school, and correctional agencies in dealing with juvenile delinquents;

central camp registration; placement service for camp positions; and the conduct of community and agency-program surveys. This last is usually, though not exclusively, part of a total survey of community resources of which group-work agencies form a part, and it is often conducted with the assistance of professional research groups outside the community. However, there are some instances of self-studies of member agencies as a group and of individual agencies by group-work divisions of councils. Many features of these warrant further investigations of the usefulness of this practice.

IV

This brief and rapid-fire listing of the projects which have been reported by group-work divisions of councils of social agencies is obviously far from complete, either in gross or in detail. It is rather an effort to select, from the multitude of activities which crowd the record, those which recur with sufficient frequency to indicate that they may be significant in answering the question of how group-work agencies function co-operatively in the community. Before attempting to point up the conclusions which may be drawn from them, a brief comment on the structure and organization of group-work divisions may be useful.

It is the general practice for the group-work division of a council of social agencies to consist of agency members represented by two delegates, one of whom is a member of the board of directors of the agency, the other a member of its staff, often the executive director. Usually both public and private agencies in the group-work and recreation field are members of the division. Typical member agencies are Y.M.'s and Y.W.'s, Boys' Clubs, settlements, community centers, Boy and Girl Scouts, public recreation departments, public schools, park departments, occasionally police departments and courts, and a miscellany of recreational and youth-serving agencies under assorted titles. The delegates of these agencies make up the nominal governing body of the division, though it seems that it is not

usual for issues to reach a majority-minority vote of the delegate group. Delegates are usually named by their agencies for a period of one year and as a delegate body elect officers and an executive committee from among their number for a similar period.

The officers and executive committee, with the professional staff member of the council of social agencies, where one is assigned, generally administer the affairs of the division between the annual meetings of the delegate group. Although additional general meetings of all delegates are usually held at stated intervals during the year, these are generally for program and educational purposes. The executive committee appoints and supervises the work of the functional committees through which the activities of the division are carried on. Typical committees of this kind have been suggested above, in the description of division activities. Most divisions make provision, in addition to designated agency representatives, for the participation of other interested and qualified individuals, both lay and professional, who are not affiliated with group-work agencies or are affiliated with agencies not eligible for division membership. Usually such individuals are not empowered to vote, but as has been indicated, this limitation does not often create problems.

The power to admit new agencies to division membership is generally vested in the delegate group, with some measure of final approval reserved to the executive committee of the council of social agencies. This, too, is not often a real issue. Sometimes council membership precedes membership in a specific division. Much variation exists in the relationship between the group-work divisional executive committee and the governing board of the council of social agencies as a whole. Generally, the larger the council, the more remote the relationship.

A composite picture of six replies to the committee inquiry indicates the following as being the typical functions of the group-work secretary: executive secretary to the divisional executive committee and to its functional committees (in one case, with additional staff assistance); resource person for agen-

cy staff members; initiator of co-operative activity among agencies; both inter- and intradivisional, having intimate knowledge of individual agency programs, personnel, and facilities; stimulating widespread agency and individual participation in co-operative projects and in general division programs; acting as adviser to community chest budget committees; active participation in group-work training and education programs; community contacts on behalf of the division; and activity in the interpretation of group-work objectives and methods to the community. No one secretary performs all these functions either in equal measure or at all, but taken as a whole they do give a fair picture of the job.

V

Out of the mass of material scanned and summarized, there emerge some few general propositions and rather more than a few general questions. Together they may be said to represent the findings of the paper.

In the first place, it seems clear that the development of group-work activity in councils of social agencies throughout the country is extremely spotty and uneven. In an analysis of the present position of group-work divisions undertaken for the committee by Joseph Hoffer of the Philadelphia Council of Social Agencies, considerable variation was revealed in such factors as: control of agency activity by division executive committee as contrasted with complete agency autonomy; representative versus democratic organization; initiation of division activities by the office of the council as against such initiation by agency members; uniformity and diversity in group-work-agency practice; and agency interest and participation in co-operative programs.

The material is too scanty, and the analysis which it has thus far been possible to make too incomplete to justify the statement as a conclusion, but it is at least a suggestion for further investigation that group-work activity in councils of social agencies divides approximately into three levels throughout the

country: (1) The pre-"group-work" level, to which may roughly be assigned the group-work divisions called recreation, character-building, etc. The activities of this category group themselves around publication of directories of facilities, studies of juvenile delinquency, leisure-time exhibits, and demonstration hobby shows, boys' weeks, recreation institutes, interagency activities, and tournaments, and the like. (2) The "group-work" stage, represented by study activity on group-work standards and objectives, on group-work recording and group-work-case-work relationships in addition to some of the programs of the first group; (3) The post-"group-work" stage which begins to show itself in the group-work divisions invoking such terms as "education," "neighborhood," and "community organization" in their titles. Activities of this small company reflect a concern with standards of personnel, with training, not directed primarily at the acquisition of recreational skills, with democracy of structure in the group-work division, with agency participation in broader social and communal problems, with the relation of the group-work staff secretary to the member agencies, with vocational guidance, and with the future relationship of public and private activity in this field. These are by no means watertight compartments, but I believe they represent categories which council staff members will find useful in program-planning.

In the second place, as compared with other federations of group-work agencies, such as settlements, boys' clubs, and the like, organization of group-work agencies within the framework of a council of social agencies offers certain obvious advantages for community organization and social planning. Chief of these is the ability, provided by council-staff consultation, representation on the council board of directors of all types of social agencies, and joint council committees of group work, case work, health, child care, and other varieties of service, to assess the social-work needs of the community as a whole and to plan a total pattern, taking into account, in recommendations for any one agency, the other available communal resources. A more

satisfactory equating of need and program in group work or any other area is likely to result from an approach within a council context than from an attempt to apply, for example, the absolute standards of a national association, which, though sound in themselves, if they were to be invoked, would in many community situations rule out the possibility of supporting anything else. This is aside from the avoidance of duplication, as when a council framework makes it possible to bring to bear in the program of a group-work agency, health, case work, and guidance services in the interest of individual members, without redundant administrative costs, or in some cases, additional staff.

Third, the reports of group-work-division activity indicate that by and large there has been insufficient concern with education and training for group work and with standards of personnel. Too few group-work divisions have established working relationships with schools of social work in the interests of satisfactory group-work curricula and field-work opportunities. Professional education for group work in schools of social work is admittedly inadequate today. In the long run it may be that group work will develop as a function of education rather than of social work, but, in either case, group-work agencies, organized in councils of social agencies, can do more than any one agency and should do more than they have done to influence professional education and to gear it to the realities of group-work practices and agency requirements. In this connection, group-work secretaries should provide, in their own work schedules, for an adequately close contact with agency programs and should be alert to employ the growing program of the National Association for the Study of Group Work in their division activities.

Fourth, it is clear from the records of group-work divisions which were examined that there is not yet a satisfactory definition of an approved group-work agency or an adequate measure of group-work performance as a basis for council membership. It is obvious that the development of such measuring rods must be an immediate future concern of group-work divi-

sions as a prerequisite to further improvement of standards of work.

Fifth, despite increasing activity in the area of group-work record keeping and reporting as revealed by this inquiry, there is thus far little material which evaluates group-work-agency achievement in other than statistical terms. Statistics of enrolment, of attendance, of membership participation, and of membership turnover are important. We have far too few of these even now, and their further development should be encouraged. But one of these days—and, I suspect, soon—we must be prepared to take up the challenge which will greet our figure of “3000 attendance at club meetings during June” with the question, “So what?” Answers to that question in the form of interpretive group-work record keeping must have an early place on our order of the day.

Sixth, in evaluating this report of co-operative group-work activity and attempting to apply it to our own communities, we must remember that in one city, the group-work division of the council of social agencies will undertake a function as a common service which is not so performed in another city because there it is an accepted part of the services offered by the individual agencies. In this connection the question should be raised whether a group-work division, having undertaken to perform a function and demonstrated both the need for it and the practicability of providing the service, should, as a matter of policy, continue the activity as a permanent part of its program or seek thereafter to have it taken over by one or more individual agencies. If the answer is the latter, what device, over a long period of time, can a council of social agencies employ to retain the strength of its relationship to the agencies? In the absence of concrete service by the council to its agencies, will programs of education, discussion, and conference suffice? What techniques have we or can we develop for making meaningful to agency boards and staffs the kind of educational programs which councils of social agencies are equipped to offer? Does the raising of

standards of work through educational activity proceed better when all group-work agencies of the city are in the division, so that agencies below what the majority considers desirable levels of operation can be exposed to the maximum influence of the program?

Seventh, and somewhat in the same vein, should the group-work secretary participate in hearings on member-agency budgets in community-chest cities? Is such a practice likely to to strengthen or weaken his relationship with the individual agency during the remainder of the year? Diminish or enhance his usefulness in the staff pattern of the Council of Social Agencies, as distinguished in function from the Community Chest?

Eighth, should a council of social agencies be controlled and financed by its member agencies? Or should it have an identity of its own and relate the agencies to it and hold their participation and support through its service program? This inquiry has revealed that both extremes and a variety of middle courses are current practice. What is the optimum arrangement?

VI

Though these do not exhaust the conclusions to which this paper points or the questions which it raises, they may, together with those additional items which you will have spelled out by implication, be taken as a sort of collective agenda for group-work agencies seeking to function co-operatively in their communities.

If you point out that I have not quoted chapter and verse and have omitted references, let me explain that this was made necessary by the limitations of formal presentation. The committee intends to make the paper available for distribution and to include the schedule of reporting agencies and a summary analysis and tabulation of the projects conducted by each council. This will enable anyone desiring details of method or results

on any project to obtain the information from the particular Council of Social Agencies which conducted it.

If you remind me further that I have asked more questions than I have answered, I admit it. In the language of science, this paper is a first approximation. It stakes out the problem and hazards a few guesses. The accuracy of the charting and the usefulness of the guesses can only be tested by each of us in our own communities. Next year I hope another committee will continue this inquiry and bring us a report of that testing, which will move our fence posts a little farther along.

GAINS THROUGH AN AREA STUDY

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THERE is an area of Cleveland with about 15,000 population, where according to a survey made by the Welfare Federation, more boys were turning into young criminals than in any other section of the city. The delinquency rate for the area for the four-year period from 1928 to 1931 was fifty-seven male juvenile delinquents out of every thousand males between ten and seventeen years of age. Boys got their fun from all sorts of mischievous pranks, ranging from turning in false fire alarms at a cost to the city of about \$30,000 a year, to much more injurious crimes. The area provided a graded course in crime from the time when the young boy played truant because school did not interest him, through the time when he left school without a job and no job to be found, up to the time when he made a name for himself as a gangster because there seemed to be no other way he could count or make himself felt.

Today all this is changed. It is a sober fact that those same boys who were leaders in gangdom are now leaders in community improvement. This remarkable change has been brought about by the leading people in that neighborhood and by a co-ordinated effort on the part of the social agencies and departments of the city, public and private.

The study by the Welfare Federation which resulted in this change has received national recognition and hence deserves some mention here.

Newton Baker, in an address before the National Mobilization of Community Chests and Councils in Washington, called attention to the study in glowing terms and declared it to be a unique contribution to social planning. Gerard Swope, head of

the General Electric Company, when he was in Cleveland opening the national Community Fund drive (1936), alluded to the study with words of praise.

What was there about this study which gained it such notoriety? What made it to a certain degree unique? Most surveys and studies of this kind are directed primarily to the work of agencies. This was not a study of the work of agencies primarily, but a study of community conditions in a certain area, a boy's-eye view of the life that surrounded him.

The area had a bad name, and its leading people complained that the newspapers took great delight in playing up its crime and delinquency. Actually, the chief characteristic of the area was perhaps its poverty, even more than crime. On the basis of monthly rentals paid, it was the poorest area in Cleveland. The median monthly rental was \$13. The percentage of families receiving relief in the area was about twice as great as the average percentage in Greater Cleveland. The percentage of unemployed in the area was 50 per cent above the percentage in Greater Cleveland.

Its churches were another characteristic. There were seventeen churches in four major categories: Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant. In fact this section of the city had approximately five churches per thousand families in contrast with two churches per thousand families for Cleveland and the four major suburbs.

But while the area was well provided with churches, there was a dearth of other resources. True, Merrick House, a settlement supported by Community Fund money through the Welfare Federation, was located in the area, and there were other Welfare Federation agencies working in the area, such as the Associated Charities and the Humane Society. Also there was in the area an elementary school, a branch of the public library, and adjacent to the area a high school. But the study revealed a tremendous number of beer parlors and very inadequate provision for wholesome recreation. It revealed a school curriculum which, according to the field workers, needed more manual and

vocational instruction in order to meet the needs of the particular area, a police force, according to the study, never available when needed, and for whom no one seemed to have any respect; a tremendous amount of unemployment and all kinds of delinquency—in fact, the highest delinquency rate in the city.

The area is like a slice of eastern Europe set down in a section of an American city, separated from the rest of the city socially, linguistically, and racially. The inhabitants are chiefly of Polish, Ukrainian, Slovak, and Russian stock.

The two field workers, Charles Hendry, the chairman of this Section, now with the Boys' Clubs of America in New York City, and Margaret Svendsen, of the Chicago Institute for Juvenile Research, after securing background material of all kinds, including a census of the area, interviewed over three hundred adults who were among the leading influences in that neighborhood. These included tradesmen, policemen, clergymen, librarians, teachers, politicians, social workers, magistrates, nationality-newspaper editors, officers of fraternal organizations, etc. They then selected every twentieth boy on the census list from nine to nineteen years of age, and also a cross-section of the girls of the community, and invited them to come in and talk things over. These boys and girls were encouraged to talk freely on their interests in life, what they were now doing with their time, and what they would like to do for recreation; what vocation they intended to follow; their attitude toward delinquency, toward the neighborhood, toward their families, the police, the church, the social agencies, etc., and what they would like to have done in the neighborhood to make it the kind of place where they would like to live.

Each interview took approximately one and a half hours. Supplementing these interviews special reports were secured from the social agencies regarding the lives of these boys and girls, and records of social agencies, schools, churches, courts, etc., were read by the field workers. Direct study of the boys included a physical examination, psychological tests, and educational achievement tests.

The findings in this survey revealed a community of 6,000 boys and girls whose health and usefulness were being seriously undermined by poor nutrition and physical defects, and who were living under conditions which were literally terrifying.

Reading that study, you wonder not why there was so much juvenile delinquency but rather why there was not more. Here are boys growing up in families with European traditions and sent to schools where American customs are taught and practiced. This produces a conflict in their minds and in their whole being. In this area of Cleveland which I have mentioned, a large proportion of the boys were facing this conflict. Nearly 80 per cent of family heads were born in the old country.

Now in a community where young citizens were passing through a vicious circle, from juvenile delinquency to more heinous crime, what could be done to break that circle, how could the forces for good citizenship be strengthened, and the potential leadership of these young people be directed into useful channels?

Since the Welfare Federation was the organization which made the study, and since it includes in its membership both public and private agencies, in fact most of the social agencies concerned with the area, it seemed the logical thing for the Welfare Federation to take the initiative in following up the study.

Accordingly, the Welfare Federation appointed a large and representative city-wide committee of about one hundred members. This committee includes among others about thirty leading citizens of the area. The first step was not to look for outside resources so much as to develop elements of strength and initiative within the area itself. And the two surveyors had prepared the way for this through the excellent job they had done in carrying along the leading people of the area at the time when the study was made. Also represented on the large committee were all the social agencies, public and private, which were working in the area.

One of our first steps was to take up the question of publicity,

knowing that publicity of community studies elsewhere has sometimes ruined the chance of accomplishing any results. It was agreed by a committee in conference with the editors of the city papers that the editors would see to it that nothing was published in the newspapers regarding the findings of the study. This is one important reason, we believe, why so many achievements have grown out of this study.

Following are some of the activities thus far accomplished through the individual members of the Welfare Federation Committee, the agencies represented thereon, and the committee as a whole:

1. The Welfare Federation has established in the area a center for the social agencies, public and private, by renting two adjacent houses which provide joint office space for twenty of these agencies in the group work, case work, and health fields, including the Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Cleveland Guidance Service (N.Y.A. of Ohio), Division of Recreation, International Institute, the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., probation departments of the various courts, public health nursing, clinics, the settlement day nursery, etc. Since the establishment of this center, the agency representatives there have had occasional meetings. At the first meeting there was not one person who knew everyone else.

The development of this center grew out of the recommendation by the surveyors that, rather than organization along age or sex lines, a welfare program in that area needed to be allied to the family as a unit. Ideally, this would involve, they declared, centralized housing of family, health and group-work services, if not under joint administrative management, then in such proximity that the staff and records of one agency would be readily accessible to the other agencies.

2. Supplementing the center, the surveyors recommended the appointment of a person to facilitate interagency practice in the area. Accordingly, the Welfare Federation has engaged a field worker, W. T. McCullough, formerly head resident of Alta House, who will live in or near the area, who has his office in the center,

and who is giving full time to the area. It will be his function to become acquainted with the leading people in the area and to help them and the churches, schools, and the social agencies, public and private, to pull together and work out the most effective means of meeting the needs.

3. There has been established under a Committee of the Welfare Federation a Service Bureau with a staff of five people, of whom three, including the executive, are professional case workers. One is from the child welfare field and two, a man and a woman, are from the family field. There are two clerical workers, one of whom speaks the Slovak languages. Simultaneously with the establishment of this Bureau on an experimental and demonstration basis, six agencies, the Associated Charities, Catholic Big Sisters, Children's Bureau, Girls' Bureau, Goodwill Industries, and Humane Society, have withdrawn from the area, thus leaving one organization, as an experiment, to take the place of several. The committee of the Bureau (which includes representatives of the various case-work agencies) has already had many spirited discussions of the needs which are being revealed and the policies which are being followed.

4. A committee has been appointed by the Group Work Council of the Welfare Federation to consider the possibility of a generalized approach to group-work activities in the area, not necessarily patterned after the case-work Service Bureau.

5. Other results of the study have come from the extremely active co-operation of the Bureau of Safety Education of the Police Department. Sixty-five gang leaders of the area, ranging in age from eighteen to thirty years, have been formed into an organization known as the "S.S. Improvement Association," so named by themselves. Before the first meeting was over, rival gang leaders who had hated one another were nominating one another for offices. The gang leader who had been elected chairman suggested to the others that they assure the Safety Education Bureau that there would not be a single case of crime in the neighborhood for one month, adding that perhaps they would like it so well that they would add a few more months later.

This form of taking the pledge may sound pretty funny to you. But the amazing thing is that in the thirty days following not one single case of crime was reported in that district.

6. A meeting place was needed for this club of gang leaders. And such a meeting place has been provided by the Cleveland Foundation which has been greatly interested in the study, and which has also appropriated money for leadership and supervision of the club on the request of the Welfare Federation Committee.

7. The Boy Scouts of America, with the aid of a special appropriation by the Welfare Federation and in conjunction with the Police Department, has given carefully selected policemen, who volunteered, a training as Boy Scout masters. These policemen have very successfully conducted five new Boy Scout troops in the area, all in connection with the churches in the area.

8. Fifteen of the gang leaders have completed a course as Scout leaders and are now assigned to troops to work with policemen.

9. Through the efforts of the Safety Education Bureau, almost two hundred young men of the neighborhood have been placed in industry, they agreeing to bank some money each pay day. Many of them have made good at the jobs and are now carrying bank books instead of guns and blackjacks.

10. On the initiative of the Police Department, a Harmonica and Flute Club has been organized with an excellent W.P.A. instructor. The club consists of both boys and girls, seventy-five in number, of various nationalities, who meet twice a week and are extremely enthusiastic. The public appearances of this Harmonica and Flute Club have given them not only a feeling of solidarity but a sense of importance for something besides delinquency. The money for the instruments was donated by the Federation of Women's Clubs.

11. The Safety Education Bureau of the Police Department inaugurated in this area the plan of referring to the group-work and case-work agencies all children reported to the police unless

they were far advanced in crime. Since then, this plan has been extended throughout the city.

12. Thirty-two ball teams are now being organized, consisting of four leagues of various age groups. Free moving-picture shows for children have been shown in the area with an average attendance of 2,200; also for the parents, moving pictures of their homelands with an orchestra playing various national airs.

13. With the aid of a special appropriation from the Welfare Federation, six Girl Scout troops, with a total membership of 136 girls, have been organized in the area with high-school graduates who live in the area heading up the troops as leaders. Gardening has been one of the featured activities of the troops in co-operation with the Merrick House Garden Club and the Museum of Natural History. The fall activities of the six troops centered around the community program, which was attended by an audience of 1,000 people. Although there were a great many older boys in attendance who the previous month at a similar community-night program had led in boos and catcalls, these same boys on this occasion led in applause.

14. The Girl Scouts with the assistance of Captain Roth have established a day camp on a site loaned through the influence of the chairman of the Research Committee of the Welfare Federation, transportation being arranged through a bus provided by the Rotary Club and maintained by the city. The children at the camp are taught games, handicraft work, and sketching.

At first each troop had refused to play games or participate with the girls of other troops, particularly if of a different nationality, but by the end of eight weeks, all troops were working together and some of them with troops throughout the city.

15. Merrick House, the settlement in the area, has, with the aid of a special appropriation by the Welfare Federation, engaged a special worker, who has become acquainted with gangs of boys and gradually brought many of them into the settlement, where they have found new interests of their own, such as

scouting, swimming, outings, crafts, indoor baseball, publishing, and dramatics. Also, Merrick House was able, through this appropriation, to secure a special summer girls' worker for over-night camping and outings.

16. The Health Department has made a sanitary checkup in the area and has established in the joint-office center provided by the Welfare Federation a clinic for well babies up to two years.

17. There has been inaugurated in the area the Junior Achievement Shares plan under which a group of boys from sixteen to twenty has formed a stock company for the manufacture and sale of certain articles, such as bird houses, garden-markers, book shelves, and the like.

18. The superintendent of schools arranged for inclusion in the school curriculum of more manual training, as recommended in the study.

19. The Board of Education has established a community center in the school in the area.

20. The Cleveland Foundation has financed the equipment and supervision of two fully equipped demonstration playgrounds in the area, one of them illuminated for night play. Both these playgrounds are operated under the supervision of the Municipal Division of Recreation.

21. The Recreation Division of the city has instituted plans to enlarge the bathhouse in the area, has developed ball diamonds, skating ponds, grounds for football and tennis, the roping-off of a few streets for coasting, a swimming pool in the bathhouse, and several other special projects.

22. The public library, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and many other organizations and public departments not mentioned by us have contributed in the follow-up of this study.

To be frank, one must admit that some of these various activities have been conducted on a rather amateurish level and have on occasion perhaps exposed the neighborhood people to humiliating experiences, but by and large the activities have been very well received by the neighborhood and have proven

in the main to be extremely effective. Area leaders have participated through the Committee of the Welfare Federation in the decisions on practically all these developments.

A tentative plan for measuring some of the results of these activities has been worked out by members of the Welfare Federation, and now that we are about to have a research secretary on our staff, we may hope to make further progress in these measurements.

Anyway, we know that since these activities have been inaugurated, there has been a sharp decrease in delinquency and crime. Citizens report that the whole attitude of adults and children in the neighborhood has changed. The public librarian in the area states that children coming to the library act differently and express a different feeling toward the government and toward life. Truancy has decreased. There is no way of adequately measuring the transformation in the spirit and outlook on life of that great body of boys and girls in the area who had never been truants or delinquents, and yet whose social attitude is important to us since they are to be our future citizens.

THE GROUP-WORK-REPORTING PROJECT OF THE UNITED STATES CHILDREN'S BUREAU

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THE idea of reporting group-work activities on a national basis is fairly new. National organizations have for some time obtained reports from their own local units, and several urban areas have obtained reports through their local community chests or councils regarding the activities of agency members in this field. It was not, however, until the initiation of group-work reporting by the Children's Bureau in 1936 that any attempt was made at reporting regularly and on a national basis the activities of various types of agencies. During 1937, 378 agencies and 96 councils of groups organized under national programs submitted one or more monthly reports to the Bureau. These reports comprise a major field in the Bureau's Social Statistics project.

The Social Statistics project was started in 1928 by the Joint Committee for the Registration of Social Statistics, representing the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago and the Community Chests and Councils. In 1930 the work was taken over by the Children's Bureau and became a regular statistical function of that organization.

The purpose of the Social Statistics project has been to obtain from a selected group of urban areas standard statistical measurements of the volume of social service in each of the various fields. The urban areas from which monthly reports are drawn number forty-four in all, two of which, Los Angeles and San Francisco, are on the Pacific Coast. Many other cities that do not submit reports to the Children's Bureau have made use of the forms

developed in this work. Undoubtedly one of the greatest contributions made by the project has been to aid in the development of social service research programs in the many urban areas. The development of standard reporting practices in the group-work field providing for comparable counts among the different agencies and the different areas should be of great assistance to these research programs.

In the preparation of the original group-work forms and in their revision, the Bureau drew on the experience of national organizations in the field, of local chest offices, and of individual agencies, as well as that of its general advisory committee. Such progress as the project has made can be attributed largely to the generous assistance given to us by representatives of these various organizations. A number of these representatives are now members of our advisory subcommittee on group work, the chairman of which is Mr. Owen E. Pence of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A.

Among the many problems on which the committee has been working recently is that of a proposed manual of records in the group-work field. Mrs. Frances Adkins Hall, who was previously associated with the Chicago Council of Social Agencies and with the Children's Bureau, has been preparing this manual. We hope that it may be published within the next few months and are confident that it will be of great help in developing reporting within the field.

Scope of reporting.—The field from which the group-work reports are drawn includes many agencies with diverse types of programs. There are programs designed primarily for one or the other sex or for certain age groups. Certain differences in programs may be ascribed to cultural and to economic backgrounds of participants. There are differences due to technique used, to types of group organization—as in the relative emphasis placed on groups with and without definite enrolment. The differences due to budgetary factors—in terms of available staff and equipment—are also to be considered.

To describe adequately the activities of the various agencies

in terms of all these and other important characteristics was not believed to be a practical undertaking for this national reporting project. Therefore, in designing a form to be used, we could either limit the types of program to which our reports might be adopted or we could limit the report to certain basic items believed to be applicable to all the various programs. It is on this second basis that the present reports are designed. The principal provisions of the report are for a count of attendance, divided into that of groups with and without definite enrolment, and for a count of membership.

It should be evident that these reports alone will not supply all the detail that may be wanted by individual agencies in reviewing their programs. It is equally important to recognize that the reports are designed for an analysis of the group-work programs, although other important activities may very well be carried on by reporting agencies. In other words, it is the group activity rather than the entire agency program that is being considered.

Extent of reporting.—Although we have spoken in terms of a standard report for all agencies, there are, as a matter of fact, two forms: one for agencies having a national membership registration in which membership statistics are well developed, and a second for the more numerous local agencies of many types, in most of which attendance data are more characteristic.

An indication of the various types of agencies reporting is obtained from a review of agencies submitting one or more reports during the year 1937. Of the 378 local agencies engaged in group work and which supplied one or more reports during the year, 217 were classified locally as settlements; boys' clubs accounted for 23, Y.M.C.A.'s, 23, etc., as shown in Table 1.

Settlements made up more than one-half of the agencies reporting.

The 96 councils of national-program groups submitting one or more reports during the period were classified as in Table 2.

The form for local agencies requires by far the larger part of

our time,¹ and for the sake of simplicity the present discussion will be limited primarily to work with this form.

Difficulties in reporting.—Soon after we initiated the project and began to receive and to tabulate reports, the seriousness of many difficulties in the reporting became evident.

TABLE 1

TYPE OF AGENCY	NUMBER OF AGENCIES	URBAN AREAS REPRESENTED
	378	35*
Settlements.....	217	32
Boys' clubs.....	23	14
Y.M.C.A.....	23	19
Y.W.C.A.....	41	31
Public recreation.....	17	12
Other.....	57	26

* Unduplicated.

TABLE 2

TYPES OF PROGRAM	NUMBER OF COUNCILS	URBAN AREAS REPRESENTED
	96	36*
Boy Scouts.....	38	33
Girl Scouts.....	36	35
Camp Fire Girls.....	21	18
Other.....	1	1

* Unduplicated.

Among the outstanding difficulties that have been encountered are the following: (1) What agencies should be asked to report? (2) What common denominator can be found in considering statistics reported by the various types of agencies? (3) How can comparable counts of groups, of attendance, and of enrolment be obtained? These problems are basic, but com-

¹ A complete report of activities may require 149 entries, about 58 more than any other report used in the Social Statistics project.

pletely satisfactory answers have not yet been obtained for them.

Probably our greatest difficulty at the present time is in reaching an understanding of who should be asked to report—i.e., what is “an agency engaged in group work”? This problem is not one that we can hope to settle statistically, but rather one that must wait upon the development of standards in the field. To begin reporting without a definite understanding of what constitutes a proper reporting agency is undoubtedly a severe handicap to say the least. There are, however, examples of related problems that have been met by other recorders. For instance, did you ever wonder how a census enumerator defines something so common as “drug store”? The fact is, he does not define it. In each case the enumerator is simply guided by the proprietor’s opinion as to whether or not his particular store may be considered a “drug store.” We follow much the same method in locating agencies engaged in group work. The local council or chest acting as agent for the Bureau lists as agencies from which reports should be expected, all those meeting the standards set up for inclusion of an agency in the group-work division of the local council. Our requirement is that the agencies engage in educational or recreational activities and that the group-work method be a characteristic of each agency. Other standards are left up to the local area. There may be some differences in the standards adopted from area to area, but as the census enumerator trusts in a fairly acceptable count of “drug stores,” so do we hope for a fairly accurate listing of “agencies engaged in group work.”

We realize however that the boundaries of the field are not definitely established and make no pretense of covering completely in the reporting project those activities that are generally classified in the group-work field. It has been impractical, for example, to include activities that are not associated with an established institution or agency. The group activities of many agencies more or less formally organized are excluded from our records because of their sporadic occurrence, their slight indi-

vidual significance, the failure of the sponsoring agency to submit reports, or some other real if not strictly logical reason. Thus, the group activities of schools, churches, industrial organizations, and most public recreation departments are reflected only to a very limited extent in the statistical material gathered in connection with the project.

Although the field cannot be limited in an exact manner, it may be possible to isolate and analyze fairly distinct and definite subdivisions of the field. This step will depend largely on obtaining more complete descriptions of agencies reporting and thus, with the aid of specialists in the field, to develop a more standardized classification than has been possible to date.

Perhaps, of equal importance with determining what agencies should report, is the problem of how to express in common terms the number of persons served by the various group-work programs. This should be done on either a membership or attendance basis. Yet most local agencies find it especially difficult to maintain a current record of membership. Their activities are customarily described in terms of attendance. Those programs maintaining a national register, on the other hand, reverse the situation and generally describe their activities in terms of memberships. At present there is no common denominator through which the activities of these two types of programs may readily be compared.

This problem of relating the reports of various types of agencies is one especially important to a central reporting office. That even the reports of similarly organized agencies may not be comparable, however, is evident on considering the problems of counting groups, attendance, and enrolment—problems that are being met each day by the recorder in the individual agency.

The present instructions request a count of groups in relation to leadership. This rule resolves itself into counting as one unit a group that may engage in varied activities under the leadership of the same person. On the other hand, were the same persons to meet with different leaders for each activity, the number of units counted would be in accordance with the number of

leaders in charge. The count of attendance under such circumstances would also be affected in the same manner as the count of groups.

To overcome this difficulty, some have suggested that we adopt a time factor—participant hours—or that a change in type of activity rather than a change in leadership be the basis for a new count. Although this problem is still far from solved, we are confident that practice will result in the development of means to lessen the difficulty. It should be acknowledged that our present instructions, to segregate reports into two types—those in which multiple leadership of groups is characteristic and those in which one leader directs all activities of a group—are not proving satisfactory up to the present time.

Enrolment figures applicable to regularly scheduled groups with definite memberships are a means of measuring how many different persons participate in an activity and how intensive that participation may be. Unfortunately, enrolment figures at present are based on many different criteria, including attendance at a minimum number of sessions of a group, the demonstration of interest in a program, or the payment of a fee. The rules for removing a person from the roster are equally varied. The differences occur not only between agencies but also between groups within a given agency.

It is apparent that enrolment figures and ratios involving these figures will depend a great deal on the definition of enrolment adopted. For instance, a club will have a much higher ratio of attendance to enrolment when attendance of a person at several meetings is required for enrolment than when a person may be enrolled at the time of his first meeting.

Some standard interpretation will be necessary before the enrolment figures reported will have much meaning for comparative purposes. In view of the importance of regularly scheduled groups in most programs the need here is fairly evident.

Related to the problem of enrolment in particular groups is that of agency membership. On the Children's Bureau reports a separate section is provided for reporting an unduplicated

count of membership. Frequently agencies do not maintain any system for removing members from the membership file but can supply only a cumulative count during the year of persons who have taken out memberships. Committees drawn from the reporting agencies in at least two of the cities co-operating in the project are now experimenting with a plan that will provide for removing names from the membership file when a person has not been active during a period of three months. It is probable that we will work toward some such solution as this to be recommended to all areas.

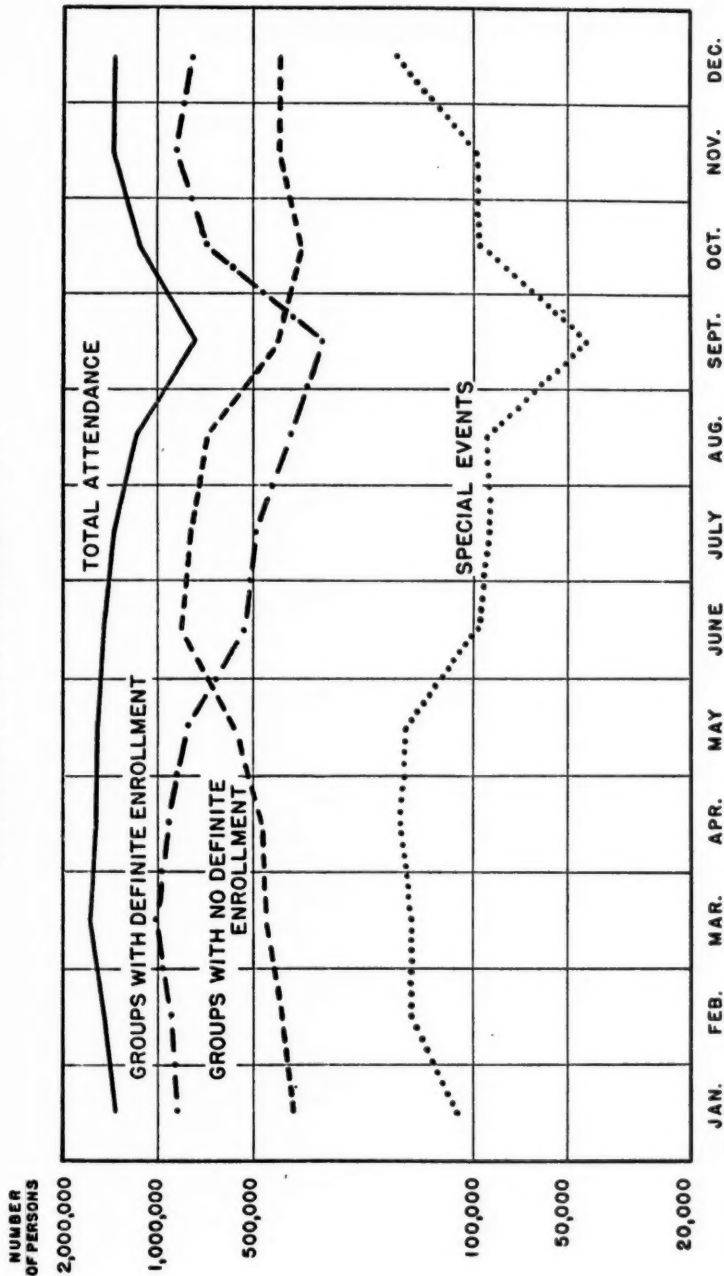
Statistics reported for 1937.—A considerable amount of data has already been reported by the local agencies to the central office. What light can this material throw on group activities?

What do we know about the volume of group activities in the various areas? How many persons participate? How often do they participate? What changes are likely to occur in the program during the year? What is the relative importance of the various types of organized groups? Answers to questions such as these should be obtained from the reports now being used. The material available from the incomplete reporting, however, is admittedly meager and extremely rough.

Group-activity programs customarily begin in the fall. Since no full group-work year has passed since revised forms were initiated in January, 1937, the figures given here will be for the last calendar year. For that year, 182 agencies submitted sufficiently complete reports to show total attendance by months in the three major types of organized group activities, those with regularly scheduled groups, with and without definite enrolment, and special events. In all, 27 cities were represented by these agencies (see chart).

Compared with the total, attendance figures for the three major types of organized group activities, however, showed marked irregularities during the year. Attendance at regularly scheduled groups with definite enrolment accounted for most of the attendance in all but four months. During the period June through September, attendance reported for regularly scheduled

ATTENDANCE BY TYPES OF GROUPS AS REPORTED BY 182 LOCAL AGENCIES JANUARY-DECEMBER 1937



CHILDREN'S BUREAU
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

groups without definite enrolment was most important. Supervised playground activity, classified under regularly scheduled groups with no definite enrolment, had an important effect on the attendance figures for such groups. The greatest fluctuations of the three principal types of groups during the year was shown by attendance at special events.

For the year as a whole regularly scheduled groups with definite enrolment accounted for 53 per cent of the total attendance; regularly scheduled groups without definite enrolment for 38 per cent, and special events for 9 per cent.

An analysis made earlier this year of figures pertaining to the month of April, 1937, provides some indication of the importance of the particular types of groups included among regularly scheduled groups with definite enrolment. Among other things it is recognized that because of the operation of seasonal influences no one month is entirely typical of an agency's program. During this month, however, the importance of the various types of groups considered as regularly scheduled was believed to be fairly representative for the year as a whole. For the 181 agencies supplying the required detail, clubs and classes each accounted for more than one-third of all attendance in this general category during the month. Other less important subdivisions were teams and special-interest groups. Data on number of sessions per group indicate that classes had the most frequent meetings, with an average of 4.8 sessions per group for the month of April. Clubs and teams each averaged 3.2 sessions per group.

Some indication of the relation between membership and attendance may be obtained from these reports for the month of April. Attendance at regularly scheduled groups among 127 of these agencies totaled 506,000 during the month, and their combined membership at the end of the month amounted to 114,000. Thus the ratio of attendance to members for the month was about 4.5 to 1.

Conclusion.—The problems to be met in improving this rough material are, we recognize, many and varied. To reduce leisure-

time activities—a concept not easily associated with numbers—to some kind of statistical order is a perplexing problem.

The nature of activities in this field—the diversified character of the programs—will necessarily limit the type of material that can be collected in a national reporting project. Current reports on such items as sex and age of participants probably will not be available for some time. Problems of reporting groups, attendance, and enrolment will not be solved entirely in the immediate future. We believe, however, that progress is being made.

In order to provide facilities for obtaining the most important information it will be in the interest of all of us, especially the practitioner, who is very often responsible for the basic records, to avoid unnecessary details in the reports. The statistical record is, at best, only an indicator of the most important characteristics of the program and cannot be photographic in nature.

Our responsibility is to learn as much as possible about these most important characteristics. With the advice and assistance of the reporting agencies and our advisory committee we are confident of continued progress in that direction.

USE OF GROUP RECORDS OF LOCAL AGENCY

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THAT assistance which enables an individual to find a suitable group adjustment in relation to his abilities and limitations is one of the most delicate and important contributions of the group worker. Our agency, which offers a combined case-work-group-work service to juvenile delinquents, has been in a strategic position to observe the problems involved in individual adjustment in groups. Growing out of an awareness on the part of the group-working agencies that many boys in their neighborhoods and memberships were passing through the hands of the juvenile court without their knowledge, the agency was created to serve in a liaison capacity between the court and those group-work centers. Originally doing group work only, case work was added (1) to discover the source of the child's problem and to give him help with the specific difficulty that brought him into court; (2) to increase the number of successful referrals to groups as well as to enable the child to enjoy the benefits of the group to a greater extent once he was affiliated.¹

Too long we have assumed that the availability of opportunity for group participation was sufficient and that if we provided enough playgrounds and recreation centers, attendance would follow as a matter of course. Our experience to date with delinquent boys has been somewhat less assuring. Not that there are sufficient facilities available; far from that, but our research indicates that these boys make a comparatively limited use of existing facilities. In studying the neighborhoods around

¹ *Service Report of Inter-agency Council for Youth*, September, 1936, and February, 1938.

26 of the co-operating group-work agencies, we found 63 delinquent boys living within one block of the agencies and 196 within two blocks, unknown to the agencies and making no use of their facilities. The fact that these organizations represent a cross-section of group-work agencies—settlements, boys' clubs, Y.M.C.A.'s, and a city playground—and were distributed over a wide section of the city would seem to indicate problems more fundamental and individual than the availability of resources. What factors in the lives of these individuals made a group relationship impossible; how could we introduce such individuals to a satisfactory group relationship; when and how should such a referral be made; what preliminary steps might be necessary, and how could we make more meaningful the experience of those who did attend? Basic as these considerations were, we discovered that the answers to those problems depended upon a more adequate understanding of what happened to these individuals in a group experience. In this realm must be found the key to the other considerations. The next step, then, was to share group experiences with a number of such individuals.

Two assumptions were basic to our approach. First, our belief that our value to such individuals rested in the ability of the normal group experience to meet such problems of adjustment as they appeared, and, second, that good group-work procedure must be basic in all group experience regardless of differences in approach by various types of group-work agencies.

The following summary of our experiences with one boy may serve as a compass in locating some of those factors that are essential to an adequate understanding of the problems of boys with similar tendencies.

Ed is twelve years of age, average in size, usually neat in appearance, and in the proper grade at school. His mood changes rapidly from one of quietness to a display of temper that often is quite vicious. His home life is made uncertain by an unemployed drinking father who sometimes beats members of the family when he is under the influence of liquor. The mother

struggles under these handicaps to raise a family of five children on relief standards. Almost, it would seem, to offset this insecurity at home, Ed strives to gain security in his group relationships by attempting to dominate, causing many discipline problems from that drive. As a result, he is not a very popular member, has few close friends, and is more tolerated than accepted by the groups. A study of his reactions in three different groups sheds light on some of the factors involved in the adjustment of such an individual.

The first was a shop group, where the organization permitted Ed to be rather free as an individual without the demands of too complete group adjustment. As a result, his attempts to dominate were at a minimum, as he was interested in his own work, and if the tools he wanted were available he was not too disrupting. Although he did not hesitate to seize any tool he wanted, regardless of who had it, when these incidents were handled he had to take others into consideration, and a beginning was made in his adjustment experiences. His interest span varied with the activity, and when interest lagged he often amused himself by disturbing others; but for the most part he centered in his own work. The activity of this group met his interests and needs, and when he felt so inclined he more or less ignored the rest.

In the second experience a group of boys organized a cowboy club in preparation for a special event sponsored by the group agency. More unity was necessary here, and Ed found that more concession to the group was essential. He took much initiative in the formation of the group, and because of his interests, past experience, and personality, he assumed the role of captain. The members did not object, as he really did feel much responsibility for the group, but that role carried additional problems for him. Two boys about his own age were individualists in their own right and had minds of their own so were not in the mood to take very many orders from Ed. He met this situation by appointing one boy his first lieutenant and the other his second lieutenant, having one of them seated at his right side as

he presided over the meetings. If both his lieutenants disagreed with him he allowed himself to be overruled. Dissension in the ranks might mean a breakup of the group, and in this instance it was the group itself which was meeting the needs of Ed as an individual. This situation automatically set up an experience that demanded a greater sense of social responsibility than Ed was accustomed to observe, but he had been one of the initiators of the group and had to bow to these self-imposed relationships. Not that there were no struggles, but it was another step in his social education—all within a normal group relationship.

Our third group was presenting a shadow play. Ed could go into the shop group and carry on his own activity whether it was what the others were doing or not, and he had been one of the originators of the cowboy club, but he was entering this group after it had been started and someone else had planned the program. He proceeded immediately to make himself useful to the group on the basis of their interests and plans, assisting in construction work, reading in dialect, and, in general, making himself acceptable to them. This went on for a period of some five weeks before he reverted to his all too frequent behavior. In one evening he turned from an attitude of protection to one of possession and attempted to dominate the assignment of roles by bringing in two of his friends and overlooking some of the regular members. Being thwarted in this by the group, he flew into a rage, later in the evening, out of all proportion to the provocation and tried in a very vicious manner to kick out two boys who had merely wandered in and asked if they could play a game with them.

The project was a real group experience in that all plans, selection of play, acceptance of handiwork, and assignment of duties and roles were on a group-decision basis in an informal spontaneous atmosphere. Ed felt a certain security and enjoyment in the group that seemed to be jeopardized by new members or plans he could not introduce or control. He seemed caught between a desire to control absolutely and to follow group planning, and he would give up going home to hear his

favorite radio program at one minute and threaten the whole project the next. Group adjustment was a deep struggle for him.

As the time to present the play drew near, personal disputes were more and more placed in the background in favor of the group, Ed agreeing to one of his personal enemies taking a part left open the night before the play was to be given. The first experience was very gratifying to the audience and the players, who immediately embarked upon a second similar adventure. Again the important evening arrival, and for the second time Ed earnestly desired that his mother see the play, but the drunken father could not care for the baby. Hurrying back to the center only a minute or two before curtain time, his second discouragement was climaxed by a shift in the audience. He had expected to give the play for the mothers' club, but it was raining, and that group was so small that some younger clubs were invited in to enjoy the performance. Ed's "artistic temperament" was keyed for an adult audience; the lights were out, the audience assembled, and the curtain ready to be pulled, when he announced he would not perform for the younger group, and to make his decision more effective he hit one of the players because he walked in front of him. Ed was playing one of the lead parts and felt the group could not get along without him. The leader said, "Either get in the play or out of the room," told the stage manager to pull the curtain, and held his breath. Ed picked up his character, sat down behind the screen, and went to work without another word. That experience had real meaning for him. To deliberately stand in front of the group and throw out his challenge, be made to face the responsibility for his decision and bow to the group within a space of two minutes was a startling experience.

Here was an individual moving from a rather loosely organized group to one demanding intense co-operation. We see him meeting the demands at one minute and being unable to do so at the next; making progress and then slipping; feeling secure and then being challenged; moving out into the group and then

withdrawing into himself. Always finding adequate reasons for his own misconduct in someone else's actions, he never faced the responsibility for his deeds, but when the pulling of the curtains left him face to face with his threat, he chose to remain with the group. Each club with its different situations and interplay of personalities added to his education in the give and take of group experience, but without a leader with the ability to turn these incidents into learning situations, either the group would have rejected Ed or he would have dominated the group, but opportunity for adjustment would have remained at a minimum.

From this and similar record material, where special emphasis has been focused on individual adjustment and factors in group relationship that influence that adjustment, certain factors stand out as being important in our experience with such individuals.

The result is usually most satisfactory when the group experience is voluntary. The fact that the individual can terminate that relationship at will presupposes a voluntary acceptance of the demands for adjustment that the give and take of group relationship imposes. Voluntary acceptance places the relationship on a positive basis where compulsion might set the stage for a negative relationship. However, that relationship should not be one of just giving on the one side and merely receiving on the other side, but should sustain a relationship of mutual responsibility based on a well-founded intake policy.

The most successful approach has been the one that protects the individual integrity of the members rather than one dealing with a group of anonymous persons who lose their individual identity. In every individual there is a continual struggle and striving for two opposite achievements, namely, the desire to be like others and the desire to be different and individual. The degree of balance between these two desires does much to determine the individual's ability to adjust to the group, and, by the same token, the proper group experience helps the individual find that balance. The group experience is valuable in that it can

be utilized in many ways as each individual contributes to and takes from that experience on the basis of his own abilities and needs, and while one boy may be using the experience to help make a natural break from too strict home ties to strengthen his own personality, another may find the same experience a means of gaining more appreciation for others.

As an individual enters into a group relationship he is faced with three important adjustments: (a) a social adjustment, (b) an adjustment to his own limitations, and (c) an adjustment to authority.

a) The give and take inherent in a group relationship demands a contribution from the individual as well as a certain amount of conformity to the common self of the group. This tendency on the part of a group to want to mold an individual to the group likeness or to exclude him, plus the necessity of that person to retain his individuality, merges into the second adjustment.

b) Recognition of one's own limitations is sometimes an unpleasant experience, but failure to do so may lead to even more serious consequences. Many individuals attempt to gain their status in a group on the basis of some ability in which their contribution is second rate, but they need and expect first-rate adjustments. This type of frustration may lead either to a withdrawal from the group or to aggressive behavior that leads at least to unsatisfactory experiences if not to actual rejection.

c) When street gangs or unsupervised groups have formed the bulk of a person's leisure-time experience, a supervised agency adds new restraints to his freedom. The regulations of a board of directors, agency director, staff leaders, and finally the demands of the group itself, all require a certain amount of adjustment. However, the acceptance by the individual of the necessity for such authority as a prerequisite of group living and further individual freedom, rather than a blind force imposed from above, completes this cycle of his social and individual adjustment with an authority further removed from his reach.

In the group-work relationship the worker must and does

demand some adjustment of the individual. As long as the contact is on an individual basis, adjustment can be disregarded; but with the addition of one or more individuals, a certain amount of social responsibility is inherent in the relationship. When an individual cannot assume his place in a group relationship and accept a minimum amount of regard for others, the agency must either demand it or remove the individual from the group. A basic assumption for the group worker then, must be that individual growth and social ends are not only closely related but are interrelated and interdependent, and the worker must be interested both in the individual growth and in the social results.

The group leader who tries to see the child as a whole rather than in terms of a problem usually has more success in dealing with his group adjustment. They should utilize any information that will help form a rounded picture of the boy and individualize in terms of group relationships, school, church contacts, neighborhood adjustments, and similar information on the basis of an integrated personality. With this type of approach the relationship is on the basis of acceptance of the boy in society, and in some instances, where community contacts and influence is widespread, it is the acceptance of the individual by society, as distinguished from an individual relationship that accepts the individual and society.

The group worker views the boy as an individual who adjusts at various age and emotional levels on the basis of his own needs. Group experience must not only provide an experience that has meaning to an individual in terms of his age and emotional level, but must constantly provide a chance for that individual to advance as his development demands. The value of a group experience to an individual with a problem rests in the ability of the normal group relationship to meet the situation intelligently as it comes up rather than in a program of pre-arranged but more or less isolated experiences.

In the group agency not only the program of the agency as a whole must be considered, but the function of any one particu-

lar group a specified individual may be in. One group in shop may be developing a skill along an individual line, while a club group may be working out a co-operative program that would demand the combined efforts of the entire group if the project is to be successful. While each type of experience is a necessity for a well-rounded personality, if we are to evaluate the program in terms of the contribution to a particular boy, that evaluation must be both in terms of the agency as a whole and in relation to any particular group he is in. If we add to that picture the difference leadership makes, the particular group or groups assume proportions equal to or greater than the general policy of the agency, for an individual may need or receive special attention in only one phase of the agency's services.

Our experiences point to the fact that it is not different traits that set these individuals off from the so-called "normal," but combination and intensity of the characteristics or tendencies that are present in everyone; that, in many instances individual treatment is a necessary prerequisite to adequate group adjustment, especially in those instances where conditions in the home create emotional disturbances that result in frequent runaways, tension between members of the family, or a feeling of rejection or too strict domination; that maladjustment in the school often leads to conflict basically the same, as regards ability to fit into group relationships; that in this area the problem is not one of case work or group work, but case work and group work, each service complementing the other in a total process that must aim toward an individual able to take his place in society.

One final factor stands out in our group experiences. No hastily planned, prearranged, mass-production program based on numbers will meet the needs of these individuals who find social adjustment difficult. Until we can offer adequate leadership equipped to deal with group relationships in terms of individual needs, our service to such individuals will remain at a minimum.

A LOCAL AGENCY INTERPRETS ITS WORK

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GROUP work, a relatively new and little-understood social service, stands in urgent need of intelligent and comprehensive interpretation. The services which group work can render toward meeting certain essential needs of persons, especially young people, the desirable differences it can make in their lives, must be made a matter of more general understanding. The services of group-work agencies must be presented to young people and others in order to attract them to the agencies for answers to their desires, urges, and problems. Parents must be educated to the contribution which group work can make to the personalities of their children and to the co-operation they should extend. Volunteer workers must be won, and financial support must be developed and maintained.

That the urgency of a more intelligent, honest, and effective program of interpretation will be felt increasingly seems certain. The emotional interest of goodhearted people in doing something for boys and girls will be worn out ultimately, and the extravagant claims regarding what character-building can accomplish already are being discredited. If it be true, as frequently suggested, that budget committees of community chests underrate the importance of group-work agencies as compared with other forms of social work, another reason is indicated for better interpretation of group work. Clear thinking and vigorous effort at interpretation must come promptly if group work is to enjoy the prestige and support which will enable it to make a significant contribution to social welfare.

Moreover, group work must produce a statement of principles and a body of techniques for its own work of interpretation

rather than continue to depend too completely upon those developed in other forms of social work. Almost all the professional literature available in this field has been written principally from the viewpoint of case work. Group workers should recognize with appreciation these fine contributions, avail themselves of those techniques which are applicable, and proceed vigorously to the development of their own literature and skills.

Interpretation implies something quite different in quality from what is commonly called publicity. To be sure, interpretation frequently makes use of the forms and techniques of publicity, and the right sort of publicity can be interpretation. The important thing is that certain very common types of publicity are not to be confused with true interpretation. Among these forms are those which simply seek to attract attention, to popularize a few catch phrases, or to establish the name of an agency as a trade-mark. Nor is purely promotional publicity to be considered as having interpretative value.

It will be the plan of this paper to construct a program of interpretation for a hypothetical group-work agency. For the purpose, a private agency has been selected. Although many of the suggestions which will be offered may be applicable to public as well as to private agencies, limitations of space would prevent the development of interpretation programs for both types of agencies except in the most general terms, for there are fundamental differences involved which prescribe widely divergent emphases.

In order to present some considerations which seem especially significant for private group-work agencies, certain assumptions will be recognized at the outset:

First, that the agency has determined and formulated a clear statement of its objectives. It is obviously impossible to accomplish effective interpretation without knowing precisely what is to be interpreted.

Second, that the agency is meeting genuine social needs and rendering a group-work service of quality. Not only must there be an effective meeting of the fundamental needs of persons, but

perhaps the best of all methods of interpretation is the actual demonstration of good group work, resulting in satisfying experiences for participants and enriched, happier, and more useful personalities.

Third, that sound principles and techniques of good public-relations work are observed in everything the agency does to interpret itself to the community.

With these assumptions in mind, this discussion of the program of interpretation of a private group-work agency will be limited to certain purposes, principles, and methods which seem to be distinctive to such an agency, and to the application of these principles to some of the generally accepted methods or devices of interpretation. On this basis, an interpretative program seems likely to result in the most desirable outcomes when developed along the following lines.

Agency committee on interpretation.—The agency has established an official committee on interpretation. It is directly responsible to the governing board, and its chairman is a member of the board. The committee meets regularly, at least once a month.

The staff member who is assigned primary responsibility for interpretation serves as executive to the committee. He endeavors to employ good group-work principles in his relationships with the committee. This means that he is alert to discover and bring before the committee realistic problems, that he endeavors to have these problems presented and considered in a way which will release to the utmost the varied energies and abilities represented in the committee, that he neither dominates the committee nor expects it to serve as a rubber-stamp group to approve his suggestions and actions, and that he respects its decisions and conducts his work in accordance with its findings. He works closely with the chairman, preparing the agenda of meetings co-operatively with him, tactfully guiding him in the conducting of meetings, and helping him to organize his follow-up of assigned responsibilities and other between-meetings duties.

The committee formulates interpretation policies for approval by the board, directs the execution of these policies, and evaluates accomplishments. It has full responsibility for the interpretation program of the agency, but endeavors to secure the active participation of the entire volunteer and employed personnel in one aspect or another of the task. Its work is integrated with that of other committees of the agency by interlocking membership consultations and joint planning.

Objectives.—The agency has defined and stated clearly the objectives of its program of interpretation. This process has included the listing of the general purposes of interpretation, some of which have been suggested above.

However, another important range of general objectives for the private agency has been recognized. These are based on the fundamental principle that the private agency is a minority organization seeking to establish and advance certain values and objectives which are not yet accepted widely enough to enjoy the support of the majority of the community. These trail-blazing functions are fundamental to the role of the private agency in society: to discover the special unmet needs of particular persons and groups, to experiment with techniques for meeting these needs, to pioneer in the realm of higher or more advanced social values.

This essential characteristic of the private agency seems to imply the following for the interpretation of its work:

1. Interpretative efforts directed to the general public will have two principal purposes: to call attention to the unmet needs with which the agency concerns itself, for the purpose of attaining ultimate recognition of these needs and the development of public services to meet them; and to endeavor to "sell" to society the progressive values which the agency is seeking, in order that these values may be realized in human relationships.

2. On the other hand, the agency will choose carefully selected constituencies for other phases of its efforts at interpretation. It will endeavor to make known its services to those special

groups and persons whose needs it aims to serve, creating desires for participation on the part of those who may be benefited thereby. Fully as important, it will select with care a circle of persons who seem most likely to become interested in supporting the agency as it works for the minority values which provide its special and unique role in the community.

This is to say that efforts of the private group-work agency to interpret its work to the general public will be intended primarily to secure general social acceptance to the work it is doing currently. As far as its immediate tasks are concerned, it literally will try to work itself out of a job. On the other hand, interpretation which seeks to develop support for the agency will be directed principally to a selected constituency which will sponsor pioneer efforts in behalf of advanced social values.

These considerations suggest some questions regarding the interpretation which is required for co-operative financing of private group-work agencies. The tendency of community chests to realize an ever broader base of giving virtually demands that the public be educated concerning the work of each agency. Yet, it is impossible that the mass of givers can believe in the unique values which any given agency is seeking to advance. That is to say, many, if not all, donors to a chest are sharing in the support of certain private agencies for whose work they do not hold any real sympathy and approval.

Just what this situation may mean to co-operative financing and to the private agency is a question which needs further exploration. The answer may lie in any one of several directions. Possibly the group-work agencies should interpret co-operatively the more general aspects of their programs for community-chest cultivation purposes, while each individual agency interprets its own work to a selected constituency; or, as some have suggested, co-operative interpretation related to money-raising should stress the needs of persons and of the community rather than the programs of agencies; or it is conceivable that co-operative financing may prove ultimately to be an unsound method of support for private group-work agencies. Some hard

thinking and searching investigation seem to be indicated at this point.

There is another characteristic of the private agency which further enhances the relative importance of interpretation to a selected constituency. A private agency is essentially a group of people who voluntarily associate themselves together to accomplish some useful work for the community or to advance some desirable social value. There are values in such an agency quite apart from any specific accomplishments which the group may achieve—values of fellowship, values inherent in devotion to a worthy cause, and values of voluntary co-operative effort for social good. It follows, then, that the private group-work agency will give a major place in its interpretation to efforts to enlarge and strengthen its basic working fellowship; that is to say, to develop a larger number of people who thoroughly understand, wholeheartedly believe in, and are intimately related to its work.

To return to our hypothetical agency, in addition to formulating its general objectives, it has outlined clearly its own specific objectives in the light of its own situation. Local conditions, the history of the agency, the unique aspects of its purpose and program, and its immediate problems and needs are some features it has taken into account in determining specific objectives for the year's program of interpretation.

From the springboard of chosen objectives, the agency carefully plans its program of interpretation for an entire year or other stated period.

Interpretation to the inner circle through maximum participation in management and program.—Recognizing the fundamental importance of adequate interpretation to the governing board and committees, the agency provides for the education of these groups through active participation in the work. Board and committee members become intelligent about the work of the agency and believe in it because they deal with important problems and concerns of the work, make significant decisions, and share in carrying out the policies established. The agenda for

meetings are composed of important issues in the policy and operation of the agency, with pertinent data arrayed around these issues as basis for judgment. Real interpretation results from this practice. Education of the inner circle progresses farther as the agency provides opportunities for its volunteers to do individual work related to its management, program, and support, such as soliciting funds, interviewing key people, speaking before community organizations and meetings, enlisting other volunteers, and leading groups.

Moreover, the group members, participants, and agency members are enlisted to serve on committees, sometimes on the board; board and committee members become participants in the program. As a result, the hiatus between those serving and those served is less marked and has ceased to be a dominant characteristic of the agency. All these groups come to know, understand, and appreciate the agency's work by facing organization problems, by making decisions, and by purposing and doing for the organization.

Planning conferences of volunteer and professional workers.—As a further step in interpretation to its own inner circle, the agency conducts an annual conference of its lay and professional leaders for the purposes of evaluating its past and present program and planning the program of the year ahead. In preparation, each major committee is asked to evaluate the work of its department, set objectives for the year, and outline a program to achieve these objectives. At the conference, each committee reports on these matters and receives constructive criticism from the total group. Very great interpretative values accrue from this procedure. Everyone present participates in an intelligent planning process and receives a more comprehensive and balanced picture of the agency's program than could be given by almost any other means.

Board and committee reports.—The agency departs from the traditional practice of a single inclusive report to the board by the executive each month. Instead, the lay chairmen of major committees report the work of the departments or phases of the

program for which their committees are responsible. The salient features of these reports are recommendations upon which the approval of the board is desired, submitted with information helpful to intelligent decisions by the board. In addition, however, these committee reports keep the board informed on important developments in the various departments and collectively present a comprehensive picture of the agency's service. Reports such as these provide more meaningful information than a single report by the executive, however timely and interesting this may be.

To be sure, the members of the staff play an important part in the preparation of these reports; in fact, most of the detail work is done by the professional staff. However, in the preparation of each report, the staff member consults with the chairman of the committee with which he is working. This step, coupled with the fact that the report is based on actual committee work and the fact that committee chairmen must understand the reports reasonably well in order to make intelligent presentations, lends further educational value to this form of reporting.

The executive does present a monthly report. It is, however, more in the nature of a brief and selective interpretation of the total work and condition of the agency, revealing outstanding developments and problems, rather than a comprehensive and detailed report for the entire agency. All the committee reports and recommendations, the agenda for the board meeting, and statistical reports are bound into a complete docket for each member of the board. This docket is mailed to a small list of key people who are relatively close to the organization, as well as to co-operating agencies.

The agency bulletin.—A news letter is published for distribution to board and committee members, volunteer, leaders members and participants, and a selected list of those not actively engaged in the work of the agency, yet sympathetic to it and fairly close to its work.

The bulletin is intended principally as an additional method of creating an informed body of members, workers, and spon-

sors who will support and carry on the work of the agency in the pursuit of its objectives. Another important aim of the bulletin is to interpret the philosophies and purposes of the organization to members and participants. It seeks to be a factor in producing desirable attitudes and behavior. In this respect, the bulletin is an important method for the development of personality.

The annual meeting and report.—The agency has an annual meeting. Although this event is intended to serve a number of purposes, its interpretative function is one of the most important. The entire inner circle of the organization is in attendance. Invitation is extended also to contributors, other outside friends, leaders in co-operating agencies, and a number of key people in the community. The latter are divided among the governing board for personal invitation.

Like all other important projects, the annual meeting is planned by a committee of volunteer and staff people. The program does not include a formal report of the year's accomplishments, either by the president or by the executive. Instead, the report is dramatized or rendered graphic and visual by means which are varied from year to year. A considerable number of persons participate in these presentations. Of course, there is a printed annual report.

Whatever essential business may be required from the legal standpoint is conducted in brief but dignified and democratic manner, avoiding both the intent and appearance of "railroading." If there is a speaker, he is chosen because he can say something of significance to agency interpretation. The event provides occasion for an open house. The staff, augmented by a generous number of volunteers, receives all who come in the most cordial and gracious manner possible. The building is open to inspection, there are displays depicting the agency's work, and in every manner possible the mere fact of attendance is made to have values of interpretation.

Word-of-mouth interpretation to selected individuals.—The agency is organized to have a volunteer interview each person on its selected cultivation list at least once a year. Each of these

definitely enlisted workers agrees to interview a given number of persons during the year, to talk about the work of the agency. A simple report form is provided on which the interviewer records the apparent effect of his call and the reaction of the person interviewed. On one occasion the agency used campaign techniques in this word-of-mouth interpretation.

The systematic use of lay workers in word-of-mouth interpretation is adapted admirably to the objectives which have been outlined for interpretation of private group-work agencies. First, the persons interviewed are chosen carefully in the hope that they may be developed into regular sponsors of the agency as it seeks to fill a unique function in the community. Second, the education of the volunteer interviewers through active participation in the enterprise is an extremely valuable by-product. As these workers tell the story of the agency, they are certain to believe in it more completely than ever before.

Direct-by-mail cultivation.—The agency sends occasional reports and other literature to a selected mailing list. The annual report, the bulletin, and occasional special reports and stories are among the items used in this way.

Here again, the primary purpose is to develop a strong body of sponsors who believe in the unique contribution which the agency has to make to the community.

Speakers' bureau.—The committee on interpretation names a subcommittee to work with a responsible staff member on this valuable type of informative effort. Volunteer speakers are enlisted, each agreeing to accept a given number of calls to present the work of the agency before some meeting in the community. These volunteers are provided with facts about the agency's services and with suggested talk outlines. The committee enlists the aid of board members and others in arranging for presentations before various organizations.

Since this aspect of interpretation tends to reach the general public rather than any chosen circle, its functions are principally to interest possible participants in the program of the agency

and to convince the audiences that the goals sought by the agency are essential to a better social order. Again, there is valuable education of volunteers.

Interpretation to co-operating agencies.—The agency endeavors to accomplish this phase of its program of interpretation principally in the course of interagency relations. Through a sincere sharing in community-planning processes and through active co-operation with other agencies, good will and understanding are established. Other methods used are the exchange of information, intervisitation, and invitation for outside organizations to attend agency functions, as well as attendance at the events of other agencies.

Interpretation to the general public through newspapers, radio, window displays, public expositions, motion pictures, and general advertising.—The agency maintains a consistent and planned program of interpretation to the general public through such mediums as these. Efforts in this field are by no means of the shotgun variety. They are undertaken not simply to get the name of the agency before the public or to report a large volume of activity. Rather, the agency has clearly in mind the essential functions of interpretation to the general public for a private agency: (1) to educate the public to the essential social worth of its services in order that these may be provided at public cost for all who need them; (2) to promulgate the advanced social values for which the agency stands, in order that these may be accepted generally by society.

In directing publicity to prospective participants in the agency's activities, all phases of the program are presented. That is, if the agency hopes to secure the participation of newcomers in any aspect of its work, it endeavors to create some readiness for this activity. If, for example, an agency with gymnasium and swimming pool advertises only its physical activities, it is certain to encounter resistance on the part of new members when effort is made to interest them in club membership or in social and cultural projects. The psychological law of readiness must be respected in this connection.

Other means of interpretation.—The agency uses a number of other methods of interpreting its work, which may be only mentioned here. Some of these are securing the attendance of volunteer leaders at important conferences, the holding of programs for parents, open-house occasions, active participation by staff members in community enterprises, and community-service projects by organized groups within the agency. All are important and valuable when planned as integral parts of a comprehensive program of interpretation. Particularly important are efforts at interagency co-operation in interpreting group work.

Appraisal.—Sound planning and good workmanship in interpretation, as in any other feature of the agency's work, demand thoughtful and systematic evaluation of results. The committee on interpretation spends some time in each meeting in consideration of the effectiveness of the on-going interpretation efforts. Every major project is appraised at its conclusion. At the close of the year's work, when the process of planning for the next year is getting under way, the committee engages in a careful evaluation of the entire program of interpretation of the past year. On the basis of such evaluation, the agency is constantly rethinking and remaking its program of interpretation.

Group workers face the imperative urgency of developing a more intelligent philosophy and adequate body of techniques for interpreting their function in society. Moreover, they must work at the task with vigor, for the contribution of group work is far too little understood and appreciated. They must no longer depend so largely as heretofore on the experience and literature of other forms of social work. Distinctive interpretation of the distinctive role of group work is required.

THE PLACE AND INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL-WORK CHAPTERS IN LOCAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Pierce Atwater, Executive Secretary, The Saint Paul Community Chest, Inc., St. Paul, Minnesota

AFTER nearly twenty years' effort at developing a professional organization of social workers, it seems in order to consider both what is and what should be its place and influence in the organization of forces in the local community. While I have been a reasonably close participant in local and national activities of the American Association of Social Workers, my comments are entirely personal and in no sense represent an organization viewpoint or objective.

THE GROWTH OF LOCAL CHAPTER CONSCIOUSNESS

What I observe after these years is the creation of a large and fairly strong national, without an entrenched underpinning in the local community. With a few exceptions, our chapters constitute small volunteer groups without funds, without continuity of leadership, without administrative tools, and without a citizenship following and support. But even in so bad a situation there is evidence that social workers recognize the dilemma and are correcting it.

Most larger chapters have raised dues for the employment of an executive officer and for headquarters. National publications, delegate and committee meetings have given encouragement to increased chapter activity, and there is evidence in all chapters that local influence is increasing. A substantial record of achievement is observed in all parts of the country during the past year. Since publication of these activities has already been made, only the trend of them is necessary here.

We see lawsuits being instituted by various chapters to test the competency of some public action which seems to be inimical to sound professional interest. There is growing a closer relationship between chapters and local civil service units in the matter of examinations given and the constant strengthening of the processes of selection. Most chapters are discovering methods by which certain pressures can be placed on public agencies both within and without the civil service in creating better standards of employment. All through the country chapters are active in providing enlarged facilities for professional education. More and more instances come up where chapters have taken positive stands in preventing public and private agencies from exercising arbitrary or political action against competent workers who happen for one reason or another to be in disrepute with the employer. Constant battles are being fought all over the country on the front of maintenance of direct relief standards at a time when the large group receiving unclassified relief seems to have been deserted by almost everyone else. Chapter facilities to deal adequately in the matter of interpretation of relief policies make this field of work exceedingly difficult, but everywhere there is recognition that something must be done to give a more understanding citizenship interest in this problem, and excellent achievement has been made in certain places in spite of the fact that chapters are without great influence and without control of interpretative mediums.

There can be no doubt that years of effort are required in building a strong national agency. It is no different with the American Association of Social Workers than with any other organization. During the process of national construction local activity is more or less incidental to the national need, but once the superstructure has been built there comes prominently into the forefront the necessity for local action if ultimate objectives are to be approached.

Whether or not members of the Association recognize the situation, the fact remains that a serious crisis exists which can be

summarized by the term, "national versus local viewpoint." For nearly twenty years local operations have been incidental. Now the need arises for them to occupy the center of the stage. As already stated, this need comes, but there are no local tools to work with, and one constantly hears murmured phrases such as these: "The national gets too much of the money." "What good does our chapter get from the national organization?" "National officers and committees do not really represent our viewpoint." "The association is controlled too much by national agencies in New York." And so it goes when one gets down underneath our chapters throughout the country. I cite these common, whispered phrases because, on the whole, they represent spirals of smoke from a fire kindling in the local communities, which indicate conviction among our membership to enhance and to enlarge the force of the association in local community affairs. Rather than being dangerous, these indications are good. The national association is just as anxious to have strong chapters, as, in their saner moments, are chapters desirous of having a strong national.

PROBLEMS RETARDING IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL CHAPTERS

There are several things that hold back the development of local activities. First are the money and tools to work with; second is an absence of conviction as to just the sort of organic enterprise we should create; and, finally, and most important, is an absence of specific opinion concerning what the exact place of influence should be for local chapters in the field of community organization.

Tools and money to work with are comparatively simple. The exact form that local chapter organization should take is somewhat complicated, but in no way does it affect seriously this particular discussion. The point at which we are interested today is the direction that programs of local chapters should take in order effectively to gather local community forces to unite on a sound welfare program.

A MORE DYNAMIC TYPE OF STUDY COMMITTEE

The first point on my list would be group discussion, thought, and action developed through study committees and looking toward developing a meeting of the minds among our own group. Exactly what is the best professional opinion a chapter can bring to bear on the subject of how old age assistance is locally administered? What are its weaknesses? What are its strengths? How can it be improved? Are the standards of personnel satisfactory? What is being done on such problems as housing, recreation, health, and dental care among this group of people? Does the law need some amendment, and if so, at what point? What is the relationship between old age assistance and unclassified relief and, if impractical, how can it be strengthened?

Every local welfare program could well receive intensive study so that chapters would have at all times the best professional thought of their group on the administration of these programs and how they might be developed. This is a first step in creating a secure and important place in community affairs for a professional organization like the Association. To date, our study committees have been too perfunctory, too academic, and too uninteresting. We have dealt too much with techniques and too little with issues of legislation, organization, and administration. Study committees looking toward the formulation and development of chapter opinion on many different subjects require the highest type of leadership to group participation. What we want to do is to prove the efficacy of group thinking, which, under the best of conditions, can and should result in the most creative contribution our Association can make. It is most unfortunate that many of our group do not believe in this constructive process. We have a lack of confidence in the creative element of group thought and action. Largely because we have these doubts, our chapter committee work has been weak.

BETTER LOCAL APPLICATION OF NATIONAL PRINCIPLES

In every local community we need to place into effect some of the principles the national Association has developed relating to the training of social workers, their placement in jobs, salary schedules to be paid for types of work, the establishment and maintenance of civil service, and the development of specific employment standards where civil service does not exist. This general description of another type of activity involves many specific channels of local activity. I will illustrate.

If there is a public agency not under civil service a local chapter should be instrumental in bringing before that agency the sound reasons why there should be a job analysis, positions described, training and experience defined, salary ranges established, a definite procedure for receiving applications, and the examination of candidates. As progress is made in these matters, the committee should be continually active to see that reasonable standards of pay are maintained, promotions effected, and discharges made in line with sound policy, so that a fair security of employment can be maintained. On the theory that all good things cannot be obtained at once, the committee can later follow up such matters as satisfactory provision for sick leave, vacation, professional participation in policy-making, and take such other actions as tend to make for the best possible type of professional employment.

These are subjects on which many chapters think they have done constructive work. Some have. But on the whole, chapters have not seized upon these varied program problems with any sense of mastery, leadership, broad group participation, honest criticism, financial integrity, or even political disinterestedness. Too frequently we fall back upon a pious resolution backed up by no study, no real conviction, and no community following. On all these matters in the future we must avoid words without force, action without factual knowledge, and proposals without any degree of community understanding.

THE LOCAL CHAPTER AND INTERPRETATION

Public relations between a professional group and other forces in a community are of considerable importance. One Association chapter¹ during the current year has been studying publicity releases from a daily press. By meticulous clipping and subsequent study of these releases it has come to the conclusion that about 80 per cent of the newspaper publicity about social work is either definitely harmful or entirely negative. The best it can observe is that 20 per cent of the newspaper space might be considered constructive interpretation. My own opinion is that the committee was liberal in the proportion of news releases that are constructive to the welfare needs of the citizens.

Another Association chapter² has waged a vigorous campaign to try to interpret to the community the needs of the group receiving direct relief and to bring pressures upon local and state appropriation bodies to meet the need. I cite one chapter as having been vigorous in this respect but in passing should say that all are trying to do something with this latter phase of the problem, but that a great many efforts yield no good result because fundamentally local groups have not felt a sense of responsibility for public relations between their membership and other forces in the community.

The local professional organization has a peculiar responsibility to work in this field, and the best beginning point is a careful study of what actually is happening, not only with respect to the daily press, but with the type of interpretation local agencies are using. For example, most public agencies are exceedingly careless in the handling of their own public relations. Publicity and interpretation is taken on the run. Responsibility is not centered, the staff is not overly encouraged to be on the alert to see that its own relationships with employers, clients, the labor organizations, ministers, doctors, and other groups are properly carried out. The importance to sustain citizenship in-

¹ The Twin City Chapter.

² The Chicago Chapter.

terest in public welfare is certainly lacking, and one reason for its absence is the lethargy of local professional workers to encourage it.

THE PLACE OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ACTION

There exists some tendency to throw Association chapters into the sphere of social action on the economic and political fronts and to align our force squarely with the labor movement toward its objectives in these matters. After all, the nature of the economic and of the political structure are the two primary issues before the nation today. All social-work programs are so entangled with these problems that only as they are settled can our programs be established satisfactorily and our clients be served adequately. But, on the other hand, if the place of a so-called professional organization lies in this field, then its influence in the organization of community forces which I have been describing is largely incorrect, or at best, a sort of window-trimming for a more basic purpose. Since my comments have adhered to actual operations and to historical fact, my own conclusion runs that there is an important function in the local community for a distinctly professional viewpoint and function. Regardless of how sympathetic our membership may be to any economic theory or political concept, or how active they may be individually in a labor organization or political party seeking realization of definite objectives, the clear fact remains that we will act wisely as a professional organization to function collectively on matters within the sphere of our professional knowledge.

If our group does not want to adhere to this policy, if we feel past attainments and future operations are not really significant, then it would seem we must unbutton the professional cloak as outworn and outmoded and finally drop it off for a new one, thus casting our future under a different emblem. Nor do I imply any treason in such a course. We all know the labor movement has many members and more sympathizers. It is coming to power fast and strong. For a little group of some

10,000 social workers not to get in stride and to stand out for professionalism, training, ethical practices, standards of program operation, community-wide interpretation of programs, and effective administrative machinery sounds very petty in the light of our greatest national problems. The not insignificant point, however, which prompts me to vote for independent status is the fact that economic issues are never settled and political concepts and parties always change, while matters relating to professional competency and integrity carry a more constant content which is applicable under any economy and under any political structure, provided only there is a sponsoring group who can and who will speak independently of all other considerations.

LOCAL PLANNING FOR STATE AND NATIONAL PROGRAMS

State and federal action should reflect more than it does local needs as reflected through local planning. Local chapters can frequently be too local in their programs. Activities certainly should include consideration of state and national provision for all public welfare programs that have local application. To date we have only a partial sense of alertness, which is evidenced when someone appeals to local chapters to take action on this subject or that. Word will come that it might be wise to send a telegram to some congressional committee or to send a letter to some state department. Usually the nature of the desired response is indicated, and action is taken in a perfunctory manner. This perhaps has a slight value, but if all chapters knew state and national issues and had developed some agreement as to how they felt on the more important subjects, they would act with a clearer sense of force and concern. So this, too, falls back to group study, discussion, and thought.

Because local chapters have a limited membership, constant care must be taken to see that thinking is not too ingrown. We must realize that while an exclusive membership has certain advantages, it also has definite dangers. I often say that when we want some real experts to present anything to our chapter,

we have to go outside its ranks; and that is probably a good thing because it constantly reminds us that established membership standards are always arbitrary, and that as valuable as standards may be, they tend to destroy at the same time they are building up.

On the whole, the American Association of Social Workers has been created through the drawing-together of people conforming by training and experience to certain established techniques and procedures. Most of our membership are individuals who may be good case workers or group workers or health workers, but who as yet have failed to function well as a local group and who are just beginning to see the significance of their sphere of local action. My attempt to make some general definition of what that place and influence should be is at the best only indicative. We cannot have much influence on local community organization until the group knows what it is about. For the next several years the most constructive contribution to be made by our membership lies in the determination of its exact place and the type of influence it wants to exert on local community affairs.

While it is evident I have but a low opinion of the place and influence of our chapters on local community organization, still I have a sense of pride that the association has reached that degree of maturity which gives some appreciation of its own limitations. We have moved slowly but I think tenaciously toward our goal in national affairs. Locally we are just starting on our way. As we get into gear for forward motion let us not wave with satisfaction to the spectators, but rather put our eye and our ear to the engine to see how we can develop more power and faster progress.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LAYMAN IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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HELEN CODY BAKER always tells her Institute students, that interpretation does not begin with the outer fringe of a series of concentric circles which she places on a blackboard, not with that largest circles which represents the general public whom we reach through the press and the radio. To be effective, she says interpretation must take root in the inner circles which, on her diagram, represent the board and committee members. In other words, real interpretation is not possible unless we first have sound community organization.

Someone has said that we use the words "community organization" as if we really knew what they meant. As a matter of fact we do, more than any other professional group, have some knowledge of their meaning. Social scientists and social workers long ago studied the community and recognized that "it never loses its function of critic and potential destroyer."¹ They studied too the processes of community organization and found that there is "no wholesale means of influencing and directing the community itself";² that the technique of community organization "must be found in connection with the manipulation and control of individuals and groups." The value of allying to social work influential laymen, key persons in the community whose ability and prestige enable them "to manipulate and control individuals and groups," was, therefore, an easy deduction.

¹ Frank Bruno, *The Theory of Social Work* (1936), p. 357.

² Jesse F. Steiner, *Community Organization* (1925), p. 325.

The old American Association for Community Organization, predecessor of Community Chests and Councils, Incorporated, the Association for Organizing Family Social Work, predecessor of the Family Welfare Association of America, and the National Organization for Public Health Nursing took the lead a score of years ago as national agencies in stimulating local private agencies to organize laymen in support of their work. Representative boards, district committees, case committees, and, in the case of community chests and councils of social agencies, very sizable citizen groups were drawn together to participate in the planning and direction of the social-work program. An excellent beginning in community organization was made in the decade following the war.

These were the days when William Norton was telling the National Conference of Social Work: "Nothing less than complete friendly attention by all the population in a community should be the goal of social work. Without modern organization methods this cannot be approximated. Without its approximation the social workers' leadership of ideas in the reconstruction period is futile." And further, "Community organization does more than knit agencies together. It knits people, multitudes of people about the agencies. It adds bands of volunteer salesmen."³

These were the days when Clare Tousley was discoursing on and demonstrating effective use of volunteers in the New York Charity Organization Society. But in this decade the private-agency program was, by and large, social work. In the last eight or ten years the complete shift of emphasis from private to public and the almost utter disregard by the "emergency" agencies of the importance of nonprofessional support has given us a new challenge in the field of community organization.

With the advent of the F.E.R.A. there were numbers of states in which lay boards disappeared entirely from the public pic-

³ "Community Organization," in *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1919*, p. 669.

ture. In states like my own, where the E.R.A. program ultimately became entirely federal, the sources of control were so remote as to leave the community feeling no connection whatever with the relief program. Federal standard-setting we applauded, but it did not result in understanding on the part of the taxpayer so that he rallied to the protection of the program when his help was needed. What better example of complete disregard of the principles of community organization could be found than the F.E.R.A. Transients' Bureau. Operated as it was from Washington, without the slightest participation by the local citizen, it was misunderstood, criticized—and often justly so—on account of its complete lack of regard for local customs, and scrapped summarily with only a few feeble voices raised in protest, at a time when no substitute provisions were available. The W.P.A. has not distinguished itself in the realm of organizing the lay community. Few laymen have direct contact with planning W.P.A. projects. In most instances they have no contact whatever unless they happen to be serving on a public board which becomes a project sponsor. Surely it would be hard to find a program more generally misunderstood.

Parenthetically one wonders whether the fact that the old national agencies which initiated the formation of lay groups had as an integral part of their name the word "organization." Whether it played any part in making them conscious of the need for community organization, and, contrarily, whether the complete absence of the word "organization" in the names of the emergency agencies and the appearance of the word "administration" in its stead accounts to any degree for the shift of emphasis away from the organization of the community. Perhaps not.

The fact is, nevertheless, that in the next stage of development of nation-wide public welfare—the social security era—the appearance of the word "board" in the national setup seems to have had a salutary effect. Advisory boards or committees are legally set up in the great majority of states in connection with the administration of the security categories. A number of

states in which the laws do not make legal provision for boards have set up boards informally. The Social Security Board, while having no authority over the formation of boards, has, when its advice has been asked, stated its belief that "advisory boards of responsible citizens have a very real function in assisting administrative officials in the formulation of policy and in providing a nucleus of informed public opinion for interpreting welfare needs and services to the community."⁴

In all likelihood a study of the personnel of these boards would reveal that many of the members are appointed because of political connections and not because of a knowledge of welfare administration gained through sustained service on the boards of several private agencies. This is not the millennium. But the fact that only five⁵ of the forty states administering aid to dependent children have no state boards and only six have no county boards is worth noting. Moreover, a comparison of the reports of state plans published in December, 1937, with the earlier publication of plans in April of the same year shows a rise of 8 per cent in the number having state boards and a rise of 10 per cent in the number having county boards. For local color we might note that the state of Washington switched from the classification of states having no board to that of states having an advisory board. All but seven of the fifty states and territories have state boards and all but eight have county boards. In this category the increase in the number having state and county boards is 2 per cent and 3 per cent, respectively. The only category in which the trend seems to be away from the development of nonprofessional leadership is in the case of assistance to the blind. Here seven of the thirty-eight states with approved plans have no state boards, and eight have no county boards, and in both cases 4 per cent less had boards in December than in April.

There are those who look askance at this development of public boards, fearing it may be too rapid. They remind us of

⁴ Jane M. Hoey, letter to the writer, May 26, 1938.

⁵ *States' Plans* (Social Security Board, April and December, 1937).

certain practical issues which must be faced before a very wide extension of lay participation can be effective. Robert T. Lansdale, of the Social Science Research Council asks:

Do the principles we have laid down and the procedures we have followed in the development of boards of private agencies apply in the public field? Can we make effective a board with such a multiplicity of interests as a present day state board of public welfare, charged as it is with administering the various types of public assistance, managing public institutions, inspecting private institutions and acting as a board of appeal?⁶

His thinking is stimulating and provokes one to wonder if there are not two needs which must be satisfied before we can proceed confidently to organize the lay community for the guidance and support of our public program, and before we can expect lay participation in the private program to reach its full stature. The first is the need for a better understanding of the relationship between the professional executive and the non-professional board; and the second, the need for extending provision for lay participation to a point where its maximum usefulness may be felt.

The Family Welfare Association of America, the National Committee on Volunteers in Social Work, the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, have given the questions of where the functions of the board begin and cease, what the prerogatives of the executive are, much thought as they relate to private agencies. Clarence King in his recent series of *Survey* articles, now collected in book form under the title, *Social Agency Boards and How To Make Them Effective*, has given us for the first time a generic discussion of the problem as it relates to the whole field of social work, public as well as private. But in the public field per se political scientists have stolen our thunder. It is in Marshall Dimock's latest book, *Modern Politics and Administration*, that one finds the most poignant discussion of the relationship between the expert and the layman on citizen boards. Not until Pierce Atwater gave his masterly presentation of the place of the lay board in the public welfare pro-

⁶ "The Public Welfare Boards," *Survey*, May, 1937.

gram, had any thoroughgoing discussion of this matter been a part of the National Conference deliberation. Public welfare departments have, as Mr. Lansdale has pointed out, given entirely insufficient consideration to this important phase of their development.

No satisfactory solution, however, of the executive board-member relationship is likely in either the public or the private field unless it comes to be recognized that one of the duties of the executive is: "He shall give thought and attention to such board education as will promote an effective volunteer-professional relationship."⁷ Our lay boards must come to look upon this duty as a prime one of the professional executive and his assistants if progress is to be made. It is one thing to place outstanding citizens on the board, but quite another to give them a real understanding of the agency's program and to hold their interest in it.

A private-agency executive whose budget is a shoestring, who consequently has far less staff than is needed to handle the program, and who is harassed with petty details has neither the time nor the energy—granted the ability—to devise ways and means whereby the nonprofessional persons on the board may participate in the agency's program or at least serve on committees in which agency policies and procedure are discussed in sufficient detail for them to gain real knowledge and to feel the experience of sharing in the direction. Similarly, most public agency executives are far too swamped to plan board-member participation and are entirely unable to handle any but a small board. Planning and stimulating lay activity require skill and time. But more social workers than are given credit for it have the skill. It is the time and energy which they lack. And they will continue to lack both until the necessity for devoting staff time to this job is established. Only when this condition obtains will a mutually satisfactory relationship between the professional and the nonprofessional in social work, public or private, be possible.

⁷ Ruth Hyde Harvie, "Board Member Soul Searching," *Survey*, May, 1938.

Now, as to the second need—that of extending provision for participation by laymen so that maximum benefit may be derived from it. Who could with any face claim that a public welfare department with an advisory board of five or seven, in a community of half a million people, is making any attempt at securing lay participation. And yet this trend toward small boards which can be easily handled or controlled has been a marked one in the last decade and has had its effect on private as well as public agencies. District committees and case committees which used to be such important parts of charity organization society setups are almost entirely out of vogue in private agencies today. They have never been considered a feasible part of the public agency's program.

Only through councils of social agencies has there been real effort within recent years to provide more mediums through which lay guidance and support of the social-work program might be organized. In addition to volunteer bureaus, there is in councils a growing movement to decentralize their efforts at co-ordination and planning and to go into the field of neighborhood organization. The much talked of co-ordinating councils which have rarely been sponsored by councils of social agencies are not the units here referred to; rather, the sort of development recommended for both Providence, Rhode Island and Hartford, Connecticut, in the surveys of these two cities made by the community chests and councils. This type of community organization provides for joint thinking by professional and lay persons working or living in the neighborhood. The Providence survey recommends the organization and development of three types of committees in each area, two of which, the first and third, involve laymen; the first, a policy-forming committee representing all public and private agencies giving service in the area, and the third, a committee of neighborhood residents and leaders.

If lay participation were widely developed in this fashion on a neighborhood basis, agencies, both public and private, would

have rare opportunity for bringing their programs to "the man in the street." Until the community is organized through more representative boards, case committees, district committees, and forms of neighborhood organization, no real return from lay participation can be expected.

The concluding thought which I should like to leave with you is the suggestion that with the pendulum having swung so far to the side of public social work, might we not say that the greatest single need in social work today is unequivocal recognition of the importance of well-planned and sufficiently extensive lay participation. Why? you ask. The answer, as might be expected, is because we live in a democratic country. For obvious reasons, in a democracy the people must understand if the program is to continue and receive the support it needs regardless of the administration in power. We should remind ourselves constantly that in no time the standard which we have labored to establish could go up in smoke. We think this could not happen only if we have remained in our ivory towers to such an extent that we are unaware of the colossal ignorance of the general public. But if we have our ears to the ground we know that there is no hue and cry from the populace when thousands of heads of families are dropped from the W.P.A. because the administration becomes economy-conscious, no hue and cry even though other resources for such families may be entirely lacking; and we know that there is no protest when Negroes are peremptorily cut off relief rolls in southern states for no reason other than that of lowering their percentage relationship to the total number on relief. The situation is as it is, I would say, not because we need more social-work interpreters to reach the outer fringe of Mrs. Baker's concentric circles, much as we need greater emphasis on adequate interpretation, but because we are not applying to the program sufficiently well the fundamental principle which we learned at the knees of our predecessors, namely, that we must organize the people of the community in behalf of social work if we expect social progress to be lasting. "Build up over a

period of years real lay committees and volunteer workers," suggested Mr. Taft to us last year, and "you will not need to worry about public relations. They will interpret your work for you and they will multiply your hands. You had better learn to make them your friends and helpers," he said, "if you really want social work to play the part it can in healing the wounds of our machine age."⁸

⁸ Charles P. Taft, "Public Welfare and Efficiency in Government," in *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1937*.

THE INFLUENCE OF PUBLICITY IN DEVELOPING COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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NO REAL organization of community forces occurs without some accompanying publicity, interpretation, propaganda, or information—whichever term may be preferred. In the beginning at least a great deal depends upon clear and persuasive statements of aims and functions. Since community organization itself is a changing force in a changing world, it is reasonable to assume that what may be effective publicity in one stage may not be effective in another. The publicity needs in community organization do not remain the same yesterday, today, and forever. That one kind of publicity proved appropriate for the beginning stages does not argue that some other kind may not be needed after twenty years.

There seems to be a good deal of expressed dissatisfaction at the moment with the publicity emanating from social work in many communities—more especially from the privately sponsored social-work program. It is true that the publicity patterns of social work have become more or less crystallized, not to say stereotyped. What seemed effective twenty years ago no longer seems either fresh or impressive to many critical minds.

In seeking to analyze why this is true a number of striking changes are at once apparent, beginning with an enormous expansion of the need for welfare services and the increased complexity of the social problems with which we are faced.

For many years prior to the depression period the only consistently publicized efforts of social work was that portion of the social program privately sponsored by local community organiza-

tions. The task of raising funds annually made necessary a more or less consistent program of promotion and interpretation.

However, with the rapid expansion of government-sponsored welfare programs on a state-wide and nation-wide basis, with appropriations running into billions of dollars and the accompanying rising tax levies, with public welfare becoming a political issue in all parties, these things became national issues of first importance almost overnight and have remained so. Since public welfare is a national issue, it has become an increasing source of "spot news" in every newspaper in the land. Practically every adult in America has a well-defined attitude toward public welfare work, or perhaps, to be more accurate, toward public welfare expenditures. Every person still self-supporting is directly related at the point of helping pay for it, and those who are not self-supporting are more and more dependent upon its subsidies.

On the local scene the expenditures of the tax-supported public welfare program often far surpass in one month the entire year's appropriations for all private welfare services. It is obvious, then, that the relative position of local community organizations and their privately sponsored programs has changed considerably.

The question arises: Does this changed relationship call for a redefining of our publicity programs? Already one more or less new element has been added. It has been necessary to add to the publicity effort considerable explanation of the relationship of privately supported social programs to tax-supported social programs. This has not been too easy in a rapidly changing situation. Most of the responsibility for making this explanation has fallen almost entirely upon the forces of private social work. It is quite possible from a sound publicity standpoint that the private forces of social work have accepted too much of this responsibility. If we grant, for example, a real need in community life for a nursing service and no public provisions are made for providing such a service, it does not seem too much to ask that public welfare officials assume some responsibility for

making this clear to the public. In a soundly conceived publicity program the obligation of making clear the total welfare needs of the community and the necessary service to meet these needs is a shared obligation of all those engaged in welfare work in that community, public and private alike.

Nothing would be more tragic at this time than any lessening of the interest in welfare work that has been so carefully developed over many years in our sponsoring groups, even though this is frankly a minority group. Incorporating anything new into social work or developing services beyond mere ministry has been difficult enough, even with sympathetic minority groups. It is much more difficult to insure development with majority groups. It took years of effort to convince this minority sponsorship that social service was a task requiring training and skill. It took years of efforts in minority groups to achieve an acceptance of approved standards of operation and practices in individual welfare organizations. Both these battles are still to be won in the majority groups.

Social welfare work on every front is still a pioneering, groping force. The present social and economic situation far outruns either our knowledge or our experience. In our breathless efforts to try to meet the immediate pressure of needs, to try to get through the day, it has been difficult to consider what the long-time objectives of all these efforts really are. Yet long-time objectives will have to be redefined in the light of a vastly changed social and economic situation. The necessity for immediate, material relief has already far outrun our capacities to provide adequate service resources to meet the huge volume of needs other than material in our communities.

And yet for those whose interest in welfare work is not wholly at the point of resisting expenditures, and in every community there are such, here is a situation to challenge even the dullest imagination. The tradition of men and women in our communities who honestly want to be of service, men and women who have given of their time and money over many years, is a tradition worthy of preservation. It may well be that the expression

of the social mindedness of these men and women stopped short of being complete on every level, but they have been the ones who have worked in the field when the harvesters were few. They have been rewarded for their efforts with no high offices and no glittering power.

The question becomes, then, are we able through our interpretative powers to challenge the imagination of private citizens today as we have done in the past? There is no question about the existence of the challenge. God only knows there is enough to be done.

But how challenging, how stirring, is our run-of-the-mill publicity? I should like to mention here an experiment made by a committee of the Twin City Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers studying social-work interpretation this year. All the publicity which dealt with welfare work in the daily and weekly papers of the Twin Cities was clipped and classified by the committee on the basis of whether it could be reasonably expected to build good will or ill will for welfare work. There was a surprising amount of the publicity, which in the opinion of the committee, was potent to build ill will and misunderstanding.

The publicity emanating from private social work in the community was most interesting. Its percentage in the number of releases was relatively high, about 30 per cent of the total. But 90 per cent of this total was classified as merely "reminder publicity." Though it raised no controversial issues, it answered no questions, and was about as challenging to public attention as other items informing the public that the various ladies' aid societies would meet in their weekly sewing bees as usual.

"Where," asked the committee, "are social problems and social issues being portrayed?"

In this same period of time there was a large number of releases which had to do with "chiselers" in the relief lines; two impressive series of articles were given front-page, first-column space and signed by important officials. These articles were written to show that one of the cities was rapidly approaching

bankruptcy because of excessive welfare costs. The material included several scathing editorials, one in particular recounting the misdeeds of a group of relief clients and W.P.A. workers and demanding that "the relief lines be purged of the unworthy." I dare say there were fifty people in the community who read these things to every one who even glanced at program items emanating from the private program.

From a purely behavioristic standpoint, we seem to have been clearly convicted of having somewhat lost sight of our social problems in our eagerness to portray our social programs.

A perfectly reasonable question may be raised at this point. Can we use the newspapers and the radio to portray serious social conditions and serious social problems in our communities? I should like to use the old Yankee trick of answering this by asking another question. Do we begin our efforts to determine what we have to say, to delineate the basic material for our interpretative effort with the question of mediums as the first consideration? My answer to the latter question, at least, is an emphatic "no." The primary consideration of social-work publicity is that of what we have to say, what it is that we want to embody in our publicity, what we have to support what we have to say. When we have arrived at these things, and, not before, are we ready to discuss where we shall say it and how we shall say it.

There have always been certain fundamental weaknesses in the traditional publicity programs of private social work. It has always been too exclusively rooted in social programs with too little accent upon the social problems which make these programs necessary. It has relied too heavily upon the individual situation and too little upon the social and economic situation. It has been a little too insistent that all the people the program seeks to serve are fine, normal people in a temporarily bad situation with a little too much implication that the forces of social work know how to "solve" the problems. So much of our publicity falls short of ever coming to grips quite realistically with certain types of serious social issues.

The social situation with which social work deals cannot be too long glossed over and known only to ourselves. Much of social work deals with the raw and appalling. Social work encounters the low, the vicious, the degenerate, the incompetent, the feeble-minded, the insane, and the diseased, quite as truly as it encounters the fine, normal men and women and children whose stories it so carefully selects to share with the public. Yet we are a long way from either knowing what to do about these appalling situations we encounter daily or having yet secured the necessary laws or facilities for providing appropriate social treatment for those whose dependency comes largely from pathological causes. Yet additional laws and additional facilities will be forthcoming only as public knowledge and public concern is developed in relation to these actual problems.

While the concept of "social diagnosis" is almost as old as modern social work, the average man on the street would have hardly the vaguest notion of what it actually means. Yet for years this same citizen has had a fair concept of what is meant by "medical diagnosis," though it is neither a simpler nor more useful concept. The same thing is true relative to any widespread public concept of what is implied by "appropriate social treatment." As far as the vast majority of the public goes, relief is appropriate social treatment for all social ills from unemployment to feeble-mindedness.

Here are two useful concepts which if clearly understood by the public would widen enormously public comprehension of social work as a skill and social work's objectives. Yet the idea has hardly penetrated social work itself, much less put to educational use, that these concepts might be useful to other than professional social workers. It is obvious that we are not yet ready to begin to build these concepts into the public mind.

It is pertinent to any discussion of social-work publicity to raise the question as to what relationship to social work and social problems we are trying to develop on the part of the public. Have we tried to relate public interest and public knowledge almost wholly at the point of our own relationship to pro-

grams and our individual cases? If so, why? Is it that we believe that the public has no capacity to grasp an approach to social problems as such? Or do we believe that only the individual can be made interesting to the public?

I am all too familiar with the traditional publicity advice of the newspaper reporters, the radio entertainers, and the commercial advertisers as to how social work should be presented. "Make it simple, make it interesting, make it dramatic, use 'human interest' stories and above all appeal to people's emotions rather than their intelligence." One might well believe from this advice that human emotions occupied one airtight compartment and human intelligence another, and that it was a physiological and psychological impossibility to appeal to both at the same time. These advisers have assured us again and again that the public doesn't want to think, that they aren't interested in "facts and figures," and that what the public wants is to be entertained. This advice is, of course, not wholly wrong. But I do not happen to believe that this traditional interpretation of the publicity task is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. I would rather make the mistake of overestimating my community's intelligence than consistently underestimating it. As a technique, assuming that our audience is not composed entirely of morons, it has its points also.

The last time I heard discussants on this point was a few weeks ago at the Minnesota State Conference of Social Work. One was an able and shrewd newspaper columnist and the other an enthusiastic young man who had just landed his first job with radio. The speaker representing the newspaper assured us that the public was not interested in facts, or even interested in any results of social work, good or bad. We were assured that we should not scorn the symbol of the filled basket for the poor, preferably a basket with protruding turkey legs.

The radio representative entered a passionate plea for social work to lift its level of publicity to the high commercial level of Grape-Nuts, Wheaties, and Campbell soups. People could be hired, they both assured us, to popularize social work, though

apparently neither seemed to believe that anything could popularize social workers.

It is not quite correct, I believe, to assert that nobody except social workers ever was or ever could be interested in social facts or social information. After all, there are people who read thoughtful and even dull books and articles, not because they must, but because some people are curious about all sorts of things. I believe that there are people who could be interested in social facts and information as much as we are.

Why did *Fortune* send out a trained staff and spend time and money to try to get some answers to serious questions about relief and W.P.A.? Is *Fortune* primarily interested in social welfare? Unless I am mistaken, the editors of this magazine believed that there was a wide public interest in these questions.

I am not entering a plea for dullness. But not all social information is necessarily dull. Nor am I sure that social problems are really as dull as an endless portrayal of social programs. However, I am not nearly so concerned with the content or techniques of social work's mass appeal as I am with how we attempt to reach the more thoughtful people in our communities.

Some of the things we might have learned from the commercial advertisers we have passed over lightly. We might derive great benefits from the following processes characterizing the marketing of commercial products: (1) a careful analysis of the product itself before either the techniques of marketing or mediums are decided upon; (2) a careful analysis of currents of public opinion, favorable and unfavorable, including common prejudices, resistances, and stereotypes of thought; (3) a clear knowledge that if an imprint is to be made upon the public mind, the sponsors must be able to control a large volume of what is said, where it is said, and when it is said.

The commercial advertisers know far better than we know the necessity of controlled copy, of carefully timed appeals to the eye and ear, and the cumulative values of endless repetition. Millions of dollars are spent annually to control these things.

Social work has clung tenaciously to the idea that its pub-

licity program must largely be done at the other fellow's expense for paper and ink. This may still be perfectly sound, since large expenditures for promotion and publicity in social work have always been definitely unpopular. But the limitations this imposes need to be clearly recognized.

True, social work has its endless repetition of certain types of publicity, largely the isolated, unrelated program activities of individual programs. But the real question is one of whether or not this type of publicity really constitutes a publicity program which challenges public opinion or holds enough informational content to make for a growing concept that social work is a necessity in community life. The social problems which are the basic reason for social programs cannot be taken for granted. It would seem wiser, perhaps, to take programs more for granted and stress the social problems more heavily.

I wonder if the endless repetition of program activities from the settlements and social centers really serves to make the plight of youth today and the need for youth activities any more apparent.

What was it that made Jane Addams the greatest figure that social work has produced? I presume that there were clubs and classes, athletics and dramatics and social gatherings at Hull-House. I do not doubt that these things were carefully planned and well done. But it was not the insistence upon the importance of these things that will be remembered. Jane Addams was great because she saw social conditions and social needs clearly and portrayed them vividly and fearlessly. She dared ask people to think and see and understand why social effort, social legislation, and social change were necessary.

If those of us who are concerned with social-work publicity do not believe that it, too, is rooted in social conditions and social problems, our relationship will continue to be reflected by merely "reminder publicity" and by a naïve belief that getting repeated "mention in the papers" of our organizations or program activities constitute an effective publicity program in our communities.

The sweep of the present-day social and economic breakdown is the dramatic background of all social work. It is far more challenging, far more impressive than anything we are doing about it. The first approach to any social problem is understanding its scope, its nature, and its characteristics. Understanding a social problem is not the same thing as solving it, but one thing is certain—no solution is likely to evolve without understanding. This sweep in the background is often far more dramatic, far more arresting, and far more impressive than any single case can ever be.

There seems to me to be a common assumption in social work clearly reflected in community life, an assumption based upon pure fallacy. This is an assumption that the professional social-work forces are somehow differently related to the social problems than the other citizens of the community. This assumption is apparent on both sides.

While those who are directly engaged in social welfare activities have a different function to perform in relation to the community's social problems, the relationship of social workers to unemployment, sickness, feeble-mindedness, or dependency does not differ materially from that of other intelligent people. These things are not the sole responsibility of social workers. The more the responsibility for these problems is shared with the rest of the community the better.

Even as a social worker I am only mildly interested in how the unemployed are scattered through each individual agency program. In addition to being a social worker I am also a citizen and a taxpayer. As such, there are many questions I am beginning to ask. For instance, I would like to know how many of the people portrayed as unemployed are normal, able-bodied people of working age and who have in the past been capable employees. I would like to know how many young people in this particular group are of working age but who have never been able to secure work. I would like to know how many are practically past the working age but not yet eligible for old age assistance. I, along with other citizens and taxpayers, am being

told that millions will never return to work and self-support, and I must help assume their permanent support. I want to know why—not in terms of opinions but what the facts are.

I should like to know how many dependent people in my community are dependent upon welfare services at one point or another in the course of one month or one year. I am fully aware that every case accepted for service opens up a blind charge account upon the community for a longer or shorter period of time, usually longer. It makes a vast difference in cost and in the social implications, whether it is 5,000, 10,000, or 50,000.

I am by no means convinced that the answer to these same questions would not be of interest to many other citizens and taxpayers, or that these things are not sufficiently important for the social-work forces to try to answer. If the social-accounting machinery in our communities is still too inept to answer these questions, we are losing our opportunity to even try to relate our more thoughtful people to our social problems as well as to our social programs.

A community which does not have or is not developing a clear community index to its major social problems is still unprepared for sound social planning, social evaluation, or the development of a sound program of community education. Pertinent, related, social information is a potentially powerful link with public interest and public concern.

Even as a social worker I do not find it difficult to believe that social problems, accurately and intelligently portrayed against a community background, would interest a considerably larger number of people than the stereotyped program activities which form so large a portion of our social-work publicity. The businessman, the industrialist, the labor union, are quite as vitally interested in and related to the social problem of the unemployed as social workers and social agencies. The doctors, the judges, the educators, have quite as much to contribute toward finally providing appropriate social treatment and care

for the insane, the feeble-minded, and the otherwise physically and mentally handicapped as social workers and social agencies.

If we could add one more obligation to the professional concept of social work, that of trained social observation and the accurate classification and description of social phenomena as applied to whole groups in community life—not for the sole use of social work alone but for its usefulness in relating other people to social conditions and social problems—we would have gone a long way toward providing a publicity base that might be used as a connection link between social work and public opinion.

As we widen our base of social information in our communities, so will we widen the opportunity for a more varied, more impressive, more challenging publicity program. It is not the primary responsibility of the newspapers or the radio or the movies to carefully seek through the field of social work to find our most important information for us. This is clearly our own responsibility. When we ourselves have a clear grasp of what our knowledge needs to include, what our educational objectives are, what we have to say, and what we have to support it, we can utilize these mass mediums of communication with increasing effectiveness.

Let us dismiss for all time the mistaken idea that social-work publicity depends primarily upon imagination and ingenuity and cleverness. By all means let us make use of these things for portraying what is important in social work rather than its more or less trivial incidents. But imagination, ingenuity, or cleverness does not provide a sound publicity base. And as for the belief that publicity is some kind of "magic" divorced from the realities of social work itself, I can only offer the old prayer, "Good Lord deliver us."

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES ON A STATE-WIDE BASIS

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FOR a state department to undertake community organization seems a contradiction in terms. I doubt if it can be done on a state-wide basis by a public or any other agency. Community organization proceeds from the community itself, or not at all. It is possible, however, for a state-wide agency to do something to awaken, stimulate, and assist local processes. This paper is intended as a partial record of such an attempt made by the Washington State Department of Public Welfare and its successor, the State Department of Social Security.

When a state-wide public department essays to assist processes of local community organization it needs to be rather clear as to its aims and objects. It may sometime have to answer questions which can become embarrassing if the record is not kept straight. For example: Is there statutory authority to spend tax money for such a purpose? What benefits to the public program itself will justify such expenditures? Is not this a function which can better be undertaken by a nongovernmental body? What differences in procedure and method should a public agency observe as compared with a private agency in the field of community organization? What legitimate devices are open to the public agency? Finally, can the effort be kept free from the accusation that it is only a new and subtle form of politics?

These questions will be dealt with directly or indirectly in this

paper, for their cogency has been recognized in our experience in the state of Washington.

As to the first one, the statutes setting up the Department of Social Security gave its director authority for activities aimed at prevention. The broad terms of the legislation enable efforts in community organization.

- As to benefits that the Department itself might expect to — derive from the stimulation of local community-organization processes, the following, at least, were desired and expected: (1) the conservation and further development of the same kind of citizen interest and group interest in the public program that has been the bulwark of private social agencies; (2) the performance of specific volunteer services within the public agency to supplement or conserve its resources, aid its personnel, and fill the gaps in its service program; (3) the better adaptation of new public programs to the viewpoints and mores of the local community, making this concept of social security indigenous to the crossroads; (4) the establishment, in some form, of local facilities for central planning and co-ordination of all welfare programs within a county or community and for local participation in state-wide planning; (5) the development of modes of better interpretation of the public program to the locality.

These expected benefits comprehended the main objectives of the program and appeared to justify the effort.

- The plan of approach to local communities was principally through the development of projects on a state-wide basis for — local adaptation and adoption. These were devised with a view both to their direct benefits to the public program and to their value as exercises in local participation. They included such things as community surveys of social resources, campaigns for jobs in private industry, a program of friendly visiting to the aged by organized volunteers, a home-garden and a food-conservation program, and the stimulation of community Christmas activities. These items were offered as a focus around which local community organization efforts could be crystallized.

Along with the setting-up of these projects went the develop-

ment of community councils as the local mediums for local programs. Some general patterns were set by the department for council organization, with suggested constitution and by-laws. The plan, however, eventually allowed for wide individual variations.

Local relief administrators had the key responsibility for local efforts. They were given definite instructions as to objectives and procedure and as to the philosophy of community organization. They were asked to discover leadership in available community groups, which would build the councils according to local needs rather than any set pattern.

Three general types of organization developed: the county welfare council, the community council, both delegate bodies, and the informal community committee. These councils and committees were intended to be built on a base of membership and participation more inclusive than the typical council of social agencies, although in the three or four communities where councils of agencies existed no duplicating mechanism was set up. All major group interests were to be included—civic, fraternal, church, educational, business, labor, and social work. These aims as to the development of councils with a broad basis of membership were fully realized in only a few instances, but the type of organization was influenced by them throughout the state. The councils showed initiative in starting something for themselves, whether development of community recreation, planning for transients, adult education, teeth and tonsil clinics, planning for better use of marginal lands, or something else. Their reluctance to follow set specifications was most encouraging.

Especially during the first year there was a constant interpretation through the personal efforts of the director of the State Department, the house organ of the Department, and bulletins and monographs to the local councils and the administrators. Newspaper publicity was almost entirely local, coming naturally from current activities within the community.

Certain projects were developed through separate divisions of the State Department, rather than by the Department as a whole. For example, a program of friendly visiting to the aged was given impetus largely through the Old Age Assistance Division, and the development of local child welfare committees principally through the Child Welfare Division. A constant effort was made to increase staff interest in community-organization matters and to instruct them in methods and procedures. Many projects of volunteer participation were initiated by local administrators themselves who were required to submit monthly reports on all these activities.

A staff assistant was assigned by the Department to community-organization work. Later another assistant was added and also an editor for the community self-surveys which were eventually completed for every county in the state. These three persons were the maximum staff assigned to the function at any time, and their method was not promotional in the usual sense. For the most part they worked indirectly through the county administrators.

Throughout 1936 and the early months of 1937 the Department worked along on the foregoing objectives and devices. Some efforts were abortive. In certain instances councils were killed by an attempt at forced growth. In others they were still-born for lack of local interest and leadership. A great deal depended upon the ability and viewpoint of the local administrator, the quality of available leadership, and the previous experience and success of the community in co-operation. By the spring of 1937 some results were apparent in all but half a dozen of the thirty-nine counties of the state, varying all the way from a child welfare committee or a community Christmas project to an actively functioning community or county council.

Some of the limitations of a state-wide public-department program were becoming apparent. Communities were inclined to be resentful of any appearance of "pressure from Olympia." In some places suspicion of political motives afforded the basis for objections to State Department leadership. Attitudes of

communities, unaccountably different in this respect, could not be fully analyzed, but we could suit to the local situation our contacts and services.

A consistent source of vitality to the whole effort of the Department was found in conferences which were held each quarter in Olympia, to which representatives of the new councils were invited. These meetings were held concurrently with a conference of county administrators, although the lay-council representatives held their own meetings under their own chosen leaders. At these sessions experiences were compared, plans and programs of local councils were dissected and discussed. Constructive criticism of the State Department was often voiced and policies suggested to it.

The program entered a new phase with the adoption of legislation in 1937 establishing the new Department of Social Security. This provided for decentralized administration of the public program with the county commissioners acting as responsible administrative agents through an administrator selected by them from the state merit list. The administrator became the employee of the county. Any community organization efforts put forth directly by the Department must henceforth be of a sort that the county commissioner could naturally be expected to indorse. The Department could no longer use the county administrator as its direct agent.

The necessity of state effort being suggestive rather than directive was reinforced by this new relationship. Any proposals for local action in community organization must be simple and specific and reduced to a reasonable common denominator of understanding and acceptance. It required a rethinking of our approach and reduced it to the submission of practical projects for specific ends for the counties to take or leave.

The state director meets monthly with the Executive Committee of the State Association of County Commissioners, a group which provides a natural testing-ground for ideas and a medium of interpretation to all county commissioners.

In addition to the direct approach through official channels,

with its various limitations, another approach was possible through certain allies, chief of which was the State Conference of Social Work. At its annual meeting in the fall of 1937 this body offered to assume the consultative service to the local councils and lay groups and to employ a full-time secretary. The line of direct contact with councils was thus transferred to the State Conference of Social Work. This seems to be a sounder plan, provided the support of the State Conference is sufficient to enable it to give necessary service to the councils.

With the State Department having its official relationship only to county commissioners, naturally the quarterly meetings of lay groups were discontinued by the Department.

Another type of ally in developing state-wide community organization processes is found in certain state-wide federations and associations which may occasionally adopt suggestions in harmony with their own objectives and carry the resulting program themselves. The co-operating organizations include the Parent-Teacher Association, State Grange, and State Federation of Garden Clubs. The State Department was instrumental in bringing this group together, in helping get this program started, and in providing some publicity materials and a secretary for it, but has otherwise played only the role of co-operator and adviser.

Another new factor in the situation has been the creation under the new legislation of county advisory committees. The purpose of these committees is to make such studies of local conditions in the fields of social security as will enable them to make recommendations to the end of lessening the need of public assistance. The members of the committees are chosen by the respective boards of county commissioners.

Beginning in April, 1937, these committees were duly appointed and began to ask to have their job defined. A continuing advisory service to them was established and combined with the community organization unit of the State Department in an office called "Central Service." In helping these new local advisory committees, Central Service assumes no authority over

them. It works only by suggestion, by means of general information, bulletins, and materials, by specific help on schedules and other mediums of fact-finding, and by giving consultant service and field work on request.

It was early necessary to try to clarify the distinction between the work of advisory committees and councils. Each body should be represented on the other, and fact-finding by the advisory committee is often translated into community action by the council. There is sometimes a closely interlocking membership between councils and advisory committees.

The advisory committees are a subject in themselves. The point here is that in many instances they have become factors in community organization, because their fact-finding has led to obvious need for planning and action by councils or other bodies. They are one of the indirect approaches to community-organization activity by the State Department.

An illustration may clarify present relationships and processes. This spring the Department undertook to revive a sense of responsibility on the part of communities and relatives for public assistance cases and to stimulate their reabsorption by means of private employment and natural resources, such as relatives, churches, and fraternal organizations. The line of action from the standpoint of the State Department was as follows:

The matter was taken up by the state director with the Executive Committee of the State Association of County Commissioners. They approved it, added some valuable, practical suggestions, and advised their membership of the need of the program and their approval of it. It was next suggested that county advisory committees undertake some rapid-fire fact-finding on simple lines to localize the immediate problems and determine the best approach to the community. The secretaries of committees were called together for two days to work out by group discussion a simple outline for fact-finding, referral of findings, and for follow-up procedure on the part of committees. They helped plan a practical approach. The administrators

were kept in touch by a limited number of bulletins to the county commissioners and themselves, although not asked to assume leadership or a fixed responsibility.

The State Department issued certain unlabeled publicity releases to interpret and undergird the program as carried out in local communities. The Central Service Office gave consultative service, both to local communities and to state organizations, as opportunity afforded or requests came. By indirect methods it stimulated and gave guidance to the whole effort.

No one can say how widely or deeply the whole program of community organization has gone. There has been excellent visible progress in some counties, very little in others. The results are not alike in any two, and whatever has happened is, we believe, largely an expression of the community's own way of doing things. Balancing that which has been done against that which has failed, there seems to remain some residue of permanent accomplishment. There has been a fresh impetus given to a democratic process of community organization and planning throughout the state. A certain number of councils and local committees are active and vital. Several advisory committees are finding a definite place in county planning. There has been some stimulation of citizen interest and voluntary participation in the public and other welfare programs.

There are a few more persons throughout the state on whose interest and constructive help all social work can count. At some points there has developed an improved relationship among all types of organizations which try to meet the welfare needs of a community.

Local staff members are increasingly alert to the use of community-organization methods in their daily work. When thirty administrators and assistants in a seminar course recently analyzed their own jobs, almost without exception they gave emphasis to their function of community organization and interpretation.

Our experience has served to reaffirm many things already known about the possibilities and limitations of community

organization. As to the part that can be played by a state-wide public welfare agency in the process, I offer seven suggestions:—

1. The method of a state department must be that of co-operation, suggestion, and stimulation, rather than direction and authority.

2. There should be sufficient flexibility and variety in the approach to encourage individual variations of the program within localities. The main thing the state can do is help open channels for the free play of the instinct of the community to organize and to work out its own patterns.

3. Reality and point can best be given to stimulation of state-wide community organization by means of definite projects offered to local community groups, but not thrust upon them. Then the local processes will begin to work out in getting the job done.

4. For the promotion of general community-organization efforts such as community councils, as distinct from projects, a nonofficial body such as the State Conference of Social Work or a state welfare council is better than a state department.

5. Forms of organization such as councils that are devised for adoption by local communities need a broad basis of representation. Both at the county level and the state level, fraternal organizations, veterans' associations, parent-teacher associations, service clubs, labor unions, and granges must be added to our more selective groups if community organization processes are to be fruitful.

6. There are unrealized possibilities for community organization in local official bodies—boards of county commissioners, boards of education, boards of health, advisory committees, and others. But the approach to these must be practical and non-technical, and the objectives set before them concrete and useful.

7. The local staff is the key to any consistent, continuing community-organization effort promoted by a state-wide agency. They are not likely to be interested or intelligent or skilful

unless the state agency helps them get that way. This requires stimulation from the top and a specialized service to them.

To condense still further, if a state department should be considering entry into the field of community organization, I would suggest as the three most important and practical approaches: community organization and interpretation in its in-service training program; initiation of attractive projects as exercises in community participation for adoption by community groups; co-operation with state-wide agencies and associations which have a common interest in community organization. These three approaches require little in the way of mechanism; they do not conspicuously identify a department with community organization; they enable the department to function in an important but background role.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND NATIONAL AGENCIES FROM A LOCAL POINT OF VIEW

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FOR obvious reasons, some limitation is necessary in the discussion of this rather broad subject. Therefore, in discussing national agencies, we will be referring in general to those private national agencies which carry on their work through local units and those whose interest is in the development of social services on the basis of good standards. National public agencies will not be considered, although many of the same principles might be applied, and many of the same problems exist in their relationship to local units.

The term "Community Organization" is broad. Therefore, for purposes of this discussion, we will be considering this relationship mainly from the point of view of local financial federations and planning groups, such as Community Chests and Council of Social Agencies.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

In approaching this discussion there are certain basic assumptions which should be set forth as follows:

1. I believe that we can assume and that we can all agree that the various fields of social service as they operate in our communities today need national leadership provided through national agencies. What we believe from a local point of view to be the proper scope of activities of these nationals will be discussed later. As to our need for them, there should be no argument.

2. We can assume, and can we not all agree, that national agencies exist, primarily, for the purpose of promoting a particular type of welfare program to be operated on a community basis; and, further, that service to the various communities should be their primary concern. In other words, in this discussion of this particular type of national agencies, the local units are really *sine qua non* to the nationals by the very nature of their relationship.

3. National agencies are dependent upon local branches for a substantial portion of their support.

TYPES OF NATIONAL AGENCIES

Although limited to a relatively few of the many national agencies, those which we are considering may be classified in terms of their relationship to local branches or affiliates as follows:

1. *Direct control type*.—The agencies in this group establish, through national boards, with limited participation by their local units, the form of organization of the local unit and its method of operation. (The authority of local boards in this group varies somewhat, but in general, the local board has relatively little to say about the actual form and content of the program.)

2. *Co-operative control type*.—These agencies, similar to the first, establish the form of organization of the local unit and its policies; but in this group, the national governing bodies which determine these procedures are themselves created by the local units.

The line of demarcation between these two types (the direct control and co-operative control) of national agencies is not rigidly drawn and there are variations in the degree to which these general principles are applied in individual instances.

3. *Voluntary type*.—These agencies have been established by the efforts of the combination of local units and function according to the policies determined by the national governing bodies, which are representative of the local units. They do not necessarily include all of the local agencies which use the respective organization names, though they are increasingly tending to set minimum standards of work as the basis of membership of the local units in the national body.¹

As was indicated in the Blue Ridge Report quoted above, there was and still seems to be a general tendency for national

¹ Report of the Blue Ridge Institute of 1931.

agencies in the direct control and voluntary groups to develop in the direction of the co-operative control or middle-ground group. As long as this development leaves adequate control in the hands of the local for its policies and procedures, the trend would seem to be a good one, as will be indicated from the discussion that follows.

WHAT WE WANT OF NATIONALS

There is no question as to the important part national agencies can play in community organization. We look to them as pace-setters in the field of social work. We expect them to find and use the best in community work and see that those "bests" are known to all their local groups. Local agencies might be considered as stations for experimentation and nationals as centers for sifting and diffusion of information. From a local point of view and from a community-organization standpoint, what do we want in national agencies? What do we have a right to expect?

1. We expect national agencies to respect the integrity of the local community as we, from a council or chest point of view, should respect the integrity of an agency.

2. We expect that national agencies will recognize that communities, like cases, must be treated in an individual manner. Communities are, of course, similar in many respects, but it must be remembered that we find pride in our own uniqueness, and, alas, many times in the uniqueness of our own problems.

3. We want national agencies which can really advance ahead of us, constantly pointing out new ideals, new methods and techniques toward which we should strive. They should not exist just as exchange centers. We like to see those agencies staffed with the best leadership available and administered under the most progressive boards.

4. It is expected that national agencies shall define local organization structure, establish standards of service, prescribe personnel standards and regulations, study and recommend salary scales, advise on personnel for local agencies, and see that proper training facilities are provided, etc.

5. We want the nationals to establish regulations for minimum performance of service for local units having membership, and make these regulations applicable to all locals at such time as this may be possible.

6. National agencies have already made quite a contribution and can go farther in assisting in methods of interpretation of the programs. This should include information for local boards and other interested persons on national objectives, national trends, and national needs, as well as material for interpretation of local programs. Organization of institutes and conferences and issuance of professional publications is necessary service.

7. Providing methods for training for volunteer as well as professional leadership is an important contribution.

8. Common objectives in certain fields can be stressed through national leadership to the point of general acceptance of those objectives.

9. National prestige to programs of social service is an important consideration both from the standpoint of the participants in the programs and from the standpoint of the supporters of the programs.

10. Certain technical services which could not be provided through individual local units can be made available through national agencies.

11. Nationals give assistance in the establishment of services in the fields of unmet needs. Communities are constantly looking to national agencies for guidance in the establishment of new programs.

12. National agencies must maintain vital contact with the local units, which will tend to give the locals a feeling of closer tie to the national program. This will be indicated particularly in discussing the question of financial support. It is evident that national agencies must work toward a better understanding on the part of the locals of the important services of the nationals if their relationship is to be improved.

13. National agencies are community-organization agencies in many respects. Their techniques have been the techniques of

community organization. Their interest in community organization has, however, been mainly in organization of the community for their own special services. We would like to see their methods develop in the direction of a community point of view rather than an agency point of view. It is natural for national agencies to have a primary interest in their own local programs. Their relationship to communities has been too much a vertical relationship; i.e., their interest in the community has been represented almost entirely by their interest in their local branch.

Future developments should tend toward a horizontal relationship; i.e., their interest should be in the community program and in best fitting their particular service into that program.* Most local agencies have long since come to a realization of the fact that their programs are so interdependent that operations which do not take into consideration other agency programs and which are not based on a plan that fits with other community services will find the path to successful functioning a difficult one. The trend in social work today is toward closer relationship among all types of social agencies, and this trend is based upon experience pointing to the need for this. One good example of this, it seems to me, can be found in the fields of group work and case work. In psychiatric case work, for example, recognition of the vital need for good group-work resources in planning and treatment is an established fact. Group-work agencies have become more conscious of the need for individualization in group methods and for the special skills of case work in particular problems.

It would seem apparent, then, that national agencies must recognize this trend and consider the development of local programs on the basis of local needs. This was definitely indicated by Steiner in *Community Organization*, which I quote as follows:

The aggressive efforts of national agencies to extend their influence tend to multiply the number of agencies in communities sometimes without due regard to the total community situation. The available evidence seems to show that the laudable desire of national organizations to gain a larger constituency has, in many instances, been the chief contributing factor in the overorganization of communities. And in those cases where national pro-

grams do not seem to fit into local needs, the activities of national organizations may create an actual state of disorganization which becomes a serious obstacle to community progress.²

The day is past when most reputable national agencies will organize new local units without regard to the opinions of the local planning councils concerning local needs. On the other hand, local planning councils will recognize their limitations in determining their needs in the several fields of work, and this has been evidenced by their desire to reach out for opinions of national agencies and in their promotion of surveys, etc.

14. Although not specifically mentioned in the preceding points, the field services provided through national agencies constitute their most vital contributions. Many of the functions mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs are carried out through the medium of field service. Incidentally, points of local contact with chests and councils may be improved by notifying them in advance of impending field visits.

THE QUESTION OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

That national agencies are dependent upon locals for a substantial proportion of their financial support was one of our basic assumptions, thus indicating the importance of this phase of the relationship. The problem of devising a sound and satisfactory scheme of local support of national agencies has been a perennial problem and one for which there has been created no satisfactory method of solution. The development of financial federations has not simplified this problem at all. During the depression years, contributions to private welfare programs sharply declined, thereby causing heavy reductions in budgets of local agencies. The natural result of this was the reduction of payments to national agencies. In many instances this reduction of national dues was out of proportion to the reduction in local budgets.

Many national agencies have experienced serious financial struggle, and their services have been restricted because of it.

² Steiner, *Community Organization*, p. 311.

There is evidence pointing to the fact that payments to national agencies have not been increased in the proportion that local budgets have been increased during the past few years, in which contributions for welfare purposes have been on the upgrade. The problem, then, is more than the problem of devising a scheme of making grants; it is a problem of creating a local consciousness of responsibility for financial support of the nationals. Community-chest executives have given serious consideration to this question for several years. Their opinions represent, to some extent at least, local attitudes on the problem. The following comments have been made by chest people, and most of the points mentioned represent a pretty general line of thinking on the subject:

1. Local chests have no measuring stick of any kind in determining their appropriations to national agencies. In general, quotas established by national agencies have not been followed in many instances, and contributions are not in any way related to contributions to the same national agencies from comparable chests.

2. None of us really expect that we will ever have a definite and specified measuring stick which can be applied to all national agencies. Nevertheless, we feel that if the nationals really study our problem, they would have a more intelligent viewpoint and could assist us in making our appropriations on a more logical basis.

3. Sometimes there is a tendency to blame low national dues on the local chests and, although in many instances local chests are not too enthusiastic about items of national dues, their lack of enthusiasm is many times fully matched by the average agency board.

4. Many chests are hesitant about attempting to work out a more scientific basis because, as one executive says, it would probably result in nothing more than a lot of headaches and might very likely result in the cutting-down of amounts which have been built by careful cultivation over a period of several years.

5. The best relations have been worked out where the national organization has been able to render some specific service which is reasonably tangible and which is of a nature that the local people can see there is some value received.

6. A national budget committee is needed to study national-agency budgets and recommend to the local community its share of the total cost.

7. Unless national agencies eliminate this confusion, local communities will do something drastic.

As was indicated in one of the preceding statements, chests do not expect that there will be developed a definite measuring stick which can be applied to all national agencies. Neither is it expected that there will be uniformity in grants from the various locals. This does not, however, presuppose the idea that there can be no basis more satisfactory than exists at present. Let us put ourselves in the place of a chest budget committee giving consideration to the programs of a dozen or more agencies with national relationships. We will want pretty tangible evidence of need for each and every item requested. Are most local agencies equipped with available information to give that evidence as far as the national dues item is concerned? Generalized statements of national functions are not enough; nor are statements such as "We must support our national, they give us our program." "What are the mediums of service through which that program comes?" would be a question we would likely raise and one certainly worthy of careful answer.

✓ To assist in the answer of such questions it has been suggested that a booklet or pamphlet should be developed which would explain the functions of national agencies generally and the importance of their services to local chests and local member agencies. This pamphlet should describe the activities of the various national organizations, outline in specific form the services they perform, and thereby explain the basis of appropriation which they request from local agencies. This would be helpful, but it cannot take the place of an inspired local board which sets out to sell its national program to this budget committee.

As was stated above, local chests of many cities may be a little cold on this subject of national support, but many times their attitude is more than matched by the attitude of local boards. This constitutes a real challenge to national agencies. If local agency boards are not aware of the need for adequate support of the nationals when they are directly participating in the benefits of its services, how can it be expected that the chests will have a very sympathetic attitude when usually their only approach to the nationals is through the local boards.

Assuming, however, that local boards were all sufficiently informed on their national programs to the point of stressing their needs fully before the budget committee, the same problem of determining relative needs of various nationals would still exist and confusion would still be evident.

Although few chest people have come to the point of actually recommending the establishment of a national budget committee, there are many who would urge that it be given very careful study. Such a budget committee would function in pretty much the same way in relationship to national agencies as chest budget committees function in relation to local agencies.

This problem of the financial relationship is important and one for which a satisfactory solution should be worked out. Chests seem to be waiting for a move from the national agencies, and it is the hope that real accomplishments will be made through the efforts of the National Social Work Council.

CO-ORDINATION OF NATIONAL AGENCIES

The efforts in the direction of greater co-ordination of the work of national agencies constitute a most important contribution to the field of community organization. This should go farther than the co-ordination of the general activities of nationals. It should extend to the work of nationals in our communities. Such planning on the part of national agencies will give impetus to local planning activities and will provide valuable information as a basis of action for local planning councils.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summary the following points should be emphasized:

1. National agencies are essential in the development of social work.
2. Establishment of standards of service through their various activities is an important and vital contribution.
3. The control relationship should be a co-operative type leaving a maximum amount of control over policies and procedures in the hands of local boards, the control being exercised through the establishment of minimum standards of performance as a basis for membership. It is recognized that the extent of uniformity necessary in local programs varies with different types of national agencies, and consequently the extent of control must vary.
4. The national agency should be cognizant of the total community needs and services and should work toward the development of its local program to meet the need in its field and correlate its services with other services.
5. Communities should be conscious of their responsibility for the support of national programs. Local boards should be sold to a greater point of enthusiasm for the support of their own nationals.
6. A sounder basis of appropriations to national agencies must be established in the near future.
7. Greater co-ordination of the work of national agencies with respect to our various communities will constitute potentially the national's greatest contribution to community social-work organization.

THE TAX STRUCTURE AND OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM

*H. Jerry Voorhis, United States Congressman from
California, Washington, D.C.*

AMIDDLE-AGED English schoolmistress, the owner of a girls' boarding-school, recently told an American friend in conversation that her total tax bill amounted to nearly 50 per cent of the income of her school. "Why do you stand for it?" exclaimed her American friend. And the reply of the English-woman was: "Why we have to pay these taxes to save England."

I tell this story merely as background for my statement that Americans have a very different attitude toward taxes from that held by people in most other nations. Most of us feel that when we are asked to pay taxes we are being asked by an iniquitous government to give up something that is rightfully our own. Few Americans give a moment's consideration to the fact that by paying taxes we are literally buying at a very cheap price a hundred and one kinds of benefits and services which could not possibly be obtained privately at many times the present cost. Still fewer of us stop to realize that in these days of unemployment and distress we pay taxes for the purpose of enabling our nation to adjust its national life peacefully and gradually to the new conditions which have been brought upon our nation, not by Mr. Hoover or by Mr. Roosevelt, but by such fundamental economic and social factors as technological improvement and the machine, the credit system and the concentration of financial control, the division of labor, and the growth of monopoly.

Our taxes therefore are the bridge between the world of yester-

day and the world of tomorrow. To destroy or weaken that bridge is to plunge the American nation into the swirling waters of social chaos below. And if there is a question whether or not America is going to be successful in solving her economic problem of unemployment and at the same time preserve the precious values of personal liberty and democracy, that question has its roots in the American idea about taxes. A persistence of the present bitter spirit of Americans about taxation can contribute more to the destruction of democracy than any other single factor that I know of.

This continent was so rich and so unspoiled in the early days that fortunes were amassed with relative ease. Moreover, in all the western country the contribution of government to the life of the people was comparatively small. Government told the American people to go ahead and exploit the North American continent and then left them largely alone. Naturally, people who had built their cabins amid a wilderness, who had themselves constructed such roads as there were, who had themselves fought off Indians, found it hard to understand why they should be taxed.

Today all these conditions are completely changed. But our ideas about taxes still persist. And so I say that we need to unlearn our old idea of merely loving our country because of what she gave to us, and to learn as part of a new and deeper patriotism, a love of country because of what we can give to her. America needs that sort of thing desperately right now.

A few basic facts about our present economic situation are necessary as background for what I want to say about our tax system.

First, the economic advantages of technological improvement today accrue in the main, not to the people generally nor to their government, but to that one-tenth of 1 per cent of all corporations, which control 52 per cent of all the assets of all corporations. Technological improvement ought to result in reduced prices. It doesn't. And I have just given you the reason.

Second, the total production of goods and services turned

out by our industries and farms in a given year actually represents a potential buying power exactly equal to the value of those goods and services. But those goods and services will not be bought unless buying power is distributed to people who will spend it for something. And where we have a situation with $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the families of the nation obtaining an income equal to the 47 per cent of our families at the bottom of the economic scale, then clearly the people with the very largest incomes find it impossible to spend any considerable portion of their incomes for goods and services and seek instead to make safe secure investments or to use their surplus in some manner so it will produce more surplus. The result is that we have so much so-called "capital" in the form of pieces of paper seeking what is known as a "normal return," that it just can't get paid "normal return" and leave enough fluid buying power in active circulation to keep production going. This is, of course, where taxes come into the picture; not as a means of "socking the rich," but as a means of distributing income decently enough so that the economic machine can continue to run.

The third basic fact is that since our population and our capacity to produce are constantly increasing, there must be some provision for a net expansion of the means of payment or money from year to year if we are to prevent a constant deflation of values and increase in unemployment. But our present monetary system, if it can be called such, has substituted deposit credit, created by banks and never by government, for money in the form of cash. And even if, as seldom happens, a sufficient increase in the total amount of bank credit is created for lending or investment purposes, it nevertheless appears at the wrong end of the economic ladder—i.e., in the hands of the banks and the monopoly industries themselves, and we again find an unbalance between the power of the mass of people to consume and of industry to produce. And this is where the contention of many of us comes in that a solution of our economic problem is impossible so long as our present debt-money system remains unaltered.

The fourth basic fact is that the present economic order in America is incapable of running at even a fair proportion of capacity unless government acts in vigorous fashion to see to it that those who otherwise would have no purchasing power do have at least enough to keep consumer demand somewhere in line with productive capacity. The lesson of the last four years, to me at least, is that we are not confronted with a pump-priming problem but with a task of meeting unemployment and poverty with a sound, reliable, permanent program of social security and public works, supported by a fair and effective tax system and a national financial system scientifically related to modern conditions.

To meet our problems of unemployment and poverty we must in the immediate future do two major things: first, we must have a long-range program of planned public works which can be expanded on very short notice and curtailed on the same notice in accordance with the decrease or increase of private employment; second, we must have a complete system of social security covering our whole population, financed on a much broader tax base than the present system is, and including a general federal old age pension as part of the program.

For these two things, the one for the people who have a right to work and earn a living, the other for people who ought not to be part of the employed population, we need to find the necessary financial support.

Can it be done?

I am for putting first things always first. I think, for example, that our public works program should be aimed directly to meet great national needs, such as conservation and development of national resources and elimination of the slum. And I think a balanced budget must be secondary to the maintenance of security in the right to work and earn a living for all our citizens. But I do not regard it as either psychologically possible or economically sound practice to be continually running on an unbalanced budget.

There is a limit to how high taxes can go, and if employment

continues at a low point and production of wealth continues to flag, I am not going to say that even with unlimited courage we can necessarily do justice and also make both ends meet. It is most important for us to be sure our financial methods are sound and that we are not now collecting taxes for things for which it is utterly unnecessary to collect taxes.

I believe America has two primary jobs to do, and you and I must see that they are done. The first one is the conservation of the resources of this country and their full development; and the second is the elimination of slums. If we got the spirit to attack those problems vigorously in this country it would do much to buoy up the spirit of our people. Such a proposal seems to me to be all right; but now let us ask ourselves how shall the government obtain the necessary funds. I read from the testimony by Mr. Eccles, governor of the Federal Reserve Board, before the Banking and Currency Committee in 1935. At that time he said:

In purchasing offerings of Government bonds, the banking system as a whole creates new money, or bank deposits. When the banks buy a billion dollars of Government bonds as they are offered—and you have to consider the banking system as a whole, as a unit—the banks credit the deposit account of the Treasury with a billion dollars. They debit their Government bond account a billion dollars, or they actually create, by a bookkeeping entry, a billion dollars.

If that can be done by private banks, why in the world cannot the government of the United States do the same thing? Why could not the government of the United States take the bonds of states and counties as security and extend its own credit to them based on billions of now sterile gold, based on the taxing power of all the American people or any other one of a dozen bases of credit that this government has?

I believe in the matter of public works, to which I am limiting myself at the present time, that credit should be extended, not by the issuing of bonds and the acquiring of bank-credit funds, but by the government itself exercising its sovereign right to create the thing we now use as money, which is credit.

Again, suppose instead of merely spending the \$1,400,000,000 of gold which was recently desterilized, we had made use of it as a credit base in the Treasury. Figuring expansion for the government on the same ratio— $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1—as the Federal Reserve banks use, we would have had \$3,500,000,000 of funds with which to finance all the bonds proposed to be issued by the Housing Authority, the Public Works Administration, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. And the interest on these bonds would have been net income to the Treasury—a most important item to our budget and to our tax bill.

First, then, I would say that there is no reason why we should have to increase our annual interest bill by exchanging government bonds for bank credit when the money is going to be used by any government-lending agency for advances upon projects of a self-liquidating character or for secured loans.

I have introduced a bill, H.R. 10516, to create a public works finance corporation to finance revenue-producing federal public works and bonds of local governments in the way I have described—through direct use of Treasury credit in exactly the same fashion as the banks now create credit and with far larger reserves and far better security. This bill also makes this public works finance corporation a central agency charged with the duty of watching the entire employment situation in the nation and expanding and contracting its credit operations in order to maintain full employment and general stability. Finally this corporation must report to Congress annually, not only the amount of its loans and credit advances together with the security it has taken for them and the revenues to be derived from the projects financed, but also the amount of money spent by all government agencies on permanent improvements and new national assets and the value of these new assets.

Again, I think we are deceiving ourselves if we fail to provide, through monetary measures, for the nation as a whole to benefit from the growth of our capacity to produce, from our population increase, and our potential expansion of business from year to year. At present we have no means of doing this

at all. Over the whole period of American history the increase in productive capacity and economic growth of the whole nation has been at least 4 per cent each year, and unless the volume of actively circulating money increases as fast as that we have a net deflation and a certain depression even if not another factor in the economic complex works against us at all.

The ideal way, in my opinion, to bring into circulation this necessary expansion of our monetary supply is by the payment of old age pensions in whole or in part from this fund of newly created money or credit. There are a number of steps necessary to be taken to accompany such a plan as this—chief among them the establishment of 100 per cent reserves in our banks against demand deposits. This, as you can see, would be made much easier through the operation of the Public Works Finance Act, which I have just described.

At any rate, the main point here is that neither taxes nor government borrowing should be required by the government in order to obtain that portion of funds for old age pension payments which forms the essential annual expansion of our circulating medium to correspond to our normal, inevitable, national economic growth.

Now I come to the meat of the nut—the tax problem itself. And we are concerned primarily with raising sufficient funds to pay the necessary regular expenses of government plus such amounts as may be necessary to provide employment for such of our unemployed people as cannot be employed on self-liquidating projects and plus enough to finance a really adequate and complete social-security system. Is this possible?

Economically there is no question about it. For from a nation-economic standpoint there would be no loss whatsoever involved, even if the government collected in taxes 50 per cent of all our national income; provided—and this is very important—that it was all paid out again in wages or pensions or benefits of some sort to the people. I do not mean that I advocate any such far-reaching system as this, but I do mean that the nation couldn't go broke if we had such a system.

There are only two things that can make the nation go broke. One is a continuous failure to produce at least as much wealth in any year as we consume. The other is actual waste of natural resources, materials, or human energies. It is economically unsound for the government to spend money on useless projects, not because wages are paid for useless work, but because valuable materials may be tied up in the useless project. Every possible project should be made wholly or partially self-liquidating, and all of them should produce a dollar's worth of solid social value for every dollar expended.

But taxes are a mighty important thing. It makes a whole lot of difference what kind of taxes are levied, who pays them, what their immediate effect on the economic system is, and what is done with the money by the government.

This is the point from which the old age reserve account of the Social Security Act can be criticized in my opinion. For by taking from wage-earners a percentage of their wages, a certain amount of deflation of actual buying power is bound to result unless an equivalent amount is paid out to people certain to spend the money. Moreover, all social-security benefits, all old age pensions, will be paid out of the production of wealth in the year in which they are paid. For there will always be in every dollar paid to people in pensions or benefits the power to buy so-and-so much goods. How much goods will be determined, not by the size of a reserve fund, but by the production of goods and services at the time the pension is paid.

I do not advocate a reduction in the present schedule of social-security taxes. But I do advocate an immediate broadening of the Act to cover all the population and a contribution out of income taxes to help supply funds for social-security payments and old age pensions. Remember we are speaking now of those groups of people who, by reason of age or for some other reason, ought not to be part of the working population. These are the people our social-security system ought to cover. If it did the relief problem of the localities would be tremendously simplified and so would our unemployment problem. As a mat-

ter of fact, the pay roll taxes are nothing more or less than an income tax on wage-earners. Why not then bring the rest of the population under the system by broadening the income-tax base much as Senator La Follette has suggested, possibly by requiring some small payment from almost everyone, by increasing the rates in the middle brackets, and by keeping them at the point of maximum return in the upper brackets. I would operate this system on a substantially pay-as-you-go basis, with only a contingent reserve fund.

I believe that in this way we could do a great deal to educate our people to a new ideal about tax payments. They would know when they paid their income taxes that the money would go to provide a decent honorable security for the aged and distressed of the nation. I believe the fairest and best taxes we have are the personal income tax and the inheritance tax. I would frankly raise our present inheritance tax rates considerably, both for the sake of additional revenue and because I believe it is just to do so and will help in our battle against concentration of economic power.

There are two ideas abroad in the land which I believe ought to be corrected. One is that most of America's taxes come out of wealthy people. And the other is that most of America's taxes go to the federal government. Neither of these statements is true. The reason we hear so much of these two ideas is that local taxes and state taxes fall on everyone very much more equally than federal taxes do, and therefore people who are better off in our country and hence better able to make their voices heard feel federal taxes most and have the biggest interest in seeing federal taxes reduced. Another reason is that most of the taxes that poor people pay are hidden taxes and not direct taxes, so that neither they nor anyone else knows that they are paying them.

First, let me lay down a few principles of taxation which I believe are sound. The first is that no government, federal, state, or local, has a right to tax and then waste the money; but any government has a duty to tax in order to furnish such

things as schools, education, police protection, necessary public works, health service, or any one of a thousand things which government can furnish to the people cheaper than anyone else can do it. The second principle is that, as far as possible, whenever anybody pays a tax he ought to know he is paying it. The third principle is that taxes should be light on the consuming power of the people, light on competitive, active business, and heavy on idle money, on overlarge accumulations of either individuals or monopoly corporations, and on values created by society as a whole rather than by the owners of those values. City land values fall in the last class. Buildings and improvements don't.

Americans pay about \$12,000,000,000 a year in taxes. Of this amount the federal government gets about \$5,000,000,000 and state and local governments the rest. These are rough figures, of course, but the 5-7 proportion holds good in any case. Furthermore, a great many of the most expensive governmental functions which used to be cared for entirely by state and local governments are being taken over by the federal government. Among these are the catching of criminals, the building of some of our most basic public works, like sewers, school construction, roads, and unemployment relief. Every dollar the federal government now pays toward social-security benefits is a new kind of federal expense never before undertaken. So I think I am safe in saying that the taxpayer gets a lot more for his federal-tax dollar than for any other tax dollar he pays.

Furthermore, as *Fortune* magazine says in its excellent article:

The stock cartoon of the spindle-legged taxpayer staggering under a tremendous tax burden usually refers to the federal tax burden. The implication is that if the United States citizens' tax burden is to be measurably lightened, federal taxes will have to be cut. But such a notion amounts to arrant self-deception.¹

The article points out that there are 175,000 local taxing bodies aside from the states in this country, many of them over-

¹ *Fortune*, December, 1936, p. 107.

lapping in their functions, and that the main hope of sensible tax reduction lies in co-ordination of local government bodies and their functions and simplification of the whole tax system. And the conclusion is drawn, and I quote again:

No intelligent appraisal of United States tax problems can fail to note that the biggest of these problems—from the standpoint of keeping the tax load as light as possible—are presented by the wasteful confusion of state and local tax systems.²

Congress does not want to levy any unfair taxes. For this reason the undivided-profits tax, which has perhaps been unfair to small corporations with heavy debts, has been modified to exempt such corporations. Neither do we want to repeal any taxes which are fair and just and which fall on just such large accumulations as helped to cause our 1929 depression. And if we do repeal such taxes, then we will be shifting the burden onto someone else, and it is likely to be the small local property owner or the consumer. Personally, I believe we could well raise our inheritance tax rates. But we won't gain anything as a nation by having the federal government cut its taxes and make the 175,000 local taxing bodies increase theirs.

An idea is going about that the nation is divided between two groups—taxpayers and people living off the taxpayers. This is not true. Every person that rents a house or an apartment pays his share of the landlord's taxes. The workman with an annual income of \$1,000 may well pay close to \$200 in hidden taxes if he lives in a state that has a sales tax and if he buys gasoline and tobacco. As a matter of fact, W.P.A. workers, especially in states that have sales taxes, have a perfect right to attend taxpayers' meetings and to raise their voices about the tax burden. But it is cruel, unfair, and absolutely untrue for the impression to be given that the poor people of America don't pay taxes. The only thing is they don't know it, and the people who do know don't tell them. We're all taxpayers, and we pay taxes for the privilege of living in a nation that is struggling—and I believe successfully—to keep her democratic life and also to

² *Ibid.*

solve by democratic means the basic economic problem of enabling everyone, yes, assuring and guaranteeing everyone, the right to earn a living.

And now to sum up. First, I believe we should try our level best to simplify local government so that we can reduce the local tax burden. Second, I believe we should broaden our social-security system until it includes practically all the problem that we now know as the relief problem, in so far as it applies to people who ought not to be employed. And I would tie our whole personal income tax to this social-security system, making it clear that, at least as regards old age pensions, practically the whole population would be directly benefited by these tax payments. The larger the income tax the larger would old age pensions be; the smaller the tax, the smaller pensions would be. I would raise inheritance, gift, and estate taxes. I would reduce taxes on consumption, except for such taxes as the liquor, tobacco, and gasoline taxes, which apply to luxuries or to the use of exhaustible natural resources. I would also reduce taxes on business as much as was possible from a revenue standpoint, but I would retain a graduated corporation income tax as a regulatory device against monopoly. I would stop the favoring of unearned income as opposed to earned income, which is undoubtedly present in the new low rates on capital gains. And, finally, I would remove all sorts of tax exemptions, both as regards the reciprocal exemption of federal and local governmental employees from income taxes of local or federal governments as the case may be, and also as regards all future issues of public bonds. I would tax stock dividends in the hands of the stockholders, just as if they were income, which they really are. And if I could, I would influence every state in the Union to graduate its land taxes according to the size and total value of land holdings, with special penalties against lands held out of use and with exemptions on homesteads up to \$1,000 of their value, if this was at all possible from a revenue standpoint. If I could do this I believe I would have gone a long way toward solution of the problem of farm tenancy.

With such a system as this in effect I believe we could have sufficient revenue to meet our social-security needs and our problem of employment of the unemployed, which, I believe, are two separate problems. We can do these two essential things and also keep our budget in balance any time we want to. But we must want to enough to pay taxes. We must want to keep democracy enough to make some sacrifice to do it.

Government's job is to administer, invest, and pay out every dollar it receives in order that it may result in the maximum possible increase in the wealth of the American nation and in the best possible balance between productive capacity and consumer demand in our economic system. The job of the citizen is to understand why he pays taxes, to learn to be proud of himself when he does so, and to do his complaining, if any, not so much about the size of his taxes, but about the failure of the government to use his tax dollar to give him and his parents and his children the two basic assurances of life—assurance of a chance to earn a living and assurance of security in old age.

And then and only then will democracy in America be safe.

THE FEDERAL UNEMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

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SINCE the general topic of this meeting is "Progress in the Programs for the Unemployed," I have thought it worth while to go back to 1931 and 1932 in order to get a point of departure for measuring whatever progress we have achieved. In going over the records I came across a remarkable radio speech delivered on January 28, 1932—a little more than six years ago—by the assistant director of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief. His topic was "Popular Business Fallacies: We Should Have Federal Unemployment Relief." Some of you may smile at the irony involved in the title of the organization and the topic of the speech. The assistant director of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief spoke of relief for the unemployed as one of the popular business fallacies. But that was the way they were doing things in those days: they had an organization on unemployment relief whose purpose was precisely to prevent unemployment relief.

Let me quote from the speech. The speaker started off by saying that, while he was not given to make idle predictions and had not ventured any statement as to when the famous prosperity corner was to be turned, he was going to make one prediction that night. And here it is: "If we embark upon direct federal aid for the unemployed, as we are being urged to do in and out of Congress, we shall not see better times for a period of years, and then only after a political revolution or worse."

I am not holding this up as a piece of prophecy that failed, I am holding it up for the attitude of mind it conveys. Help the unemployed, said this gentleman, in effect, and the country will

go so completely to the dogs that only a bloody Fascist revolution can save it! As the speaker explained, look at England! I quote:

When England first began to take care of the unemployed, she, like Rome, had not the idea that it would lead to the dole. England, as we are doing today in the United States, developed a sloppy sentimentalism that the government should care for its people. When old-age pensions were adopted, England took the first step to destroy the foundations of thrift. Labor exchanges and unemployment insurance were then introduced on the idiotic idea that it was the duty of the government to find its citizens work.

I know and you know that the attitude of mind expressed by this speech was by no means isolated. It represented official government policy. What is most amazing is that it was the official policy, not only to stand in the way of federal spending for the unemployed, but even to stand in the way of that type of federal aid for the unemployed which did not involve much expense. A bill by Senator Wagner to create a federal employment service very much along the lines of the present employment service was vetoed in March, 1931. Why was the bill vetoed? A memorandum prepared a few months earlier by a staff member of the President's Emergency Committee on Employment—one of the two successive Hoover committees which foundered on the rocks of the do-nothing policy with regard to employment or unemployment—betrays the real reason for the opposition to employment offices. The memorandum is entitled, ✓
"Some Objections to the Establishment of Emergency Employment Offices," and here are some of the objections:

First. Immediately such an office is established a flood of unemployed rushes to apply for jobs. In short, it centralizes a situation that otherwise would have remained decentralized.

Second. Centralization of a large part of the unemployed labor of a community is likely to bring serious results. The unemployed are likely to become a mob easily influenced and likely to cause disturbances. The numbers swamp all the efforts of the employment offices and the cases cannot be dealt with individually.

Third. The small number of jobs available is inadequate and discourages the workers, and as they have been grouped they are easily organized to express their discouragement.

I don't want to transgress on the theme of Mr. Persons, who will doubtless describe to you how the United States Employment Service has been able to function without riots. But I cannot help noting that, while the government advisers of 1932 realized how discouraging it might be to set up employment offices without any jobs to pass around, the thought never struck them that the difficulty might be met by the government itself providing jobs for those willing and able to work.

The fear of the unemployed, the fear of employment offices, logically followed from the whole Hoover deflationary policy of balancing the budget. This policy created more and more unemployment in private industry and at that same time stood in the way of any government-spending for relief, let alone providing work for the unemployed. The one constant preoccupation of Mr. Hoover's advisers was thus to keep the unemployed out of sight—out of sight of the general public and out of sight of the unemployed themselves. In a letter written in September, 1931, by direction of Walter Gifford, the head of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, it was stated: "To date, this committee has recommended that, as far as possible, unemployment relief be given to the individual in his home, thereby keeping him out of the public eye."

I think all this background of governmental fears of the unemployed has to be kept in mind in appraising the present federal program for the unemployed. Today we have no fear of the unemployed. We have no fear of employment offices, we have no fear of the unemployed congregating in groups—indeed, the Works Progress Administration has mobilized a peacetime army that rivals in size the wartime army mobilized in 1917 and 1918. It is an army without military coercion and without military discipline. And the government is not afraid of this peacetime army. No government need be afraid of its own citizens, if it seeks honestly to do its duty by them. It is only when a government regards caring for its people as "sloppy sentimentalism" that it has to be afraid of its own citizens.

During the last nine months we have been able to go through

a severe business depression without any social disturbances, without any panic. I think that is something in which we can all take pride. Just compare in your own mind the situation in the present depression and the situation in 1932. Do you recall how everybody was afraid of revolution, how investment counselors advised their wealthy clients to stock up on canned goods and machine guns? There is none of that today. We are not afraid of revolution. The people are not afraid of the government, and the government is not afraid of the people.

The present federal program for the unemployed, which is primarily a work program, was crystallized in 1935, after two years of experimentation with direct relief had convinced the federal government that no other program could make any headway either socially or economically in solving the great problem of mass unemployment in line with the desires of the American people. The federal government did not take a popular referendum on the issue of the dole *v.* work, but there is no question in anybody's mind that the American people, without necessarily understanding all the detail problems involved, has from the beginning approved by an overwhelming majority the decision to embark upon a work policy. Recently the American Institute of Public Opinion, by no means a New Deal organization, recorded in a poll a majority of over 90 per cent in favor of work relief. Even the magazine of big business, *Fortune*, declared last fall that

if it be granted that U.S. citizens won't stand for a mere dole, it [the government] can continue to do the emergency job of caring for business cycle victims by such agencies as the despised WPA. As a matter of cold prediction, it is our guess that such agencies have come to stay. Americans are pragmatists: they put their trust in what has worked.

As professional social workers, you doubtless want to hear more than general pragmatic judgments, you want to know exactly what we have learned in our two-year experience with direct relief and what we have learned in our more recent experience with the work program. I am going to discuss these questions with you in the fullest frankness.

✓ When the federal government took on the job of emergency relief in 1933, after the breakdown of state and local machinery, its immediate objectives were to see to it that relief administrations were set up in every state and in every locality, and at the same time to work toward more decent standards of relief. How big that job was can be seen from the fact that in 1931 a confidential investigator for the President's Emergency Committee on Employment reported that in certain towns in eastern Illinois the only relief that was being distributed was in the form of \$1.50 donations by the Red Cross for two weeks' food.

✓ The immediate relief problem of 1933 was to see to it that no one died for lack of food. That problem was solved through the vast federal subventions of relief administration which, except for supervision of standards, remained in the hands of state and local authorities. The federal government at the end of 1934 and the beginning of 1935 was meeting as much as 78 per cent of relief costs. Through this federal aid the average relief grant per family rose from \$15 in May, 1933, when relief reporting was first started, to a high of \$30.45 in January, 1935. But it then dropped back to about \$28 in the spring of 1935, at the time the decision to launch the Federal Works Program was being made.

The problem of relief, in the sense of keeping the unemployed from starving, was solved through the F.E.R.A. But is that all the American people wanted the federal government to do? It wanted the government to rehabilitate the unemployed, and it wanted the government to do what it could to eliminate unemployment. It is with regard to these objectives that the F.E.R.A. experience demonstrated that little or no headway could be made so long as the setup of the program was on an individual relief basis, so long as case workers decided for each family the degree of the need that should be assisted. The F.E.R.A., from the very beginning, set out to develop a diversified relief program—a special program for transients, a work program for those for whom work projects could be started, professional-service programs for professional people on relief. But notwithstanding all the progress that was made in this

direction, the fact remained that the average relief grant could not be made to rise above \$28 or \$30. Such amounts, and, of course, I take into consideration the fact that they represent averages, were too small to effect much individual rehabilitation. And they were also too small to stimulate the economic machine to recovery through the provision of new purchasing power.

It seemed as if another test had to be devised as a basis for the extension of government aid; that test could not be the case worker's decision as to budgetary needs, it had to be payment for work performed. The vast difference between the two tests can be seen from the fact that at one stroke, when the W.P.A. program was launched, the average rate of pay jumped to \$55 or \$56 a month, as compared with \$28 under the F.E.R.A.

Of course the decision to launch a federal work program involved certain sacrifices. Under the conditions of human limitations, every decision, no matter how constructive, involves certain sacrifices, certain regrets at the inability to do immediately everything that one wants to do. From the point of view of social justice and economic efficiency the proper way to deal with the unemployed is for the government to provide everyone with socially useful work at his regular occupation, or as near as possible to it, and at his regular rate of pay. Under modern conditions of depressed purchasing power, this assertion of the right to work, the right to a job, is not visionary social idealism—it is simple economic realism, for it is the quickest and cheapest way to attain full economic recovery.

But—and here come the “buts” of human finitude—notwithstanding its sound instinct in sensing the right direction for progress, the brief experience with the Civil Works Administration, when we attempted a program along the lines of the right to work, indicated that we might better make haste slowly.

And so, instead of providing work for all the unemployed, we set up a relief qualification as a condition of eligibility for employment on the Federal Works Program, or rather on that major section which is administered by the Works Progress

Administration. We paid monthly security wages rather than full prevailing wages. We departed even more from the ideal program when, instead of providing work for all the unemployed in need, we provided work only for those unemployed for whom work projects could be more readily set up. Very few, if any, of the unemployed are in the strict sense unemployable, but there are large classes who are relatively unemployable, whom we have had to leave for the time being on the direct relief rolls, to be supported entirely by state and local funds.

The decision to leave these persons for the time being on the direct relief rolls was made not without regret. However, the tragic force of that decision was mitigated to a certain extent by the simultaneous enactment of the Social Security Act. One section of that Act provided for a system of federal grants-in-aid to be supplied to the states on a matching basis to take care of certain classes of destitute persons, such as the needy aged, the blind, and the dependent children. It was hoped that this partnership of the federal government with the states in taking care of these "categorical" relief classes would make it more feasible for the states to take care of the remaining general class of relief cases—those not covered by the Federal Works Program—without sacrifice of relief standards.

The same Social Security Act also provided mitigating features for the failure of the federal government to provide work for those unemployed who are not completely destitute. It set up a system of unemployment insurance designed to tide over unemployed persons, without regard to need-status, during short periods of unemployment. At the same time it provided for a system of old age insurance designed to make it possible for people to retire at the age of sixty-five without becoming a charge upon the community. The unemployment-insurance system was late in going into operation, while old age benefits will not be paid until 1942. There is no doubt that when the system of social security goes into complete operation it will prove of considerable assistance in handling our great unemployment problem. At the same time, as the experience of England al-

ready indicates, unemployment and old age insurance by themselves are too limited in scope to provide a complete solution. The principal reliance in this country for dealing with mass depression unemployment will continue to be a work program.

For the remainder of this discussion, let us concentrate on the economic relations of the Work Program, on the place of the Work Program in the present economic system of capitalism. Let us forget social and humanitarian considerations and concentrate on cold economic facts. Can our economic system function and survive without a government work program?

I know, of course, that people look back at the past and say that we have gotten along for over a hundred years through rugged individualism without benefit of government-spending or economic pump-priming. Why should we have to resort to such spending now? Well, first of all, it is not true that we have gotten along with plain rugged individualism and no government-spending. We have always had government pump-priming. Examine the record and you will see that our government has always found it necessary to employ a part of our national wealth to get our industries started and to keep them going.

We gave our railroads every other section of land to help them build their systems. We gave our utilities franchises and monopoly rights in order to help them get started and expand. We established tariffs to help all kinds of businesses to grow.

All this is another way of saying that we were priming the business pump. We took a slice of the national wealth and placed it in the hands of particular groups in order to get certain parts of the nation's business going. Not only did we do all that, but we still continue to confer such benefits. Through tariffs, through franchises, and through legislation we have permitted and condoned practices which restrict trade, restrict production, and, in general, make a market for some particular group. What's more, we may say that all these measures have accomplished their purpose, and if we wash out the flagrant abuses which sometimes accompanied these measures, the government's action was justified.

But that kind of pump-priming will not work today. That kind of pump-priming worked in the past because it operated in conjunction with the vast investment opportunities which were then available. The tariff, the subsidies, the loans, stimulated and protected the development of our untapped resources. It helped to build the factories, lay the railroads, open up new lands for cultivation. The great wealth of our country is a tribute to the success of that program.

Today we do not have those great untapped resources to exploit, those infant industries to develop, those revolutionary inventions like the railroad, the automobile, electric power, and the telephone to transform into huge work-providing investments. Today our problem is to bring about the full utilization of our powers to produce, the full employment of our population and our resources so that they may provide the kind of livelihood that our people have a right to expect.

The only way this can be done is through the stimulation of consumption. We must build up the capacities of our people to purchase the things which our system can produce. The movement of economic cause and effect operated in the past from production or investment goods toward consumption goods. It was the great expansion of our capital-goods industries, necessitated by the creation and the building-up of our vast capital plant, that made possible the standard of consumption which we were able to enjoy. Today the chain of economic causality is reversed. We now start with the consumption demands of our people and seek to create the productive plant or exploit the already existing plant in order to satisfy these consumption demands.

The path we have chosen for making up the deficiency in purchasing power which is the cause of idle plants and idle men is to provide socially useful activity for those willing and able to work and temporarily cast out by a badly working industrial order. Our purpose in putting these people to work is not to compete with private industry or to build a rival economic system outside the limits of private enterprise. Our purpose is rather to provide that stimulus to private production which will

bring into full operation the private industrial plants that we have and to make it attractive for private owners to increase and expand the scope of their activities.

The complaint is made that, in putting the unemployed to work on W.P.A. projects, we are not employing them usefully. The people who make this charge attach a peculiar and unsocial meaning to the word "usefulness." Is it not useful to build roads and streets, to lay out parks, playgrounds, and swimming pools, to erect schools and libraries, to produce works of art that resurrect our cultural heritage?

There is another charge that is often made against our work and spending program, and that is that this program is building up a vast burden of debt, a burden that will be beyond the endurance of our children to bear. These people are taking a one-sided view. They look upon the liability side of our accounts and forget or deny the items on the asset side.

Quite apart from the wealth of social resources which we have created for ourselves and our children, pump-priming from 1933 to 1937 succeeded in raising the level of our national income from under \$40,000,000,000 to close to \$70,000,000,000. And, notwithstanding the nine months' depression, which was brought about by the inability of business to take over when the government curtailed its spending program, our national income this year is expected to reach \$60,000,000,000, which is still \$20,000,000,000 greater than in 1932.

Nor has the beneficent effect of public spending been limited even in the private sphere to the raising of the national income. We have created "income-producing assets" that bankers find sufficiently desirable to purchase for their clients at a high price. Let me give you an instructive illustration. The cities of Southern California wanted to build themselves a water system. They shopped around among the bankers and found that there were none who would underwrite and recommend to their clients this proposition for investment. It was a big proposition and it involved the investment of over \$200,000,000, and what's more, the cities of Southern California were ready to pay an ab-

normally high interest rate. But the bankers would not touch the proposition.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, as a government pump-priming agency, finally underwrote the project, agreeing to purchase bonds at an interest rate of 5 per cent. The project is now three-quarters completed. A hundred and fifty millions have been advanced and invested. And as the project developed, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation voluntarily cut the interest rate to 4 per cent, effecting a saving of \$60,000,000 in interest charges during the life of the securities.

And now the bankers have suddenly discovered that it is a good investment and have bought \$60,000,000 worth of the bonds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, paying this government agency a premium or profit of over \$6,000,000. And what's more, the bankers' offering of the bonds which they bought from the R.F.C. proved so attractive to private investors that it was immediately sold out on the day it was announced.

I know, of course, that this type of project which I have mentioned is called in bankers' language a productive and income-producing asset, and they distinguish it sharply from the main bulk of government projects, which in their language is neither productive nor income-producing. But let us not be taken in by the tyranny of words. How is the income produced in this water-works project? It is produced by taxes or rates which the citizens pay for the use of the water in their homes and factories. But do not our swimming pools, our schools and parks, our roads, our forest- and soil-conservation work also yield benefits to our citizens, for the enjoyment of which they pay taxes to the federal and local governments? If instead of general taxes we substituted admission fees and toll charges, all these works would instantly become "productive, income-producing assets." The benefit to the community is the same whether we charge fees or whether the facilities are free. Let the bankers adapt their language to the facts; we are not going to adapt the facts to their special business jargon.

As for the problem of financing our public debt, about which

our bankers wax so eloquent, this problem is, in the last analysis, the problem of stimulating the wealth-creating activities of the nation and devising a sensible system of public taxation. No one can deny that all our pump-priming, all our public spending, has been directed toward the stimulation of wealth-creating activities. We have not followed the European method of pump-priming through nonproductive and potentially destructive armament programs. We have believed that parks are more useful than poison gas, that farm-to-market roads are better than bombs and big guns. And no economist, whether of the right or of the left, will dispute the wisdom of our choice of works of peace.

As for the question of taxation, that is being worked at, that is being attended to. And if we have anything to say about it, the tax system that will be permanently devised will not be one that will impede the production of wealth, and it will not be one that will increase the inequalities of income distribution and the concentration of wealth, which are responsible for so much of the malfunctioning of our economic order. It will be a tax system calculated to increase production and stabilize income and employment through a more equal distribution of the fruits of our joint labors.

I have given you a rough sketch of some of the things we have been trying to do in dealing with our many-sided and complex unemployment problem. Have we made progress? Well, that depends on the point of view. If it be regarded as "sloppy sentimentalism" to provide work and wages for our people, to increase our social and private assets, to raise the level of our national income, and in other ways "to provide for the general welfare," then we have not progressed, we have retrogressed. But to my mind, and probably to your mind, these things do not represent sloppy sentimentalism, they do not augur a new "fall of Rome." And on that basis, I do think we have made progress. And we have set the stage for further progress which will not be complete until the government can guarantee the right to work—the right to a job, if not in private employment, then in government works for the people.

THE ROLE OF THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

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THE United States Employment Service and its affiliated state employment services have always functioned as co-operative agencies. They stand ready to assist any other social or governmental agency in the solution of case work and other problems, in so far as those problems can be solved by the referral of employables to suitable work.

As the Employment Service develops its junior counseling, vocational guidance, and other activities which are corollary to the straight placement function, it can be of greater assistance to case workers of many types of agencies. Many of the social worker's problems would cease to be problems if individuals and families who are maladjusted, by reason of partial or total unemployment, were placed in suitable work. By that, I mean work which provides a living wage, reasonable security, and the satisfaction which comes only from a good day's work in duties calling forth the worker's best talents.

It is a common misconception that public employment service in the United States is a new thing. It is true that the present federal-state co-operative system dates back only five years to the enactment of the Wagner-Peyser Act on June 6, 1933. Behind this great piece of social legislation, however, are many years of slow progress and constructive development. The public employment office in the United States and in the other major industrial nations usually was started as a municipal venture. The state, or its equivalent, later recognized the need for co-ordinating the city offices into a state-wide system. Ohio, in 1890—and that, I remind you, was forty-eight years ago—

was the first state to pass enabling legislation for a state employment service.

In 1907, the federal government made its first venture into public employment service. Under the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, then in the Department of Commerce and Labor, a division of information was set up to assist arriving immigrants in their search for work. The object was to remove them from the congested ports of entry, where their services were not particularly in demand, to inland points where their opportunities for employment were greater. By our present-day standards, this arrangement and purpose cannot be called public employment service, but it was a beginning from which we may date the first concept of direct federal operation.

The other development in Ohio in 1890 is the beginning of organization for state and municipal operation. There are sound and honest differences of opinion regarding the relative merits of these two systems. The present United States Employment Service, as set up under the Wagner-Peyser Act, represents somewhat of a compromise between the two concepts.

Up to 1933, no federal system of public employment offices had been wholly successful. On the other hand, certain state services and municipal offices were outstandingly successful. There was, however, nothing like nation-wide coverage. In the main, standards were low, personnel was untrained and lacking in professional ideals, and only workers of lesser skill and employers of somewhat substandard labor used the employment offices.

The public employment service was not born full fledged. No great social force has been created in its adult state. Nor are any of the social agencies static—every one of them that really lives is in a constant state of flux. Failure to meet and adapt itself to changing social conditions is virtual death for any social program. To this rule the Employment Service is no exception. It has not yet fulfilled its opportunities, or even fully outlined its ultimate role in community service.

What are some of the reasons for the existence of the public

employment office in a community? What are some of the reasons for co-ordinating individual offices into a nation-wide system of public employment offices with uniform operating standards?

One of the major characteristics of our industrial civilization is the constant ebb and flow in the fortunes of different industries and of individual firms within an industry. Each change causes shifts in employment. Employees in decadent industries lose their jobs and must seek new ones. Employers in growing industries must find people to staff their new or expanding plants. Since industrial fluctuations do not always take place in compensating volume within a community, there is a need not only for people to change from one employer to another, but also for a certain amount of geographical movement of workers.

The seasonal aspects of many industries make necessary regular or periodic readjustments of jobs and workers. Since many employers engage in full-time production only at certain times of the year, those who work for these firms must depend on several jobs in each twelve-month period to round out their annual incomes.

Thus, it is evident that there must be constant readjustment of men to jobs and jobs to men in both good times and bad times. If industry and agriculture are to function more efficiently, and if the workers are to enjoy fair standards of compensation and security, these readjustments must take place in such fashion that men shall find jobs they are qualified to perform without time and money wasted in aimless search and travel. There is need for competent employment service to aid them.

Technological change, specialization of labor, the advent of large-scale production, and the concentration of population in cities have created problems of adjustment for both worker and employer. In urban areas, the difficulty for the right workers to find unaided the right jobs is strikingly apparent. It is impossible for employers or workers in a large city without the service of a co-ordinated employment service system to survey all pos-

sibilities when seeking a job or an employee. Employment offices, by assembling information about job-seekers and work opportunities, can pair off one against the other so that an employer secures the best qualified of available workers, and each worker obtains the most suitable available job.

The employment office, with up-to-date records of workers seeking jobs and of employers seeking help, can reduce the time workers lose when changing jobs and the time employers lose in seeking workers. A more rational distribution of seasonal and casual labor is thereby achieved. Workers have more continuous employment and more constant income. Communities have less stagnant labor, less seasonal deficits of labor, and less costs for relief.

The necessity for workers' moving from one community to another does not arise solely from seasonal and casual employment. A new plant may be established whose labor needs tax the resources of its community; or an employer, for a new enterprise, may need especially skilled workers who cannot be obtained locally. By a system commonly called clearance, employment offices in different communities co-operate with each other by the exchange of information concerning available workers and jobs which cannot be utilized locally, and thus facilitate essential adjustments by directing job-seekers to communities where their particular abilities are needed.

In any community there should be a single employment service for all employers and workers. Only then can an employer have confidence that he will obtain a person selected from most of those looking for work; or a worker be assured of consideration for most of the vacant jobs in his occupation. To gain the confidence of workers and employers, the impartiality of the service must be assured. Because it is important in the general welfare that persons able to work shall find employment, it is essential that employment service shall be available to individuals who are unable to pay a fee. Government is the only agency which can operate employment offices and meet these conditions.

The public employment office, because of its comprehensive view of the entire employment situation in a community, is the most effective agency for the readjustment of men to jobs and jobs to men. The office should provide extensive information concerning opportunities for earning a livelihood in the community, for the guidance of young persons, new residents, and persons who must find a new occupation or industry.

The co-ordination of public employment offices into a nationwide co-operative system makes possible an orderly movement of workers when geographical adjustments in the labor supply are necessary. It makes practical the collection, on a uniform basis for the country as a whole, of comprehensive statistical information concerning employment conditions, opportunities, and trends. This information is of value in the planning of relief and public works programs, in vocational guidance, in apprenticeship programs, in the training and retraining of workers, and in planning for industrial expansion.

Moreover, a nation-wide system of employment offices is able to conduct research on a scale which no single office and no single state system can undertake. Research into the requirements of occupations and into the ability of individuals to perform different jobs becomes possible. What is equally important, the results of such research can be utilized under uniform instruction and procedures throughout the national system.

No consideration of the role of the public employment service is complete without mention of the various organizations which have done their best, over many years past, to foster its development.

Social workers have long recognized the need for the public employment office, and the American Association of Social Workers and other related groups have done much to aid in the establishment and development of the Employment Service.

Though its direct influence has never been great in this country, another agency which cannot be overlooked is the International Labor Organization. From the very first, it has promoted the development of public employment service in many nations over the world.

Probably the most influential group to advocate the setting-up of the public employment service in this country has been organized labor, which has always thrown its weight behind the movement.

It must also be remembered that our veterans are an organized group with particular regard for their own employment problems. Veterans' organizations have been solidly behind the public employment service during the last five years.

Over the past several decades, almost every student of employment and unemployment has advocated, in practically every book and article on the subject, that a nation-wide system of public employment offices be set up.

And last, but by no means least, the International Association of Public Employment Services should be named. For twenty-six years, this group has intelligently fostered the concept of a nation-wide federal-state co-operative system of public employment offices.

Although the Employment Service was set up in a time of widespread unemployment, and, although we are considering here the general topic of progress in the program for the unemployed, I want to emphasize that the Employment Service does not operate for the exclusive benefit of those who are out of work. If a worker has a job but wants a better job and is qualified for a better job, it is as much the responsibility of the Employment Service to place him in that better job as it is to place the unemployed worker. Unemployment is recognized as a serious form of social maladjustment. But profound unhappiness and dissatisfaction may be caused by working in a job which the worker knows is beneath his ability.

The recorded activities of the Employment Service now reach totals which impress even those who are in daily contact with the figures. In 59 months of operation, the service has received applications for work from over 32,600,000 different individuals. (According to the 1930 Census figures, there were somewhat less than 50,000,000 gainful workers in the United States.)

During the same period of time, nearly 23,000,000 placements have been made. Of these, 7,500,000 were in private employ-

ment, over 7,500,000 were in the employment of contractors constructing public works, and nearly 8,000,000 were on relief-works projects. Over 5,700,000 field visits to employers have been made. In 1937, over 2,350,000 private placements were made.

The latest figures show that over 7,500,000 are actively registered for work. These figures show the scope of the service and the extent to which its activities have reached the gainful workers of the nation.

As I have indicated previously, there has been in this country since 1907 two schools of thought regarding the method of operating the national public employment service. One advocates 100 per cent federal control and operation; the other advocates state and municipal—i.e., local—control. When the National Reemployment Service was organized as a system entirely controlled by the administrative offices of the United States Employment Service in Washington, it was resolved that the National Reemployment Service should so operate as to foster the development of state employment services. Therefore, as each State Employment Service has been organized and has expanded its operation throughout the state, the National Reemployment Service has been concurrently contracted and withdrawn in that state. The National Reemployment Service was created to serve, and when it has served its purpose, it will disappear from the American scene. The National Reemployment Service, it may be said, however, will go down in history as the first successful federally operated nation-wide public employment service.

Now we are engaged co-operatively in the biggest and most far-reaching responsibility of all, the administration of unemployment compensation. This involves relationships with the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation of the Social Security Board and with each of the state organizations for unemployment compensation.

The administrative problems of these relationships are many, but all who are associated in the joint program are convinced

that no such problem is invulnerable. The Employment Service is essential to the new program and will fulfil its responsibilities.

Let us be frank and realize that, separately and under present legislation, neither employment service nor unemployment insurance is fully adjusted to its duties. Both programs are new. The co-operative relationship between the two still needs perfecting.

With the assistance of funds made available by the American Youth Commission, we have established three community centers for research and development. The centers are located in Baltimore, St. Louis, and Providence. A fourth will be opened in Dallas, Texas, in the near future. These centers will serve as tryout or service stations through which research results or ideas are subjected to the test of performance under actual operating conditions in representative communities.

The main emphasis of activities at these centers will be focused upon the employment problem of youth. The problem of retraining and of occupational adjustment relates not only to youth, however, but to older workers as well. We are attempting to find the proper method and organization to provide a complete personnel service for the entire community, centered around the local public employment office.

It is assumed at the outset that, although some of the functions to be discharged in such a program are already being carried on and should be carried on by the school system, and, to some degree, by other social agencies, the responsibility for the development of community programs of this character should be centered in the local public employment office.

We are interested in learning how far a particular community, through its local public employment office, can bring about and maintain a balance between the demand for workers and the supply of workers in various occupations. As the result of performance of this basic function in the labor market, the public employment office will be in position to provide pertinent information to the community with respect to employment conditions, work opportunities, and the characteristics of the labor

supply. Information about employment and unemployment, essential to the planning and administration of unemployment insurance and of public works programs, and to the development of vocational guidance and occupational training, can be made available.

In these community centers, research is being conducted along several fronts. The fundamental approach on each of these fronts is that, if the community can devise plans by which it can quickly adjust its labor resources to changes imposed from without, it will find itself much less affected by economic and industrial fluctuations. Obviously, the success of such a program will rest upon the degree of effectiveness of the organization and its utilization of community resources.

These research units will be used as service stations to conduct investigations and present findings on problems which are presented in the course of day-to-day employment-office operation. The results and conclusions of these community research demonstrations will eventually be applied to the nation-wide activities of the Employment Service.

The United States Employment Service is keenly aware of its present responsibilities and is constantly striving to promote and develop a service more useful to the community and to the nation.

The Employment Service, I remind you, is, like all worthwhile social agencies, founded upon usefulness to the individual and to the community. The worthiness of the Employment Service is to be found, not at the federal headquarters in Washington, not in the administrative personnel in the various state headquarters; it is to be tested by the hard-working and modest staff members in local public employment offices. Upon their success or failure depends the success or failure of the Service as a whole. To such workers and their real success, I pay sincere tribute today. They have treated the unemployed worker with understanding and courtesy and deep personal interest. Thus, have they exemplified the role of the Employment Service.

MEDICAL CARE FOR THE WAGE-EARNING GROUP

*Andrew J. Biemiller, Member, Wisconsin State
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THE question of adequate medical care for the wage-earning group is coming to be recognized as a very important aspect of the whole problem of social security. Wage workers have in the past faced four great hazards—industrial accidents, old age, unemployment, and sickness. The first three have been recognized and met in some degree through federal and state legislation. But sickness, which is as much outside the control of the individual worker as any of the other hazards and for which he is equally unable to prepare, is still a burden which he must shoulder alone.

To the worker, sickness or an accident for which he is not covered by workmen's compensation comes as a major calamity. If he has any savings at all, and many are unable to budget any emergency fund, they are soon eaten up by living expenses and doctor's bills. The ensuing poverty, with its frequent lack of proper food and its burden of worry, delays the period of convalescence. If some member of the family other than the breadwinner is sick and requires prolonged treatment or expensive operations, the whole family must suffer.

Organized medicine has taken an extremely short-sighted view of the problem of medical care for the wage-earning group. The doctors insist that their own private charity and sliding scale of fees is entirely adequate to meet the medical needs of the wage-earning group. They say that failure to call in the doctor early and often is entirely due to ignorance and stubbornness, not to low income. They point to their long rolls of

pure charity cases, to the low fees charged to many people, to the many months they wait for their money. They are constantly revising and improving the scientific aspects of their profession, but they are a century behind the times in their attitude toward "medical economics," the business relation between doctor and patient.

When the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care made its exhaustive study during the early years of the depression, it disclosed many deficiencies in medical care. In a study of 9,000 families living in 130 different communities and representing all economic levels, the quantity and quality of medical care received was found to be far below the demands of reasonable standards. Service from physicians was only 43 per cent of that considered essential; hospital care was only 25 per cent of what was necessary; and dental care was only 25 per cent of what should have been given.

Standards were lowest among the lowest-income groups. For instance, in families making less than \$1,200 a year, 90 per cent received no dental care whatever. Families with an income of less than \$2,000 a year averaged two doctors' calls a year, while families with over \$10,000-a-year income averaged five calls a year. The discrepancy is greater when you consider that there is more sickness in poorer families because of poorer housing, food, recreation, and rest, and more hazardous occupations.

Other surveys produce equally appalling figures. A more recent study made by the United States Public Health Service says that more than half the sick in crowded centers receive no medical care whatever. A study just completed by the California Medical Society shows that during one year 44 out of every 100 people in California who needed medical care did not receive any at all. The New York Academy of Medicine states that more than half of the avoidable deaths of mothers at childbirth occur because of deficiencies in medical care. Each year 57 out of 10,000 mothers die, more than twice as high a percentage as in Sweden. The average is brought up by the excessive mortality in states with the most inadequate medical care; in South

Carolina, for instance, 91 mothers in 10,000 die, or almost twice as many as the average for the nation.

In the face of these and many other unquestioned facts, the reactionary attitude of the medical profession toward new plans of service is hard to understand. The fact is, the doctors haven't moved an inch since 1930, and everyone else in the country has. We have progressed far in our handling of the unemployed. Today we know that we must have co-ordination of efforts instead of competition and that there must be sounder, more scientific methods of distributing aid to the needy and selecting those who need it most, than the hit-or-miss judgment of individuals. And we have recognized the very important psychological factor of pride and attempt to make the receiving of needed relief a matter of right, not of humiliating charity.

Today it is quite true that the man with the psychology of the professional beggar can put on a bold front and get what he needs in the way of medical care. But the man who has managed to keep on paying his way during the depression or who is proud to be able to do so again after a period on relief is not going to beg some private doctor for help. He is not going to stand in line at the clinic if there is a stigma attached to it. He would rather take a chance on getting well alone.

And because of this condition, more and more people are beginning to inquire into the proposals roughly grouped under the misnomer, "socialized medicine." There are many plans which seek to bring medical care to those who need it and, at the same time, bring a better average income to physicians. They fall roughly into three classes: first, the private group prepayment contract clinics in which a number of doctors associate themselves to give certain specified care for a flat rate per month; second, health insurance, in which workers and employers, and perhaps the government, pay into a fund which is used to pay for medical care when it is needed; and, third, some form of straight public subsidy to doctors and hospitals to provide medical care for those unable to meet even a part of

their own expenses. None of these plans affects the method of treating disease, but merely the method of paying the bills.

The contract clinic meets the need of the family with a small but steady income—say \$1,500 to \$3,000 a year. Such families are able to pay a small monthly fee just as they pay for their insurance, but are not able to build up a reserve large enough to meet medical emergencies. They are definitely not the charity type and are no more anxious to ask the doctor for free help than they would be to ask the grocer for free food.

The contract clinic is best typified by the Ross-Loos Clinic in Los Angeles, the Milwaukee Medical Center, and the Group Health Association in Washington, D.C. The first two are organized as partnerships, with full control resting in the hands of the doctors, while the Washington group is a consumers' co-operative formed by the employees of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation to hire doctors and secure medical care for the group.

I will discuss the Milwaukee Medical Center most fully, as I am a member of this group and thoroughly familiar with its work and history. It differs only in small details from the other two mentioned, and from other less well-known organizations throughout the country.

The Milwaukee Medical Center consists of a group of five partner physicians and two other doctors hired by them, a pharmacist, laboratory technicians, and other office and technical assistants. They contract to give medical service of all kinds, including home and office visits, X-ray and laboratory service, operations, and specialists' care, for a flat fee of \$1.00 a month per person or \$3.00 for a family, regardless of size.

In the course of their two years of life they have proven that it can be done and that their patients receive more and better care than they could get in any other way, while the doctors receive better incomes and work under better conditions.

The Milwaukee Medical Center caters to people with less than \$2,400 a year, who have steady incomes. Naturally, people with very small incomes, or irregular ones, are not able to meet

even this modest fee. Their members are mainly to be found among the employees of the big industrial plants—International Harvester Company, Du Pont Company, Stroh Die Casting Company, etc.; they also have an association of filling-station employees, postal clerks, hosiery workers, a considerable group of office workers, and a group of teachers from the State Teachers College. They have the enthusiastic backing of both the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. city central bodies.

The Milwaukee Medical Center accepts individual members but prefers to have them join in groups and offers certain inducements. Individuals are given an examination before they are accepted, and if they are found to be suffering from any chronic or venereal disease, in need of an operation, or are pregnant, they are charged extra for treatment or operation. Group members, however, are taken as they are and given complete care for whatever they need.

For some reason totally incomprehensible to the average layman, the American Medical Association has damned this form of organization and, in the case of the Milwaukee Medical Center and some other groups, has expelled its doctors, although they were all men of outstanding reputation and staff physicians at the city's leading hospitals. The action of the County Medical Society, later upheld by the state and national organizations, has forced some hospitals to discriminate against the Medical Center doctors, and they are in danger now of losing their hospital facilities. The same action was taken in the case of the Ross-Loos Clinic doctors in Los Angeles, but the State Medical Society reversed the decision of the County Medical Society on a technicality. There the doctors have the exclusive use of two floors of one of the private hospitals. In Elk City, Oklahoma, where the Farmers' Union formed a co-operative to build a hospital and offer all medical care to its members, the doctors have been expelled from the State Medical Society and face loss of their license to practice, for no other reason than that they engaged in group contract practice. The organization receiving the most publicity recently is the Group

Health Association of Washington, D.C., a co-operative of several thousand federal employees who now find themselves involved in a court fight over their right to hire doctors and use hospital facilities.

Yet, in spite of this blind discrimination by organized medicine, group clinics continue to grow. The Bureau of Co-operative Medicine has recently been formed in New York under the leadership of Dr. Kingsley Roberts, a prominent surgeon who gave up his practice to promote the growth of medical co-operatives. It gives help and advice to groups of doctors or patients wanting to start a clinic. The congressional investigation of the A.M.A., proposed by Congressmen Scott and Voorhis of California, has called the attention of the public to the work that can be done by contract groups and the opposition they must overcome from the A.M.A. And, most important of all, the success and growth of existing groups is bringing home to people of low income the fine work that can be done by this type of organization in providing the best medical care at a price that can be met by the low-income groups.

There are indications that the profession itself is waking up to the needs of the public and the necessity for co-operating rather than fighting all plans for improved service. In November, 1937, 430 doctors had the courage to sign a statement indicating their belief that an improved method of selling their services was needed. This statement gave courage to many rebels all over the country to be more outspoken in their beliefs on the subject.

Recently, Dr. J. H. Means, retiring president of the College of Physicians, a subsidiary of the A.M.A., attacked the "stand-patism" of the A.M.A., its "political and partisan behavior," and the attitude of its spokesmen, who, "like Jove on high Olympus, hurl thunderbolts of wrath at all who differ with orthodox doctrine." Dr. Means's successor, Dr. William J. Kerr, has promised "forward action on medical situations arising in the country," which is interpreted as support of Dr. Means's criticisms.

Dr. Thomas Parran, surgeon general of the United States, whose valiant fight against cancer and venereal disease has won him world-wide respect, has urged the need for close co-operation between doctors and public health agencies and criticized the closed corporation of organized medicine because "they have failed, in the minds of many lay people, to identify the common good as the first interest of medical organization."

The doctors have shown themselves rather more open-minded on the question of hospital insurance than they are on contract medical practice. There are more than 40 cities in this country where some form of hospital insurance is available. The plans are usually organized by associations which charge a flat fee per month and then pay hospital bills for members as they are needed. One of the best known and most successful is the Associated Hospital Service of New York. Their rate is \$10 a year for a single person, \$18 for a married couple, and \$24 for a family. Benefits are for 30 days per person per year, in a semiprivate room, with a $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent discount on the bill for longer periods. For a small additional charge a private room may be engaged. The service covers bed and board, nursing, laboratory, drugs and dressings, anesthesia, and certain other special items.

One of the charges most frequently made against group prepayment clinics, but seldom substantiated, is that of advertising. Advertising has long been a violation of "medical ethics." It is amusing, therefore, to note that the April, 1937, issue of the magazine *Hospitals*, from which most of the foregoing information was taken, takes for granted the need for wide dissemination of information on hospital plans. I quote: "Frequent use is made of newspaper publicity, radio talks, and articles in various magazines and publications. This material is accepted without charge, as having 'news' value or being educational in character. Folders are distributed widely among prospective subscribers."

The doctors in the 300 hospitals which are members of the Associated Hospital Service are members of the A.M.A. and

of unquestioned standing. Yet the Milwaukee Medical Center doctors were expelled on grounds of "advertising and solicitation" on the sole evidence of a leaflet which had been printed by International Harvester employees and circulated in their own plant explaining the benefits of the plan.

In no way in conflict with group medical practice is compulsory health insurance, under the direction of the national or state governments. Health insurance would reach those with low but regular incomes and would give increased benefits to those who could now afford to join a group clinic but would find it difficult to meet large hospital bills.

I introduced in the 1937 session of the Wisconsin Legislature a bill to provide full medical and hospital care to be paid for from an insurance fund created by a 2 per cent pay-roll tax on employers and 2 per cent on employees. It covered the same people covered by the Social Security Act and their families. It provided that any physician licensed to practice in Wisconsin might register with the board and that patients might exercise free choice from among those registered. Under this system it would be possible for the member-doctors in a group clinic to register and accept insurance patients just as a private physician would. While the annual cost per family for incomes of \$2,400 would be more than that of a group clinic such as the Milwaukee Medical Center, the service would be much fuller, including hospitals, medicine, and nursing at home, in addition to all other services, and those with incomes of less than \$1,800 would pay less than clinic rates for more service. The bill does not carry cash benefits, as it was felt that they should be handled through the unemployment insurance administration.

This health-insurance plan follows in a general way the British system. Those of you who want to know more about the working-out of that system in detail will find an excellent account of it in a series of articles in the *Survey Graphic* beginning in the issue of December, 1937. Our bill does not include cash benefits; it does not provide for government to share in the cost, and it covers families as well as workers; these are the principal

differences. Many American doctors pass off the idea of health insurance lightly, with the comment: "Everyone knows it has been a failure." This is most emphatically not the case; while doctors in Europe at first opposed very strongly the introduction of health insurance, they have since come to support it and have helped to correct many of the evils that grew out of ignorant lay control at the start.

Health insurance in America is sponsored by the labor movement. The American Federation of Labor went on record in favor of it at its 1935 convention and is continuing to study the subject. Various state federations are on record in favor of health insurance. In Wisconsin, Henry Ohl, now president of the State Federation of Labor, introduced a health-insurance bill into the 1917 legislature, of which he was a member; the question has been discussed at various state conventions, and the federation sponsored the bill which I introduced in 1937.

In addition to doctors and hospitals, we must also consider the question of nursing and the other problems of convalescence which are many even in families able to meet normal medical expenses. As city homes grow smaller and smaller, the difficulty of caring for an invalid and at the same time maintaining the normal activities of the household are constantly increasing. There is no space for a private nurse even if her salary can be met.

In many cases a visiting nurse who can give baths, assist the doctor, and sometimes change dressings or give treatments, is the best solution. Often a full-time nurse is both a luxury and a bother, yet for an hour a day she is indispensable. Such nursing service is often available for the very poor, yet most cities do not have a similar arrangement for those who can afford to pay something but do not want or need a full-time trained nurse.

Then there is a special problem when the mother is sick. It is impossible to hire both a maid and a nurse, and the requirement is for someone who can undertake nursing duties for a short time each day and devote the rest of her time to running the household, caring for the children, and cooking. Boston has

an excellent training school and prepares really competent practical nurses, able to take over a household on a moment's notice and run it, with or without servants, as long as necessary. For the majority of cases, which do not require extremely expert nursing, such helpers are much more useful to working-class families than the exorbitantly expensive registered nurse who refuses to lift a finger to help with the household tasks.

One of the finest contributions of Soviet Russia to the health of its workers is the series of vacation homes, convalescent homes, preventoriums, etc., which have been established all over the country. Here workers from crowded city homes, where real rest is impossible, may recuperate in the country with the best of care and food. Here children with inclinations toward tuberculosis or rickets may receive the sunshine treatments they need, and men and women worn out from overwork may rest free from worry. In America we have urgent need of such rest houses, where many serious illnesses can be prevented by advance care or where workers can recuperate from operations or illnesses away from city noise and dirt. Our hospitals are the best in the world, but we pay appallingly little attention to the things that may prevent illness or to its effective cure by means as important as surgery.

Any health program for America's wage-earners must stress preventive medicine all along the line. Every proposal discussed in this paper helps to do this. The group clinic encourages frequent examination and, by removing the fear of a fee for every visit, makes it easy for the worker to go to the doctor at the first sign of pain and have an operation or treatment promptly without waiting until the disease develops. Health insurance carried the same assurance of adequate and early care, without fear of bills. Hospital insurance makes a necessary visit to the hospital easy, from a financial point of view. Improved nursing service may speed recovery and relieve the housewife of the unaccustomed strain of nursing work. Vacation homes, rest houses, and convalescent homes cut down the causes of future illness. At

every point such a program aims first at preventing illness, then at curing it.

Of course sickness can no more be treated as an isolated problem than can unemployment. It is related to the general question of economic security, to housing, playgrounds, adult-exercise facilities, working hours and conditions, and a host of other social and economic questions. Proper education of parents on the feeding and care of children and of children on health and safety habits is an important part of it. But meanwhile, disease still exists, and accidents still happen, and wage-earners and their families need doctors and nurses and hospitals and can't afford to pay for them on the present basis.

A comprehensive national health program, co-ordinating private facilities, encouraging the growth of private group clinics and hospital associations and nursing societies, providing funds where needed through health-insurance schemes financed by workers and industry, and from outright subsidy of health facilities where needed, must be built. In many parts of the country we have made a start toward meeting our health needs. If we can overcome the fanatical hostility of a section of the medical fraternity and educate the public on the need for such a program, we can promise good health and the happiness it brings to a far greater proportion of our people than have it today.

THE JOB OF STATE ADMINISTRATOR

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TODAY there is an administrator of public welfare activities in every state and territory which operates under the American flag. When most of these administrators gathered together in Washington, D.C., last December for a three-day conference under the auspices of the American Public Welfare Association, it was evident from the discussions that their organization charts would present a great variety of functions and combinations of functions. Some administrators, for instance, are responsible for the institutions; others are not. Some have responsibility for one or more of the social-security categories. Some have relationships with the federal government through the Civilian Conservation Corps, Works Progress Administration, National Youth Administration, etc. Some serve their clients directly; others operate through local city or county welfare departments. Likewise, some administrators work with boards or commissions, while others are directly responsible to the governor of the state.

The trend seems to be, and properly so, in the direction of including under a single administration of public welfare the extension of financial assistance and services to help in meeting the social and economic needs of people who are not self-sustaining members of society. The natural result of this centralization would be a smoother meshing of state operations with the various agencies of the federal government, on the one hand, and, on the other, with the various local political subdivisions that are concerned with the many parts of the public assistance program. On this basis it would seem to be

the logical responsibility of the state administrator to seek to maintain the proper balance between centralization "for efficiency" and local participation "for democracy."

With this in mind we can see how inevitable it is that the administrator's job has become so comprehensive that its effective organization is a matter of prime importance. Each service represented by the assistance or insurance programs requires a qualified supervisor. These in turn must be supported and served by technicians in budget and finances, research and statistics, personnel, community organization, and informational service. Together these supervisors and technicians are members of a team which constitute the administrative authority. In the staff huddles they plan the strategy; with the administrator acting as quarterback, they execute the plays that aim toward accomplishment of the desired objective. Not only is the job of the administrator a composite of all these functions that have just been mentioned; it is also part of a larger state administration which is concerned with every phase of social and economic problems affecting all the people in the state in their efforts at this business of living together. That administration, headed by the governor of the state, depends upon the administrator of the public welfare department to develop and administer a plan of public welfare that will fit into a balanced program for the whole state administration.

In an earlier day, the scope of public welfare administration was limited—its responsibilities rested chiefly in the administration of institutions, hospitals, and asylums.

Public welfare in 1938 is interested in institutional care fully as much as it ever has been. To that interest has been added a concern for the rehabilitation of the casualties of life, whether they be physical, social, or economic, as well as a deep conviction that the greatest contribution that can be made to public welfare lies in the field of prevention.

Therefore, the public welfare administrator recognizes in the fields of education and health the basis on which public welfare is to be built. In the same way he is aware of the strength that

lies in the public and private agencies and local citizens' committees which deal with the whole problem of environment, including housing and recreation in their broadest sense.

Similarly, it is impossible for the public welfare administrator to avoid a close acquaintance with the factors involved in employment and unemployment in his state. Recognizing that at the root of social insecurity is economic insecurity, he must appreciate the significance of the factors which produce unemployment and its attendant problems.

In one state the administrator as director of unemployment insurance is charged with the responsibility of stabilizing employment; of reducing and preventing unemployment; encouraging vocational training, retraining, and vocational guidance; advising and assisting in the establishment and operation of reserves for public works; and to these ends to carry and publish the results of investigations and research studies.

In a word, as a member of a state administration, the public welfare official must recognize that his department, together with all the other departments of state government, is organized for the common weal and that the function which he represents touches at some point or other every other administrative department of state government.

It is from this point of view, then, that we say the administrator must deputize to others the various functions of his department. He must do so in order that he may be free to join the other directors of the state administration in a comprehensive plan of service to the people of the state.

The necessity of this planning together becomes more obvious as we think of the financial support that is required in order to carry out a plan. Too quickly we face the realization of the limitation of available funds from taxes to be derived at least in part from the very persons who are to be served. This limitation also makes evident the relentless and inevitable competition between the various departments in their efforts to carry out their part of the service.

For example: How much service indeed can the state afford?

Of the available revenue how much should be set aside for education? How much for highways? How much for welfare?

And having decided how much can be set aside for welfare, we must then face the problem of determining how much should be used for care of children, elderly persons, blind, and the physically handicapped who are now in need of public assistance. How much should be set aside for rehabilitation through vocational training, for hospitalization and corrective work in behalf of persons suffering from crippling conditions? How much for preventive work to the end that children through adequate physical, intellectual, and spiritual preparation may have their chance in life?

In a similar way the whole problem of relationships with local government is an important part of the job of the state administrator. But here again he does not face that part of his responsibilities alone. It too is a responsibility which is recognized by every other department administrator in the state government. The director of highways has his relationship with the local highway department; the head of the state police with the local sheriff; and the head of the health department has his questions of relationships with the local health departments.

Not only are these relationships pertinent in the matter of authority and responsibility, but also in the matter of finance. On what basis shall funds for public welfare be provided by local government and by state government? By what formula shall state funds be made available to local departments? And what methods must the state administrator employ to exercise sufficient supervisory functions over the local administration?

We cannot search into the implications of these questions at this time, we can only sense the significance of the steps which lead to the detailed questions of equalization, grants-in-aid, and plans for matching state and local funds. With frankness and with humility we can acknowledge that the answers to these many questions are not yet known.

Having mentioned briefly some of the parts of the adminis-

trator's job, we can pass quickly to some of the opportunities and, therefore, responsibilities that the administrator of the public welfare department of today has, which, by comparison, were never given to the public administrator of a decade ago or to the administrator of the private agency. Never before, for instance, has an administrator had available to him the facts about the situation that now have been compiled through the functions involved in research and statistics. The job of an administrator is that of a planner, an architect. He has a chance—indeed it is expected of him—to bring to the attention of his superior, namely, the governor, either directly or through a commission or board, the information on existing conditions which will enable the chief executive to ask the legislature for revisions of existing legislation or the creation of new laws which will result in increased well-being in the state.

Obviously, the public welfare administrator must be aware of the continuing change in the social order and the need for revising the law in keeping with those changes. For is not law, after all, an expression of the desire of the people of the state as to the way in which they want to adjust their conditions of living in a common society? From this point of view one of the most significant roles the administrator plays is in providing the experience and groundwork for drafting future legislation.

Most people by this time realize that the old poor law is outmoded. But already our brief experience in attempting to operate under our new public assistance laws has shown us the need for further refinement and clearer definition, particularly with reference to eligibility for benefits under these laws. Undoubtedly we have phrased the law in such liberal terms that we have invited to the table many more persons than can be taken care of by available provisions. Possibly, in cutting away from the old poor law, we have dared to hope that we might somehow take care of unmet needs through sheer strength of purpose.

We have seen the costs of public assistance rise to a point which threatens to disrupt the various services and to the point

where determined resistance on the part of the public is being felt simply because of the huge sums of tax money required. Obviously then, in working out new legislation, the administrator must be realistic and like the architect, give full attention to all the details of the specifications so that when he has conceived his plan of service it can be administered within the sum set aside for that purpose.

To the extent that the administrator can keep the public informed of the needs as he finds them and interprets them, can he secure that public's support. Through his programs of public relations, informational service, and community participation, he is able to keep the public abreast of today's problems. The public has a right and an obligation to know how many people are being served through the department and how much money is required for such a program. The public's understanding of these problems is then translated into legislative action. If the administrator is successful in his job of interpretation, he will find that not only is the way paved for legislative action, but his path is smoothed for carrying out the laws after they are enacted.

One would not want to be misunderstood on this matter of community participation and understanding leading up to community support. We would not confine the significance of community activities to a point which would merely obtain support of the people to our legislative and financial program. Possibly the best way of saying it is that the administrator will want to provide the opportunity for the people of the community to see all sides of the proposition and then be prepared to administer the laws which result from the community action, which, in turn, is a direct result of community understanding. This process then represents the active exercise of democracy, drawing in the local forces of participation.

If law represents the desire of the people, then the people—identified in their own communities and neighborhoods—must have this chance to know of the problems the administration faces in carrying on its programs of service and to appreciate

the basic concepts of public welfare administration. The question of whether that administration should be by local, state, federal agencies is a real one, but it becomes a matter of operating detail rather than of fundamental principle once the people reach an understanding of the real objectives.

Public welfare is so personal, so individualistic, so human a matter that it needs the full strength of family and neighborhood understanding and support. Like charity, public welfare begins at home. In this connection we face the question of responsibility of relatives who are able to take care of their own kin in situations involving children, unemployed adults, or elderly parents who can privately and personally do what in other family groups becomes a public service.

Another point on which our citizens are entitled to full discussion is the trend away from relief toward maintenance. Will such a plan, by providing added purchasing power to persons not now employed by private industry, enlarge or shrink the number of persons permanently dependent upon government funds?

The importance of residence laws must also be considered. Tied in closely with this is the whole question of population movements, especially vital to those of us in the Coast states. With it comes all the problems of transiency, new settlers, and migratory workers.

Furthermore, people are rightfully interested in the costs of administration. In this matter of administrative costs there has doubtless been less frankness and less understanding than the importance of the subject deserves. How much should administration cost? Does anyone really know the answer? What is administration? And of administration how much is service? From a taxpayer's point of view are we concerned with the over-all cost of the program or are we concerned that administration takes too much of the tax dollar which was made available for the services to beneficiaries? Does our concern as taxpayers come out of the fact that we are aware of large numbers of people on the public pay roll and a sharp rise in the number of governmental employees?

All these questions are proper ones for people in the community to ask. Any reasonable person who has a chance to become acquainted with the facts in the situation can find his own satisfactory answer to these questions. It may take a little time, but it is a good investment. If people who raise these questions of administration, for example, can be exposed to the workings of the administration, they themselves will find that, generally speaking, the lower the cost of administration the higher will be the gross cost of the entire operation. They will see, too, that the money spent for intelligent administration will conserve funds for those who are actually in need and keep those funds away from persons who are ineligible for the benefits provided by the law.

We see already the conflict between the underlying philosophy and principles of the social-security plan as against plans represented, for example, by the Townsend movement, and we have mentioned here the trend from relief toward maintenance. The social-security plan is based on need in its public assistance provisions and in its insurance provisions, on a man's contributions from his own work wage. The other type of plans omits the need basis and set up a compensating arrangement without reference to the man's work contribution as based on his wage. The social-security insurances are tied in with the principle of self-reliance as represented by a man's endeavor to work and support himself and his family. The other is a taxation of all the people in behalf of a definitely limited group without reference to need or contribution.

True, it may be said that they both have the same objective and that we need not quarrel on that score. We must limit any difference of opinion as to the method of reaching the objective. This difference in method, however, will be reflected in our attitude and in the legislation that we propose. It is evident, therefore, that the community whose representatives are making the law should have a chance to be exposed fully to the various plans and have a real understanding of the social and economic responsibilities which they entail.

It is with a realization that public welfare after all is a matter that concerns the individual—his needs and his problems—that we gain an understanding which helps us to recognize the new body of administrative law of which our social-security legislation is such an important part. With government assuming its new responsibility for so many services, it has followed necessarily that governmental departments which have the responsibility of administering these services must be given discretionary powers. As we have shown, this necessity is particularly pertinent in the field of public welfare because its services can be rendered best on an individual basis rather than on a mass basis. Therefore, the administration of the department must be kept flexible and free to act on the basis of facts in each case. The administrator must be empowered to implement the statutes through rules and regulations. Already the courts have recognized with respect to certain administrative departments that their findings of fact are conclusive on the court because they are made by experts. Administrative law depends in large part on the recognition that such experts exist in a particular field. Aside from other considerations which may be purely legalistic, it is well to indicate at this point that because administrative law is based partly on the recognition of the existence of experts, a public administrator does well to staff his organization through a merit system which will reveal this essential expertness.

It may be thought by some that I am attempting to prove that the public welfare administrator should be a lawyer. This should not follow any more than that an architect should be an electrician, a carpenter, or a plumber. True, he must understand what each of these artisans can contribute and how such contributions supplement each other. In the same way the administrator must be able to evaluate the contributions of the various professional groups—lawyer, teacher, judge, minister, and doctor, as well as the social worker. He must also recognize the contribution of the client and the neighbor in order to know what each one can offer individually as well as judge the work-

ability and effectiveness of any plan that they can operate together.

The law, after all, is a symbol as well as an instrument. We want to think of the law as something which enables rather than prevents; as something which considers people as such, rather than as units divided by categorical identification; as something which not only helps people maintain themselves but offers hope through spiritual implication that maintenance of life is for something worth while; something which recognizes the universal demand for social justice and encourages fulfillment of the ends by indicating the means.

The administrator, then, must help shape the law and, with the help of an understanding community, endeavor to make the law work. In doing this he is bound to recognize the evolutionary character of the social order and be quick to recommend changes in the law in keeping with the changes in the social order.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that the job of the administrator in 1938 comes closest to that of the architect. He tries to find out what the people want and works out a satisfactory set of specifications which will give them what they want within their ability to pay for it.

He designs, he plans, he continually searches for more effective and workable methods to produce satisfying and lasting results, and, finally, through and with an organization of qualified artisans, he builds.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF LAY BOARDS IN RELATION TO PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

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THE powers and functions of lay boards of public welfare would be reasonably easy to summarize, but the result would yield little important information. The real significance of boards in the future trend of public welfare and the practical values of citizenship participation in these programs constitute a subject which is something more than historical fact and has many deep implications.

POLITICS IN PUBLIC WELFARE

Lay boards have been advocated as a method of keeping public welfare administration out of politics. Social workers waste much time discussing this, when it is clear that public welfare is a part of the political structure. Our interest lies in keeping political manipulation out of the field of work, but not in keeping the field out of politics. Political bodies pass the laws under which we work, they appropriate the funds which we spend, they are influential in the determination of our general policies. There is nothing inimical in these relationships. Trouble comes at the point when politicians are able to maneuver welfare activities to serve political ends or control the appointment of personnel or contort policies to the interest of their own election.

Some examination of the forces that keep political maneuvering out of public welfare is important in relation to the function of lay boards. The foundation stones which make adminis-

tration reasonably free from political maneuvering and effective in program operation seem to me the following:

1. *A good law under which to operate.* Here lay participation is admittedly most important in securing the law.

2. *Tradition and custom.* At this point it is a citizenship concept and not a bureaucratic one, which builds the kind of tradition and custom we want.

3. *Civil service or some merit system of appointment.* It is only through the interest of citizens by which a good merit system can be established.

4. *Through the use of advisory or appointive lay boards with power.* Here the function of the board becomes a direct matter but of perhaps lesser importance than its indirect values as before indicated.

5. *Sufficient operating funds.* In this connection we secure a stable budget only in relation to citizenship conviction that it is needed and essential.

In my opinion any administrative department of government which serves well, which is reasonably free from political dominance, and which has done a good job over a long period of years, can measure its success in terms of one or more of these five fundamental points. The more successful the unit has been, the more of these points are indigenous to it.

Let us examine a few well-administered types of public organization. First, consider state universities. They have their roots in the same soil as has public welfare. They are much freer to do a good job than a state or local public welfare unit. The most important reason lies in the fact that they have built a tradition. Politicians are not so apt to try to manipulate a university, because it is considered not the thing to do. This concept develops out of the high degree of citizenship interest in our universities. Most of them have some kind of a lay governing board, and, above all, they have a large alumni who are alert to see that traditions are preserved. Sometimes they are too alert.

Another example is the Federal Children's Bureau. The sta-

bility and high standard of its operation has come about without any governing board, but through the years it has had a policy of the extensive use of consultants and participation in its activities by a large number of citizens. In general, there has been a vigilant attitude by many outside people to preserve high standards. It has also had the benefit of civil service and through the far-sighted point of view of all its directors has inherited a most fortunate tradition.

There are many illustrations which might be given to reinforce reasons why these fundamental points spell the success or failure of administrative effort in any field, but, without extending the idea farther, I would mention as illustrations among others, the Department of Social Welfare of the State of New York, the excellent standards of many city libraries, and the general conduct of most local boards of education.

THE ROOTS OF PRESENT PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Today many people feel that the exercise of wide powers must be vested fundamentally in elected officials. More and more state legislatures, city councils, and county boards dislike to confer upon appointive nonpaid boards the wide powers to control expenditures for public welfare. There has been sympathetic feeling for our politicians in this matter. After all they are responsible, and to delegate to appointive boards the expenditure of what may amount to one-third or one-half the taxes collected, certainly lessens their control. I am not unsympathetic with this point of view, but in disagreement with it.

Boards of authority appointed for overlapping terms may tend to take full power and spend tax money without due regard to official opinion and without other than statutory control by elective officials. But even if a board is given sweeping authority and applies policies with which the elective officials are not in agreement, there is the recourse of new appointment and resulting change of policy. After all it is not unusual in this country to find elective officials who stay in power a good long time after the electorate is convinced they should be out.

One has only to observe the sweeping electoral victories of the outs over the ins to be certain that the voters did not decide overnight that a change was in order. When we object to boards of authority because they are too far removed from elective control, we voice the theory that the will of the people cannot be exercised. I maintain that public opinion registers as well, and perhaps better, under a proper system of appointment as under one of election.

But more important than the theoretical matter of achieving pure democracy is the question of whether or not boards of authority represent the interests of the client group better than do elective officials or administrative personnel directly responsible to such officials. Here I believe boards of authority serve a unique end for these reasons:

1. There are great groups of clients served by public welfare agencies who are unimportant politically. Examples are inmates of state institutions or public hospitals; children who have no voting power, both under care as dependent children and as members of relief families; and, finally, there is a vast unorganized clientele, the welfare of whom can easily be more important to the lay group appointed to serve them than it can to elective officials who must keep their political machines geared to their own personal interests.

Do you suppose this country would be so relatively generous with aid to the aged and so utterly penurious in aid to children, both within and without their own homes, or so absolutely callous to the needs of the unorganized and unclassified relief load if it were not because politicians are not interested in these groups but are actuated by the obvious voting strength of aged persons? After all, in any disaster at sea or elsewhere it is traditional conduct that children first be protected.

2. It is well to fix responsibility in any field and particularly desirable in public welfare, when ultimate responsibility rests with elective officials. No executive officer can be held strictly accountable if he is the appointive agent of an elective official and is appointed without legal limitations or qualifications.

Where there is no board and political appointment is followed, responsibility is inevitably elusive. Such is not the case with the board of authority, which tends to make for success in the long run because it must be successful or be retired, since it serves only in one field, for the purpose of assuming ultimate responsibility. Such boards serve as policy-forming units and not in administrative capacities. As a result, executive responsibility is much enhanced and more highly regarded than under any other system.

But as I have said, we are afraid of boards of authority because they conflict with our academic concepts of democracy. These days we are so burdened to keep pure our democratic concepts that we tend to permit far inferior forms of government to do things while we stand and argue or fail to act at all. It has been easier to build up our public welfare programs that last few years without much citizenship aid and to construct all over this country a deeply intrenched system of personal administrative responsibility. Sometimes I wish we had never coined that happily descriptive word "administrator." It sounds splendid. It implies action. It typifies personal responsibility. It slides easily over the tongue. It implies efficiency and power. But what does it result in?

First of all, the spirit behind the word which we have all helped to cultivate has struck a serious blow at any boards of authority. Instead, we have built up some fiction about the values of advisory boards. In some states where we have been willing to establish county welfare boards of authority we have been liberal enough to arrange that some elective officials serve on such boards, and only too frequently those elective officials have seen to it that they serve in a majority capacity. So we are developing a strange hodgepodge out of our conception that boards of authority somehow limit the democratic process. We seem to have quietly accepted the meaning and spirit of the word administrator, but generously conceded some small place for the interested citizen to serve in a minor capacity. Occasionally though, we become disturbed over legislative or

public apathy, and then we solemnly appoint citizen groups who occasionally convene to help us in securing funds, usually without success, or to protect us in some acute controversy which arises. Perhaps I am pessimistic, but it seems to me that, consciously or unconsciously, we have allowed our system of public welfare administration to grow far too detached from the body of the citizenship who pay the bills and who drop their verdict in the ballot box.

THE MATTER OF CITIZENSHIP PARTICIPATION IN OUR
PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAM

In our serious moments we are all alarmed at the public attitude over our welfare programs. There is sweeping this country a bad reaction usually expressed in antagonistic terms over expenditures for what is called "public relief." The term embraces everything. Most people consider public relief the exclusive cause of the federal deficit. Confusion about relief and its costs extends even to the Congress itself, as the works program, public assistance, and even public works, are constantly all called relief of unemployment. It is unnecessary to describe the national mental state of doubt and misunderstanding. The question here at issue is, what are public welfare organizations doing to correct the bad condition? Consider these points:

1. What are urban county units doing to enlist citizenship co-operation beyond their boards—if such exist—their staffs, their clients, and other social agencies?
2. Is there any real attempt to have such a device as a series of committees to assist in the administration or to give advice on the various categorical aids or other services?
3. Is there any policy of appointing geographic district committees in respect to unclassified relief?
4. Is there any well-organized plan of interpretation and publicity, together with machinery to carry it out.

Public welfare programs provide great opportunity for willing citizens to do constructive good. We do not capitalize this inherent interest. Private welfare organizations have demon-

strated that citizens will do almost anything. For them people undertake many petty and uninteresting activities. With the whole field of public welfare to challenge the determination, the native interest and the sense of big-scale operations, we do practically nothing to enlist participation beyond official limits.

CONSIDERATION OF TRENDS IN LAY BOARDS
AND FUTURE SIGNIFICANCE

From the federal viewpoint.—The geographical spread of the country, the party system of government, and deeply ingrained legal procedures definitely limit the use of boards in the federal government.

Clearly established is the paid administrative board or commission. Such a system is more in order for the federal service than for the states or local communities, because paid boards have much wider issues with which to deal and a more acute problem of looking after political relationships between general administrative and legislative branches of government. Then, too, a difference in function between the board member and the executive has been clearly worked out, which is not the case in the states. Relationships with Congress and the governors constitute a sizeable statesmanship job, and the paid board is valuable as a buffer. It also has a wider judicial function because of the broad interpretations of the law. For these reasons the paid board has an important place in the federal structure which is almost nonexistent in the state or local governments and without which acute duplication arises between the paid board and the administrative officers.

There is precedent for the use of advisory boards in the federal service. Many departments use a number of citizens in an advisory capacity. The Children's Bureau has developed the system of advisory committees with good effect. These committees have exercised considerable power and influence. But, on the whole, advisory boards in the federal government have tended to become more decorative than effective.

The United States has not used the system of expert inde-

pendent commissions as developed so extensively in England. This procedure is not unknown in the federal government, as several good examples can be found in the Wilson administration. The White House Committee on Children under the Hoover administration and the Committee on Economic Security appointed by President Roosevelt tend to classify themselves as more similar to some European-type commissions. An almost virgin field exists, which could be developed to the great good of the nation.

We did have citizenship participation on a wholesale scale in the establishment of the National Recovery Act. Perhaps its greatest significance lies in the giving of some concrete idea as to what widespread interest might be obtained in federal policy and procedures if committees were more conservatively developed and more effectively led.

All federal policies are subject to attack by the party out of power, yet many enterprises should be entirely nonpolitical in character, and it would not seem impossible to build up a tradition that advice and influence of the party on the outside could be brought to bear on many administrative problems. President Roosevelt clearly tried to do this in setting up his first instructions under F.E.R.A. and C.W.A., and for a time these enterprises were conducted in an amazingly nonpolitical style. That great difficulties in the continuance of such a course existed was proven by events subsequent to July, 1935. Still a careful system of expert and citizenship advice could greatly intrench and strengthen nonpolitical action and serve as a check upon Congress and governors and all political machines to let alone the administration of certain activities.

From the state viewpoint.—A series of reasons have already been given as to why lay boards of authority are well adapted to the public welfare need and why they do not seriously interfere with the democratic process. It must be admitted there are some states with a cabinet system of government in which lay boards of power might be contrary to established procedure and upset lines of governmental operation. In such cases ad-

visory boards seem to be the only answer, if a board can serve at all. Such boards are entirely subject to manipulation by the executive. But they can become important if properly handled. Whatever the executive policy, such advisory boards would seem better than none.

But from the state viewpoint, neither boards of power nor advisory units are as important as the use of expert and citizenship groups in many phases of the welfare program. Most states have some kind of a board system, either paid, power, or advisory, but few states use extensively any other citizen groups. Every welfare department could maintain twenty to thirty such advisory committees. This procedure is impractical now because we do not have staff personnel to assign the job of leadership with such groups. If service of that character is to be valuable, it must be directed. Expert people must be available to work in this field. Assuming that three or four hundred citizens of importance, fairly representative of the expert opinion and broader-interest groups, were at serious work on state welfare problems, one can visualize the strength and force these people could bring to bear on tax levies, interpretation, policies, and procedures. Today we stand in a vulnerable position before legislators and voters because we have no substantial force to front for us. Of course we are not without power. Our county organization can organize citizenship opinion. Our friends and our clients can help. But in addition we need some kind of a "jury" whose status is that of guidance, advice, diverse political interest, and unquestioned integrity, to give a leadership to the welfare program.

From the local viewpoint.—The state of the nation as a whole is bad also in local government. More local man and woman power is engaged here, but there are too many counties over this country where relief activities, public assistance, and W.P.A. have bogged down into a high-grade localized bureaucracy. Some of the bureaucrats are very good and do a fine job. But it is evident that they are just too busy to find time for anything but what they consider the essentials of that job.

My conclusion is quite simple. To utilize lay participation does constitute an essential part of the administrative job. We have splendid executives and a growing standard of practitioner personnel. We know where we are going. The question is, what good does it do us to have these assets if the citizenship has only the vaguest notion of our work, no sense of participation, no basis of understanding, and no proprietary interest in our programs. I would mention just these points:

1. Let all administrative personnel consider the use of citizens in their programs as a matter of primary importance.

2. Engage staff personnel which is expert in providing the necessary leadership for such participation.

3. If necessary, stop doing some of the things we now do and give more time to the development of this idea.

4. Use the type of lay board with the functions and powers which best fit the particular situation on every level of government.

5. Make use of people, irrespective of political affiliation, being sure of their intelligence, their sympathy, and their willingness to give time and thought to challenging problems.

6. Teach our new workers along these lines so that they may perform better than those who have preceded them.

With all the emphasis I place on this problem, please be sure I realize that it only opens one of the many doorways which lead to bettering the totality of our job.

PRINCIPLES, CONTENT, AND OBJECTIVES OF SUPERVISION

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I PROPOSE to discuss the principles, content, and objectives of supervision as they apply to public welfare programs and with particular reference to rural counties. I am interested in supervision on a state level in terms of the job of the state field representative, than which there is, in my opinion, no public welfare position more strategic, more difficult, and more vital for the future, and which is largely, so far, an uncharted job and highly experimental.

And yet the job as such is not new. Twenty years ago the social-work field representatives of a state department began, in North Carolina, to assist in organizing county public welfare units. During the ten years before the depression, eight or nine state departments and one state university developed field service to counties. There was great variation in state-local relationships and in the functions of state departments and local units. On the whole, the period was characterized by an extreme regard for local autonomy. The laws were almost all permissive. The few mandatory features were virtually not enforced.

The greatest care was taken to respect differences in local needs, resources, and attitudes, and to treat each county on what was called a "case-work basis," with a view to developing whatever form of organization appeared to fit the local situation. Each state, and, as a rule, each member of the very small field staffs worked out their own field policies and methods as they went along, independently, and largely on a trial-and-error

basis. The results in the eight or nine states were varied, ranging from the organization of a few county or district agencies in Georgia and New Mexico to the notable record of Alabama, where practically every county had a child welfare board and a paid executive in 1931. There is no doubt that little, if any, of this rural development would have taken place without the stimulus of the state departments and their field staffs.

Unemployment relief brought a different picture. State funds, and later federal funds, meant added authority and responsibility, with a degree of centralization, which involved a shift to the opposite extreme from permissive laws and regard for local autonomy. Field staffs were recruited in short order and appeared in every state except, perhaps, Rhode Island and Delaware. Four or five hundred people, most of whom had had only local experience, were sent out from state offices into cities and counties on this most difficult of assignments. The story of unemployment relief and the transition to permanent public welfare programs hinged largely upon the caliber of these field staffs and the way they did their jobs.

Many of the same people are field representatives today. Those states are fortunate which have been able to capitalize fully the rich experience of the last six years and adapt it to the present program. For in 1935 and 1936 the picture changed again. The coming of permanent state departments of welfare and federal grants-in-aid for public assistance has put upon state governments additional responsibilities for the effective operation of the present program.

This central position of the state in the public welfare picture gives an even greater importance and strategic value to the job of the field representative who has the responsibility of actually acting out and effecting the state's supervisory or administrative function.

In 48 states, approximately 450 social workers, field representatives in public assistance divisions, or child welfare consultants are at present essential factors in this vital state-local relationship.

The field worker's job is rooted and grounded in the broad responsibility for the welfare of people given by state law to the agency to which he belongs. If he is to fulfil his share in this responsibility he must see the people not merely in terms of eligibility for specific forms of assistance but as possessors of an inherent right to share in the opportunities and benefits which are essential to our new conception of public welfare. He must see them in terms of their right to food, clothing, shelter, and a decent standard of living; their right to have opportunities for work at fair wages, for health, education, recreation, and a satisfying life.

On the surface the job has to do with local governments and agencies; with finances and statistics; with procedures and policies, records and forms, and with problems of organization, administration, and supervision. But, fundamentally, every part of it has a vital affect, either direct or indirect, upon people. They come in a steady procession across the field worker's days: people who are receiving assistance and people who have been refused; supervisors and visitors, anxious and troubled, or perhaps overconfident and assured; county commissioners and taxpayers, resentful or co-operative.

The field worker's most important equipment is his understanding of human beings. He must have the skill to help them meet problems which may arise from their personal needs or may have to do with their jobs, the agency, the community, or the place which the county holds in relation to the state.

The field worker should have competence in every part of the job he is attempting to supervise. This includes not only skill in helping people as individuals and in groups but skill in supervision, in administration, and in organization. And beyond this he should be able to help local workers to learn to do all these things or to improve the skills they already have.

The field worker should study the movement of social forces, the development of public welfare, and particularly know the story of federal, state, and local agencies during the last ten years, with their changing relationships and shifts in direction

and control. He should know this whole story as it affects his own state and each county he visits, and he should be aware that the results of these forces and influences may underlie either consciously or unconsciously any local action that is taken or any prejudice that he encounters.

Somewhere in our 3,100 counties every degree of local autonomy and every variety of practice in the care of the poor are undoubtedly represented. The impact of the emergency and permanent programs resulted in every kind of attitude toward state and federal governments and toward social work. Most rural counties were introduced to social work for the first time in the days of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the beginning of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The circumstances under which that acquaintance was made and developed, the kind of people in the relief administration who represented social work to the citizens, what these people did and the way they did it, have had an inevitable effect on what is happening today.

This historical perspective can have meaning only against the background of certain factual information which is an obvious part of the field worker's equipment, such as knowledge of laws, finance, taxation, industrial, agricultural and labor conditions and problems, the political situation, state and local agencies and institutions, particularly in the fields of health, agriculture, and education. He needs a working knowledge of federal agencies and their activities in his state. He should cultivate the habit of consultation with the field workers who visit these agencies and plan with them in the interests of the whole program in each county.

He should also have sufficient perspective to see the possibilities of his own agency in terms of integrated state and local public welfare units which would be centrally and finally responsible for meeting the needs of people within their own state and local boundaries, using the federal programs as resources, but reserving the right to relate these resources to needs.

Without rehearsing the long list of qualifications which be-

long to any social-work position, it is worth while to mention a few which are particularly necessary for this exacting job: physical health and the ability to handle pressure without confusion; the emotional adjustment, self-discipline, maturity of judgment, and freedom from prejudice, which belong to a well-integrated personality; organization sense, which involves the ability to relate oneself to the total situation with perspective and poise.

He must believe in his agency and be realistic in regard to the difficulties and limitations of the entire setting within which he works. After all, this setting defines the job, and nothing but discouragement and confusion result from struggling against it in an effort to adhere to a theoretical social-work standard and a preconceived idea of what the job should be. Above all, he should learn that the first step in understanding others is understanding one's self, and that self-orientation, self-discipline, self-evaluation, are of first importance to his security, serenity, and effectiveness.

One of the most serious problems with which a field representative has to deal is that of planning his work and using his time wisely in face of the pressures which come from the very size and complexity of his job. These pressures easily result in confusion and in great discouragement at not getting much done. They throw up barriers between the field worker and people, because of the temptation to take refuge in the mechanics of the job and to get at problems through impersonal devices.

It is most important to see the whole problem in terms of what pressure does or may do to him, and what it means to the people he visits. He must learn and help the others to learn how to handle it. This requires perspective and philosophy; ability to see the whole job in its right relationships and all its parts in proportion. There still exists too much of an emergency habit of mind, which has no place in a permanent program. People move slowly, especially in rural counties.

With the use of a little determination, it is surprisingly possi-

ble to find time to think things through and to plan carefully. A keen sense of relative values should be deliberately cultivated. For instance, what determines the choice between two field visits which appear on the surface to be equally important?

The field worker's poise, his own serenity of mind, the fact that he is relaxed, and not tense and hectic, sets the keynote for a visit or for an interview. The time may be short and there may be no help for it, but at least this fact can be explained to the local people. They can be made to feel that all the time that is available belongs to them, that they are free to talk about their problems and will be listened to with sincere interest and undivided attention. Also, the field worker who takes time for more than a passing acquaintance with the people and communities he visits will find that his decisions and recommendations are received with greater confidence.

An insidious result of working under pressure is the temptation to get things done quickly by doing them for people, rather than waiting for the slower processes of local thinking and action. The effect of such haste is likely to be concealed resentment and future trouble, which may require a much greater amount of precious time. It is easier and quicker to dictate, to tell people what to do, than to start where they are and work things out with them. There is a constant conflict between the urge to secure uniformity in practice and the claim of local initiative for recognition.

An arbitrary checkup, enforcement of authority, or exercise of control are all diametrically opposed to the very essence of the supervisory relationship. Dictation or overpersuasion may create dependency and a rule-of-thumb submission or may lead to outward conformity and inward rebellion. In any case, they erect a barrier to understanding. In this connection I might quote a remark made by an untrained county executive: "The state never tries to force anything down your throat, that's good case work, isn't it?"

The field worker must continually make difficult decisions as to what recommendations he can afford to postpone until the

education of the local community has proceeded farther, and what essentials must be secured at the risk of being superimposed. At Atlantic City, Miss Lowry discussed the local supervisor's problem of conflict between the interests of worker, client, and agency. The field worker finds that the same conflict occurs between the interests of the state agency, the local agency, and the clients.

For instance, when a local agency objects or even refuses to carry out a policy, or a regulation of the state, what is the field worker's responsibility? Given time and opportunity, the agency might be helped to a freer acceptance of the policy. But what if the policy has broad community implications and must be put into effect at once? Insistence on the part of the field worker will probably create resentment which will jeopardize his future relationships and his usefulness to the staff and board. There is no simple solution or final answer to these questions, but a sense of relative values is essential in finding a way to meet them.

Or to take another example, suppose that the local agency, because of prejudice or lack of knowledge, insists upon carrying out a plan of their own which the field worker believes will be most harmful to the clients which it affects? Again, objections are bound to create resentment. Is it better to let the plan go through in spite of the hardships to clients and the inevitable community reactions?

Suppose the agency plan is carried out. How seriously will the clients be harmed? For how many years have people in need in this country been faring far worse than this? Is it possible that the agency may learn enough from this experience to save future mistakes, even though a high price is paid for the lesson?

And, how, after all, can the field worker be so sure that he knows what is best? This local staff and board know their community. They have an inherent responsibility which cannot be ignored and indeed must be respected. They have assumed definite obligations to the state and to their own people. This is essentially their problem.

There is still every reason to believe that unless a program really takes root in a local community it will not endure. In spite of state control and recent experience with federal superimposition, the fact remains that these county people have a right to tackle their own problems. The clients are their neighbors, sometimes their relatives. They know, or they think they know, more about them than anyone else. Their own money is being spent, and whatever may be the percentage of state and federal funds, their own understanding, initiative, and participation are not only important but essential.

As the field worker comes to know his region, he will find that each county has its own integrity—one might almost say its own personality—and is to be considered as a whole in relationship to the state program. On the other hand, he will discover that no county or community can be regarded as a single unit which will either oppose or support good social-work practice, but that it is composed of individuals who have varying attitudes and relationships to the development of the program.

There are attitudes toward the state and federal agencies: accusations of graft, complaints of red tape, fear of an outside force, and resistance to outside people. At the same time, there is usually a desire to have state and federal money and help and advice with local problems. The attitudes toward the poor are by far the most deep seated. They are expressed in ways which are often more thoughtless than cruel: in such terms as the "riff-raff," the "worthless," who should have no assistance or not more than enough to keep them from starving. They result in condemning a family on relief to the lowest social status and assume that the right to make moral judgments and control the family's personal affairs belongs to the official who writes the grocery order.

These attitudes are important, not only in their effect upon the day-to-day job, but because they are so many indexes—symptoms, if you will—of underlying concepts and philosophies with which the program must reckon and with which it must come to terms if it is to endure as a real part of the community structure.

It is, therefore, the field worker's business to recognize these symptoms, to understand their implications, and the underlying motives, prejudices, and feelings. He must be able to help the local workers see all these things and learn to use, with the president of the bank, the chairman of the ladies' aid, or the cross-roads' grocer, every bit of understanding and case-work skill that he has.

In the field worker's relationship to the local staff and their actual practice he comes closest to the heart of the job. This is where his teaching function comes into full play, with its responsibility for guidance, direction, professional progress, and personal growth. However brief his contacts with each county staff may be, it is, in the last analysis, the quality of this relationship that counts. The very fact that his contacts must be intermittent as well as brief, can be used to discourage any tendency the staff may have to become dependent on him and to use him to do their thinking for them.

The field worker must be the kind of person to whom the staff will want to bring their problems. His role is first of all to listen. His time will be well spent if he does no more than bring them encouragement, bolster their morale, and give them perspective.

It is futile to spend a large proportion of time and energy on checking records and routine forms and procedures. Records will not reveal what the staff are like, but the quality of personnel on the staff will determine what the records will be like. If the staff has a fair degree of competence, the routines will take care of themselves, and the necessary sampling of records should take but a minimum amount of the field worker's time. It is far more important to help the staff analyze problems regarding their clients and the community which they find baffling and to recognize problems which they have not seen before.

One of the field worker's most valuable services is to explain the intent underlying federal and state policies and regulations and help the staff interpret rules and bulletins in the light of the basic objectives of the program. Literal-mindedness—one

might almost say bulletin-mindedness—developed to an alarming extent early in the depression. The literal meaning of a word or a phrase was pulled out of its context and looked upon as an order or as a prohibition. I do not know how much of this literal-mindedness has carried over into the present public welfare program, in which bulletins have, to a large extent, been replaced by manuals. It may be that the authoritative written word still tempts the uncertain local worker to become dependent. At least there is a danger here of which the field worker should be aware.

Obviously the remedy for such a situation lies in the development of a competent staff who understands the principles upon which the program is based and the extent to which variations in practice are consistent with these principles; and the integrity of whose job is accepted by the community on its own merits and without the need of bolstering by outside authority.

Even more of a problem is the tendency of local workers to let themselves be pushed gradually into a narrower and narrower conception of the program. It is hard to say how much of this is due to the pressure of routine tasks or to the influence of punishing and restrictive community attitudes toward clients. Or it may be the stultifying effect of unquestioning acceptance of orders from above, accompanied as they often are by warnings about limited or exhausted funds. Whatever the cause, the result is often to make the staff "bear down" on the clients. I can find no better word to describe what happens. They justify low grants by their professed need to compromise with shortage of funds and their consequent effort to spread relief thin. If the field worker is to do anything about this situation, he must himself first recognize it as a problem and not let his own preoccupation with financial and administrative restrictions blind him to what is happening to the staff and what they are doing to the clients. Otherwise, he may find himself unconsciously sharing in their destructive attitudes.

His job is to help the staff face squarely the realities of the situation. On one side of the picture are all the limitations of

funds, of laws, of policies, and of community pressures. On the other side are the people who need assistance, with all their inadequacies and deprivations. Between these two stand the staff. Shall they continue to yield to the pressures and be submissive tools to enforce these limitations upon defenseless clients? Or shall they make the needs of people their first concern and champion their cause in the face of apparently hopeless restrictions? After all, the real purpose of funds, laws, and policies, is to help these very people. The limitations need not be looked upon as irrevocable. The staff know better than anyone else how badly more money and a more inclusive program are needed. It is the staff who must keep saying these things. They must keep pushing for broader interpretations and fewer restrictions. They must show the powers that be, the administration, the legislature, the public, just what is needed, and why; for instance, exactly what happens to children who get practically nothing to eat for months; what actually goes on in a home after assistance has been applied for and refused?

The field worker should welcome a perpetual discontent with the *status quo* on the part of the local staff. He should let them air their resentments and help them use their feeling and the knowledge on which it is based to liberalize their practice and to contrive means of interpretation where it will do the most good.

If the local staff has a responsibility for interpretation, that of the field worker is far greater, because it devolves upon him to give to the state office an understanding of each of the counties in his region. This includes not only a fair estimate of the needs of people and resources available or not available to meet them, but a just evaluation of each county program, each staff member, and the quality of their practice, as well as of important people and factors in the community situation.

It is exceedingly important that this evaluation be made jointly with the local agency in each county. Nothing will do more to develop a sense of security and a sound relationship between the state and its local units.

Because his work is so important and so difficult, the field

worker needs to be sure of a place in the organization structure of the state department which will permit him to function to the best advantage. He should be part of a social-work division which is the main stem and principal operating unit of the agency, and a member of an integrated field staff, representing all the divisions of the organization. He should be assured of continuity in his responsibility for a definite territory and of adequate supervision which will respect the integrity of his job, his responsibility for planning his own work, and his relationships with local units.

The field worker needs, more than anyone else on the staff, the wisest and most understanding kind of supervision. The state field director should possess all the field worker's qualities and equipment—plus. He should be a director who knows so much about people and understands so well how to teach that he does not need to direct or to use his authority. He should have such confidence in his staff that he can leave them free to function on their jobs and, at the same time, give them security and backing. He will constantly recognize areas in which the field worker's judgment is better than his, because the field worker is closer to the problem and knows more about it. He will make sure that policies and decisions are not handed down but are the results of joint consultation and planning. In fact, members of the field staff should be in every sense his associates, in the steady, progressive building of county programs and the strengthening of state-local relationships.

Both field director and staff need constantly to evaluate their own work and to see that they grow in that concern for people which is the key to the whole state program. Indeed, caring for people constitutes the essential equipment of everyone in the public welfare administration from the top position in the state office all the way down the line to the farthest county and the desk of the youngest visitor.

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WHAT A VISITOR IN A PUBLIC AGENCY SHOULD KNOW

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THE topic assigned me is "What a Visitor in a Public Agency Should Know." A relatively simple-sounding question, but what kind of a public agency? Obviously, what the visitor should know must be related to what the agency is there to do. Is it a public child-caring agency, a public probation agency, or a public relief agency?

For the sake of clarity, let us assume throughout that we are referring to a public agency created to give material relief. Then, if what the visitor must know is related to the function of the agency, it seems to me quite clear that the visitor herself must know the function of the agency. And, in a public organization, that function is laid down in law—statute or ordinance or both—amplified in administrative rules and regulations, and determined in legal rulings and case decisions. Certainly the visitor in any public agency must know and know exactly the laws and the rules and regulations governing her agency.

And may I say here that I think we social workers have much to learn in the matter of learning and accepting the legal limitations of a public agency. For so long our job has been to meet human need by hook or by crook at any point where it was encountered. But as we become an accepted part of the larger issues of government, we must learn to accept the limits of the specific job assigned to us by law, or find ourselves replaced in the public service by persons more willing to accept a limited

commitment, but totally unequipped to deal with human beings. The other services needed by our clients are still our responsibility—but they are not best secured, it seems to me, by trying to smuggle them inside the agency. Rather, I believe the job of a public agency is to foster and develop supplementary service by other private or public agencies and then do an excellent piece of work inside its own limits as set forth in law.

The visitor then must know the law and her agency's function. But having accepted that, what more must she know? What more must she know in order to accomplish what? In order to keep the agency from making too many serious errors in certification, thus bringing down a special investigation by the state comptroller's office? In order to (translating this into positive terms) make accurate and reliable investigations of applicants? In order to make the organization an efficient and smoothly functioning whole? In order to bolster the morale of anxious and suffering citizens? Or what?

Before I can set forth what, in my opinion, a visitor in a public agency must know, I have to take time to explain what I think is the major job of a public welfare agency in a democracy. In my opinion its major job is to help people. That seems simple and noncontroversial. But look where it leads you! If the major job of the public relief agency in a democracy is to help people, then the major job of the one employee always sure to have firsthand contact with people, i.e., the visitor, is to help people (within the function prescribed by law), and the major requirement for the visitor is that she should know how to help people.

But under certain conditions this need not be a very exacting requirement. Suppose the agency's job is to feed hungry people, give them relief, then the sergeant of an army quartermaster's corps knows how to do that, efficiently, cheaply, and with real success. But take note I have emphasized that I am referring to a public relief agency in a democracy. In a fascist or totalitarian state, the army quartermaster's corps might do an ex-

cellent job and do it through a commissary. There the emphasis would be on mass care—each human being has importance only as a part of the body of citizens which is the state, and the care afforded him could logically be of the kind afforded the soldier—enough to keep him, along with all his fellows, a strong, healthy, obedient cog in the machine.

Wherein lies the difference in a democracy—a difference of which I don't believe we can remind ourselves too often, or on which we can ponder too deeply. In a democracy, if democracy has any meaning at all, the individual citizen is not just a means to an end. He is himself important, and important not just to himself but to the state. It is a major object of government that he, the individual human being, each separate and individual citizen, should be able to realize his greatest potentialities, and that in so far as government can help him by education, by police protection, by work opportunity, by assistance in periods of distress, he should have that help. A daring venture, you may well say. In fact, I rather imagine that we are only beginning to realize how daring! But if my understanding of the venture of democracy has any validity, it is that democracy has undertaken to do just that.

Therefore, if one is to judge the efficiency of a public welfare agency in a democracy, such judgment could have no basis at all, unless one of the first measuring rods applied is a measure of the agency's effect on the individual human beings dependent upon it. And if a person plans to be a visitor in a public relief agency, I should say that the first and foremost thing she must know is how to deal with people in trouble within her agency's function in such a way as to strengthen and encourage those people in her care. That does not mean that she must be ready immediately to treat behavior deviations and to delve into their deepest psychic life as a sort of modern work test without which they will not be given relief. But it does mean that she must have the utmost in knowledge of human beings that we are able to give. I submit that there is no human contact requiring more skill, more knowledge, a deeper concept of life, a greater

reverence for the individual human being, than a certification interview with a person coming for the first time in his life to a relief agency. Let us grant to begin with that some people are born with a gift in dealing with people, and that many an unlettered Irish politician could give cards and spades to an occasional highly trained case worker and still win in a contest of skill in dealing with human beings. Nevertheless, this skill is something we now know a good deal about how to teach, and it is a skill without which no visitor—now that we are passing out of the “emergency” period—should be allowed to go to work. Let us head our list then with this skill. In my vocabulary, this is case-work skill. But since case work is a term which means almost all things to all people, I will call it simply skill in dealing with people.

What else does a visitor need to know? Here I sought the assistance of a number of state and county public welfare executives, personnel officers, and workers, some with that mystical thing called training and some without, that I might be saved from too great a flavor of the academic. To these I added a searching of various articles and papers by employers in public agencies, particularly a paper given at a recent Conference of Social Work in California by the personnel director of one of the largest county welfare departments in the country. Of them I sought the answer to the question assigned me—“What a Visitor in a Public Agency Should Know.”

Nearly unanimously my correspondents wrote down, “She must know the law, rules, and regulations.”

One or two elaborated, adding, “and how to explain to clients the limitations and functions of a public agency.”

A third carried this yet farther: “The visitor must not only know the law, but must know the reasons for the law and its limitations. Half the confusions in a public agency arise from the confused explanations and varied interpretations in individual cases which arise from the visitor’s own confusion.”

But that was the end of unanimity. The next item on which there was a good deal of agreement was that the visitor must

know community resources, several elaborating this to say that she should know and be able to explain sympathetically the handicaps and limitations of other agencies. Only one specified the importance of knowing laws making available all other forms of public assistance as well as the one under which the visitor was herself working, and he, being a public-minded man, added:

She ought to know that her agency is only one in a team—that social work is only one of a number of welfare activities under public direction. . . . Formerly, in the days of small agencies, few workers and small case loads, a social worker was all things to all men, sometimes employing the stenographer or the bookkeeper as accomplices but always herself the center of the picture. Today the public welfare program runs on a track consisting of all rules, regulations, accounting, statistics, and general administrative control, while the social worker, the doctor, the nurses, the lawyer, the bookkeeper, the stenographer and all the rest are specialists employed within this system and are equally important to its success.

Several emphasized the visitor's strategic importance in the agency as the first and sometimes only person making direct contact with the client, and said that she should be taught how to interpret back to her supervisor what she sees and hears.

She is the first step of the welfare agency and has the real social work opportunity. She should be taught how to keep her ear to the ground and report back to the agency the first rumbles of public reaction to the agency's program—when the tide is turning for or against aged aid, work relief program, attitude of physicians toward preventive medicine, etc.

The visitor, then, my correspondents say, should know the law under which she operates and related laws; she should know and be able to use intelligently community resources, she should know the place of her agency in the public structure, and herself in the agency. What else?

One writes (and he in a state where almost all visitors in the public relief agency are college graduates):

It may seem odd that I should say that every visitor should have a thorough mastery of the three R's. It is not always so. A fairly fluent command of language, and at least common knowledge of spelling seems to me of considerable importance to one who is daily spending a good portion of his time putting into record the personal histories of his clients. This is borne home

with force when you read those histories and the letters written in connection with them. I have, many times, signed a letter of which I was ashamed, rather than delay an investigation when need was urgent.

And another says, "A considerable amount of clerical work is necessary on the part of our social workers. And we have found, in many instances, the social worker is not well grounded in this phase of the work." A third scorns the idea that they are not well grounded and says that the trouble is that visitors, particularly college-trained ones, just simply think they are too good for accurate clerical work, although it is an inescapable and important part of public welfare work. So the visitor must know how to read, write, and be accurate, and not be above using this knowledge.

The visitor, these advisers go on to say, must know how to figure budgets and help the client to get the most out of a limited budget. She "should know enough of medical science to recognize and intelligently deal with the medical problems always present in any case load."

One man says, and he is not a college professor, take note, but the personnel director of the County Welfare Department of a great county:

She must have at least some understanding of culture patterns based on the mores or customs of various groups of people. This would reduce prejudice and permit of a more objective attitude on the part of the workers toward specific racial and ethnic groups and would facilitate the adjustment of members of minority groups.

She must have sound foundation in political science and political philosophy, so that the worker can relate his or her experience to a fundamental concept of the organization of people and of group reaction.

She must understand herself. One says:

I am surprised to discover how frequently lack of discipline in the ordinary rules of social intercourse is manifest among practicing social workers in the field. This is an important thing. I would not ask that the worker be the product of a finishing school, but in a job so full of pressures and stresses, a temper worn short, can set up an expanding circle of ill feeling and discomfort which does much to impair the efficiency and the manner in which the job is done. I should like to see social workers as considerate of

one another as they are of their clients. To me it has always been an anomaly difficult to understand that a group as skilled in human relationships as social workers are, cannot get along better among themselves.

Did this group of authorities agree with me that a knowledge of human behavior is important? "The visitor must have a knowledge of psychology and case work principles," says one. "She must have an understanding of the psychology of behavior," says another, "so that symptomatic reactions will not be accepted as causes, and so that the implications of behavior and attitudes be understood." "She must know how to get along with people; to take them with tolerance, patience, understanding," is another way it is said.

But this thing which I have been outlining, or rather which has been outlined by this group of people actually in the field, is not a simple job. It is, in fact, an appalling array of needed knowledge, and only the half is told. The visitor should know something of the labor movement if she is to understand her clients in this day and to understand also some of her own problems. She should know—well, it is evidently possible to go on indefinitely. As one of my correspondents indicated, she really should know everything.

Can the visitor not do the relatively simple-appearing task of investigating eligibility without all this? I suppose that if the agency has what I have called a fascist conception of its job, if it is only a place where food is given out and records made, the visitor could do her task if she knew the law, knew how to read and write, and knew how to accept supervision.

I might add that this would be equally true if the agency's executive is incompetent. Through the stupidity, malice, or lack of ability of an executive, the visitor's eagerness can all too soon be turned to cynicism and his professional skill strangled at birth.

But I am talking about what a visitor should know in a real public welfare agency in a democracy. If the person we are talking about is the employee of such an agency, the visitor is a person of enormous importance. Through her must flow all

the best the agency has to give, because she is frequently the only direct contact the agency has with the needy citizen. She should, moreover, be an integral part of the agency, and this, when interpreted into administrative terms, seems to me to mean that she must be eligible to promotion, not set off by herself by qualifications which forever close her away from participation in the rest of the agency.

What I am saying, then, is that a visitor in a public relief agency in any long-time program should be a person with the best education the American state has to offer—namely, a four-year college course. Parenthetically, may I say here, it is one of the amazing paradoxes of modern life that the American taxpayer should continue to support with lavishness his public institutions of higher learning and then fly into such a passion when the use of that learning is made a requirement in public employment in those fields where it could be of the greatest public service. In California, a courageous relief director required in 1933 that all workers in his agency should have a full college education. As a result, a census of social workers taken in California in March and April of this year showed a proportion of publicly employed social workers with college preparation which holds great promise for the future in that state.

To a college education should gradually be added, either by in-service training or in the professional schools, all the best we have to offer in professional teaching. But the visitor should be given preparation in the thing I have called case work the minute she takes office, if conditions make it impossible to set up a requirement of such training before admission.

I have so far been talking of what a visitor should know from the point of view only of effectiveness on her job. There are two other things, I think, that should be mentioned, however. The first is the relationship of the visitor to the profession of social work. It is ridiculous to think that the quality of novitiates in a profession will have no effect on professional standards. If doctors still admitted high-school graduates with a couple of courses in chemistry and anatomy to practice as office assist-

ants, and if those office assistants outnumbered the qualified physicians four to one, would that have no effect on medical standards? If we go on admitting to the practice of social work (and a visitor, in my opinion, is engaged in an important piece of the practice of social work), its effect on standards in our young and emerging profession is going to be decisive and lasting. If a visitor is not practicing social work, then what she must know is a question of only passing importance. If she is, then, a permanent definition of what she must be expected to know is going to color for all time the quality of social work in each state. But do not fail to notice, professional social workers, that I am presenting you the horns of a dilemma: if the visitor is practicing social work, then the relationship to the profession of the thousands and thousands of young people who have been engaged in this practice for, some of them, as long as four years, cannot go permanently unresolved.

But there is another consideration, besides the visitor's effectiveness on her job, of even more importance than this. These young people have a public importance which can hardly be overstated. They are going, many of the ablest of them, to go forward into responsible positions just because of the responsibility of the work in which they are engaged. For instance, in the developing trade-union movement of this country, social workers are going to play no mean role. And we need to know that they have intelligence, that they can make judgments, that they think in terms of reason, and not in the formulas which often pass so tragically today for thought. One of my students wrote:

An essential, in my opinion, is a knowledge and interest to the point of absorption in the social phenomena, which, in these times, bear upon the worker's job from all angles and make so very difficult the achievement of a balanced perspective. Social workers are poised, it seems to me, by necessity and the nature of the appeal of the job somewhat to the left of center. In terms of physical laws, such a balance is difficult to hold and can be maintained only by constant attention and effort. In the living situation, this is especially true. The visitor's path in his daily work brings him into contact with so many crushing examples of social and economic inequity and exhibi-

tions of man's inability to live in justice with his fellow that, together with the other pressures bearing upon his balance such as the force of this organized minority, and that propaganda group, it is easy to become doctrinaire and to develop or fall prey to curealls of dogma or social and economic panaceas of a wish-thinking nature. I believe that when this happens, much of the worker's usefulness is dissipated. He is in danger of becoming a zealot bearing an axe to grind on every possible point of friction. Such a person is not an asset to the agency for which he works. Greater care in thought processes is necessary to the worker in a public agency than in almost any other place I know. The visitor should be so well drilled in the discipline of the scientific method that he may have the ability and habit of winnowing out the facts and testing authority. He must think for himself or allow others to make his decisions and live the mental life of a pilot fish attached to a stronger personality; his course determined by another.

Have I asked too much? The humane, efficient, democratic administration of public welfare in a democracy may well have more to do with the survival or fall of that democracy than any other one factor. Is it too much to ask that the best of America's young citizens, educated and prepared in democratically supported schools and colleges, should be counted on to man the ranks of this democratic service?

ADMINISTRATION OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES FROM THE FEDERAL LEVEL

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THE clear assumption in the language of the Social Security Act that public welfare services include provision for care and protection of children is a very important factor in planning for administration. Leaders in the children's field have for years recognized that the state has an obligation toward its children. It is true also that public money, local and state, has over the years been spent for various types of child care in practically every state. The fact remains, however, that in a few places the child welfare program made possible through Part III, Title V, has been regarded more or less as an extra-curricular public welfare activity, initiated only because federal funds were available. Therefore, as we approach the eve of legislative sessions in most of the states, it is important that all of us, both in public and in private service, examine our concept of public welfare. Unless we ourselves are clear in our own minds as to what is public welfare, we cannot expect to be very effective in interpreting legislative needs to citizens and to members of general assemblies, to say nothing of the "boys in the back rooms" up and down the country to whom politics is what someone has termed, "the science of the possible."

If we have not moved beyond the point where we regard the administration of general relief and categorical assistance as the sum total of a public welfare program, then it would seem desirable to begin to examine our own ideas before we presume to hold a candle to light the path for those assembled in our legislative halls.

Acceptance or nonacceptance of the principle that protective, preventive, and treatment services for children constitute a segment of a public welfare program will be reflected in the preparation of state budgets and appropriation bills based on such budgets. Thus the need for clarifying our own thinking is upon us now.

In some instances—and with entire administrative and legal propriety—federal funds have made it possible for a state which previously had no provision for services for children to set up a children's division within a state department. However, it is not the intent of the law itself, or of the Children's Bureau, in its administration of the law, that federal funds shall indefinitely be a substitute for provision by the state itself and by its political subdivisions for the cost of an adequate child welfare program as a part of its total public welfare administration.

This does not mean that federal funds for child welfare purposes will not continue to be available and, perhaps later, as the need is demonstrated, in more generous amounts, as there is every reason to assume that as long as Congress makes appropriations for any of the titles of the Social Security Act, this particular title will be included. But the point I am trying to make is that, although dollar-for-dollar matching is not required, and the provision that federal funds shall be used for extending state services and paying "part of the cost of local services" in rural areas is unusually flexible legal language, the intent of the title was not to under-write the cost of a total child welfare program in any state or community.

As a matter of fact, most states show an increasing investment of state and local funds in children's services, partially, at least, as a result of federal participation. The following comments from the director of a children's division in a state which has had a full two and a half years' experience in administering the co-operative child welfare services program indicates the development of an interesting state philosophy regarding the use of federal funds:

In the actual use of federal money for the operation of state plans for child-welfare services, within my own experience, I have found that such funds can be more successfully used for experimental and demonstration services than can state or county funds. For instance, in the initiation of the services of Negro social workers into the program, the use of federal funds was found to be particularly valuable. There is, however, gradually growing up an intelligent attitude toward such a service and the state and various counties will probably participate soon in the salaries of the Negro workers employed. The manner, therefore, in which a state may make use of federal funds is comparable to the service of a private agency carrying on an exploration of social case work to meet new areas of human needs, at the same time, however, stimulating state and local responsibility.

As a group, we are prone to fall into great confusion because of terminology. It appears that the use of the words, "child welfare services," in the Social Security Act, has resulted in getting both content and administration of child welfare slightly out of focus. There is not time to present an analysis of some of the concepts in current circulation as a background for further discussion. Therefore, I shall arbitrarily attempt clarification of certain points without assuming that what brings the picture into clearer focus for me will necessarily do the same for you. These are as follows:

1. Services for care and protection of children and for prevention of dependency, neglect, and delinquency, undertaken by state and/or local public welfare units are to all intents and purposes child welfare services. Part III, Title V of the Social Security Act makes it possible for federal funds to be used to help the state and local communities provide such services (exclusive of maintenance) in areas predominantly rural, where, for the most part, there has been greater lack of resources than in urban areas. But the Act does not contemplate the development of a newly discovered public welfare activity to meet a hitherto unknown and unrecognized social need. It merely makes it possible for the state to have some assistance, if it chooses to accept it, in carrying out its legal responsibilities for protection and care of children living in its remote sections.

2. The Act provides that federal funds for services in rural

areas shall be made available upon the basis of plans developed jointly by the state agency and the Children's Bureau. It is necessary, therefore, for the responsible state official and the field consultant from the Children's Bureau to set forth in such plan the purposes for which the federal grant is to be spent; to prepare a budget showing anticipated use of funds for the specific items included in the plan; and for the Children's Bureau to audit expenditures from federal funds. This entire procedure, which is in conformity with legal requirements and also with efficient administrative methods, has had a tendency to "wall off" that part of the state's rural child welfare program paid in whole or in part from federal funds, from the remainder of its general child welfare program, if any, and from its public welfare program.

In some instances this walling-off has been a matter of administrative expediency, since it has been the only way to hold the line against pressures to lower personnel standards, to increase volume to a point where nothing constructive could be accomplished, or to shift financial responsibility previously assumed by the state itself. However, if the walling-off results from a concept that child welfare services under the terms of Part III, Title V is a de luxe program which a state will permit to operate within a specially constructed corral so long as Uncle Sam pays the bill, but which has no relation to its own public welfare program, then the whole picture is out of focus.

3. The term child welfare is more or less of a catchall for a wide variety of activities. The social and economic forces in a child's own community, in the state, and in the nation, contribute, to the weal or woe of himself and his family, and therefore are factors in child welfare. Certainly the health, educational, recreational, and social welfare resources which exist, or do not exist, in his immediate environment play an important part in his growth and development. Therefore, to apply the term to any one phase of a program of child care distorts the picture. For example, to attempt to limit the concept of child welfare to a foster-care program would arbitrarily limit a broad,

inclusive term to a specific function which is but a part of the whole. An agency may choose to set functional boundaries for itself, which is quite a different matter than using a generic term to identify a particular function. So much for the arbitrary pronouncements.

Questions which we have met before have a way of reappearing in our midst dressed up in late-model hats and a new shade of lipstick, but still the same old questions. For example, some of the perennials are: What is it that a children's worker does which any competent case worker could not do? Why should there be what appears to some to be an overemphasis upon personnel standards for children's workers? Why is it that on the one hand there is emphasis upon integration and co-ordination of public-welfare services and, on the other hand, emphasis upon the importance of specialized services for children?

Discussion of these questions must take into account two different sets of circumstances. The first of these is that the personnel of state and local staffs of departments of public welfare, taking the country as a whole, do not at this time consist exclusively of persons having skill and competency in the practice of social case work. The general assistance and categorical case loads are still large, and thus there is necessarily limitation of individualized service. There is still exclusion of cases in which treatment other than assistance is needed by many local units, for the simple reason that necessary services are not provided.

Therefore, if child welfare services are to be provided and if case loads are to be kept small enough so that the worker can do more than card-index a child, there must be someone assigned to the job, either on a part-time or on a full-time basis, depending upon population and need. These workers, if qualified and if properly supervised, will see the services for children as a part of the total service provided by the public welfare unit and will fit themselves into the general administrative structure. Unless the worker assigned to children's cases knows her job and has skill and competency, it is better to have no one

functioning in that capacity, as little is ever gained by having form without substance.

The second approach to the questions raised regarding the need for and function of children's workers is based upon the assumption that at some not too distant time the staffs of local public welfare units will have had training, at least in generic case-work principles, and perhaps special training and experience in the children's field; that the relief and assistance case loads will have been materially reduced so that social treatment may be given as needed; that service cases not requiring assistance will be accepted; and that with improved family services, which are the first line of defense in any child welfare program, the volume of children's cases, at least in rural counties, would be too small to warrant a specialized case load. I do not look forward to this state of affairs day after tomorrow, but neither do I think it is beyond the realm of possibility, since there are already a few places in the country where a beginning in this direction has been made. What then?

I would not assume that I have the prophetic vision that Miss Lathrop and Mr. Carstens possessed when in 1915 they looked into the crystal ball and forecast developments which within a period of twenty years have become a reality. Therefore, I cannot answer the question, "What then?" But I shall attempt to indicate some phases of evolution in the children's field which I think lie just ahead.

First of all, we may in the course of time stop confusing function with organization. We have appeared to believe that if we called an administrative unit a children's agency, or a social worker a children's worker, then by such christening we, *ipso facto*, produced a mechanism or an individual geared to perform the functions involved in working with children. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Therefore, public welfare units and private agencies as well must determine whether they are equipped to perform the varied functions required in meeting the needs of those children in the community, regardless of economic status, who require

a type of service which their families, the school, and the church cannot at the moment supply. A little more realism in examining function and a little less veneration for labels appear to be in the offing.

We as a nation are exceedingly visually minded. This has promoted the chart and graph industry to such an extent that we now depend upon a chart to find out how many points in popularity the president has gained or lost in a given period, and thus are spared the effort of reading all the editorials in the daily press.

We also tend toward a leveling-off process because, like Rousseau, we accept the premise that "between things disparate there can be no relation." However, in attempting to straighten out a graph of performance which shows both peaks and valleys, there is always danger of losing the peaks in our zeal to eliminate the valleys and thereby achieving a perfect level of mediocrity.

If the future is to hold greater opportunities for children, the services that are provided for the purpose of achieving this objective should be motivated by the philosophy expressed by Dr. Plant when he said: "Every child should be made to feel that he is a special blessing in the sight of the Lord."

It seems, therefore, that if there is dynamic leadership in a state, there can be integration of public welfare programs, coordination of services, and co-operative effort, on the one hand, and, on the other, a continuous infiltration of philosophy and of supplementary functional skills designed to keep child welfare services always above what may be a reasonable performance for certain other phases of a public welfare program.

This means that regardless of the degree of integration of public welfare services, the personnel should include individuals who by training, experience, and personality are equipped to enrich the case-work content and thereby insure efficient functioning in the area of treatment where there is need for a "plus" performance.

To the worker who does not know the hazards and difficulties

of foster-care, the handy cure-all when family and children head for trouble is the removal of the children from their own home. Without some grounding in what science has thus far discovered about heredity and about what makes human beings behave as they do, intelligent planning for children is impossible. The selection of foster-homes becomes little more than an examination of real estate, unless a worker understands how to relate overt acts to inner motives for wanting a child. To assume responsibility for the social aspects of an adoption case or to attempt to prepare a case involving neglect for a court hearing so that it will stand up requires some basic knowledge of the legal field.

— To keep abreast of developments in the field of education is beyond the limits of time and interest of a state and local public welfare staff. Yet as the base of child welfare services is broadened, there will be an increasingly close relationship between the schools and the public welfare agency's child welfare program. Therefore, it is important that someone in the organization is informed as to new goals and methods in the field of education.

— In the child-guidance field there is need for workers with special skill for work with the few children who may need psychiatric treatment; and for interpretation of a sound mental hygiene approach to the case workers responsible for the major portion of the agency's case load.

These illustrations and others which could be given are not intended as an argument against the practicability of one person who has a sufficiently small case load and proper skill and competency assuming complete responsibility for a block of cases. But it is an argument for a standard of service which insures understanding attitudes toward the difficulties which beset children in the process of growing up; and which provides the proper administrative mechanism for performing whatever functions are needed to accomplish this objective.

THE OPERATION OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES AT LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL

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AS I see it, the operation of child welfare services at the local level of government involves a fourfold activity. First and primary is the task of defining by practice what is meant and what is not meant by case work. Child welfare services is not a restricted program for the development of a particular type of service, e.g., foster-home care. Rather, it is concerned with the general improvement of case-work service for the treatment of all dependency situations in which children are involved, with special reference to rural sections. The approach is definitely generic, and, being in no way committed to the furtherance of any one type of service, it has an increased responsibility for demonstrating the total case-work process as it may operate in the various fields of social work.

After a period of almost ten years of the depression, after the spending of billions of dollars, the fact remains that the public generally, and the clientele specifically, have not gained a clear conception of what is really meant by the term case work. To many, I suspect case work is a matter of beneficial or tyrannical manipulation, as they may have been affected. But such conception is not one which must ultimately prevail. And child welfare services at the local level can and should be a factor in bringing about a more correct interpretation.

This can be realized, however, only by the most qualitative performance of case-work service upon a continuing basis and in a variety of dependency situations. Only through this approach can the wider and fuller significance of the process be

sensed. The community will not grasp the benefits of greater individualization of each dependency situation simply by being told that it should be done this way. The community will grasp the benefits only when they observe them in actuality, and child welfare services at the local level of government must assist in making possible this demonstration if a lasting program is to be formulated.

It should be added, however, that such a demonstration of case-work service will be achieved only with considerable resistance. It will be achieved only with competent personnel who have had the advantage of knowing the accumulated experience of the past in respect to meeting dependency problems as they come to individuals and the community. Likewise, it will only be achieved by limiting the case load. Case work never becomes a quantitative proposition; it always remains a qualitative process as far as the individual practitioner and individual client are concerned. To demonstrate it otherwise is to demonstrate it wrongly. In neither instance can there in general be any compromise. With qualified personnel and the opportunity of being permitted to make a qualitative approach, the communities are in a position to evaluate accurately the contribution that case work might make in attempting to cope with some of the perplexing problems that are before them today. Without both being present, the community cannot make this evaluation fairly, and the whole program at the local level becomes pointless and simply repetitious of a pattern from which we would escape.

The second thing is the need of re-evaluating and refining perhaps the existing or potentially existing community resources which are used in coping with dependency problems. This re-evaluation or refinement may have to take place sometimes at the seeming expense of demanding new or additional services, even though at the moment these resources seem imperative for a well-rounded program. This is necessary for several reasons. First, sufficient qualified personnel may not be available to staff the new service unless the personnel structure of an existing

agency is shaken, perhaps destroyed. Social work has seen too much of that already. And then there is the additional practical problem of financing. Too immediate or rapid expansion of new programs may not only be sheer extravagance of public funds in themselves, but may serve as a disruptive force for other established and equally essential services, such as health and education. Whether we like to face it or not, in any given community at a given time only a certain amount of public funds can be directed to meeting a certain community need beyond an emergency level. One can argue that a different form of taxation, a different economic system, or a different social order might change the picture. It might—and then again, it might not. But granting the system which most local workers must grant who ply their case-work practices as public servants, a real economic limitation exists, and not to accept it as a reality at that given time is as fallacious as not to regard the presence of individual differences among human personalities.

The matter, however, goes deeper than the availability of personnel and public finance. Does the worker have a right to ask, except perhaps on an emergency basis, that the community develop or expand a program before they have worked through the problem of completely determining the limits of the existing community resources?

The present Aid to Dependent Children in relationship to foster-home care is a case at point. Do we really know the amount and nature of foster-home services which will be needed, until we have made a concerted effort to find out just how Aid to Dependent Children is going to work? We do not know at this time and we won't know until we define by systematic study and evaluation what we mean by Aid to Dependent Children supervision.

It has taken, for example, practically two years for even a meager amount of professional literature to appear relative to supervision of the elderly under Old Age Assistance, and to date I believe practically nothing of a similar nature has appeared in respect to Aid to Dependent Children, except that it should be

"good." Now, until we have sensed the limits under which Aid to Dependent Children must routinely operate, what the age restriction means in terms of planning for adolescents, especially vocationally, at the very time that the grant, by law, must be discontinued; what the presence of a grave emotional traumatic experience means, such as death, desertion, physical incapacity, which must invariably be present; and where all these fit into a composite picture of what we may expect routinely to find in Aid to Dependent Children cases, we are probably just talking words when we say that the supervision should be "good," as far as specific connotation goes. And I suspect the same is true of C.C.C., N.Y.A., the school, and many other uniformly present resources which we tend to forget sometimes when we say that "no services are available in the community." In fact, it would be my guess that in this re-evaluation and refinement of existing resources we will find our safest guide to what is really needed in addition to those already present. The very process of focusing intently upon the immediate area somehow just naturally lights the surrounding territory into which we may move later.

Third is community interpretation. The formal aspect of interpretation or community education should undoubtedly be delegated to the division of child welfare services at the state level, which in turn would look to such federal agencies as the Children's Bureau for guidance. The worker, however, in her daily contacts in the community cannot escape participation in such activity, even though she willed otherwise. To do this the local worker must know the facts as they affect youth and children generally throughout the country, and, in particular, as they relate to rural sections. It becomes a matter of having a working knowledge of the findings of sound research and statistical investigation that has been done and which justified perhaps the establishment of such programs as child welfare services, maternal and child health, and those in related fields.

Unless such fundamental facts and reliable information are acquired, a great deal of the community interpretation may be

sheer waste—actually miseducational. After all, it quickly resolves itself into a very practical problem, the situation which the local worker presents to the county court for official action, to the advisory committee for discussion and consideration, to the newspaper for publicity, is either typical of a fundamental problem or trend, or it is not. It is necessary to grant that local problems must be considered as well as those nation-wide in scope. But to present knowingly or unknowingly only the local problems continually or, worse yet, to present local problems which are but a manifestation of a national problem and not identify it as such, is to deprive the community of a wider perspective to which they have the right of knowing. It is to deprive the community of a knowledge of the larger problems which may require collective support and without which no national approach can be long or permanently sustained.

Fourth is that the local workers in these rural sections must assume part of the responsibility of fashioning a philosophy that seeks to preserve and perpetuate all that is best in the rural scene. Perhaps I am wrong, at least I hope so, but in our rush to bring adequate service to needy individuals in rural areas, there seems to me to have emerged a certain missionary spirit which contained an assumption that urban values are a little more superior, more worth while. A considerable portion of the literature, although not a significant portion, dealing with rural social work, pictured only the extremely pathologic and, it might be added ironically, often that which certainly would not lend itself to a social-work process of reconstruction, whether it was found in the country or in the city. Some of it sensed only the possibility of doing the spectacular: riding ten or twenty miles to call on an elderly client; rushing a sick parent one hundred miles to the nearest hospital. Others commented upon the loneliness of the country and implied the presence of a reactionary or ultra-conservative attitude, which, incidentally, I believe, is a highly questionable assumption.

Do not misinterpret that I am proposing that these negative aspects should not be dealt with. What bothers me just a little,

however, is the lack of a generous affirmation of the positive values that are an intrinsic part of the rural scene. Shouldn't there also be a more adequate calling of attention to the freedom from the exacting and regimenting interdependency of the city, which tends to enslave at least the minds of men who were supposedly born to freedom, and more emphasis as to the possibility of a greater expression of the total personality? Maybe a little more attention might have been given to the writings of such students of rural life as Herbert Agar and others, who contend that there is a vast difference in terms of social and spiritual values between making a living, which they insist might characterize the country, and the making of money, by which they would characterize the city.

Now, unless the local worker in rural areas senses these and other positive values and perhaps ultimately prizes them as real values for herself as well as for her client and community, no permanent and worth-while approach can be made to rural social work. Schools of social work perhaps can give techniques that apply wherever human relationships are found; staff-development programs can help with certain essential information for initial orientation; but, I believe, from the workers who identify with the best that the rural scene holds must come, at least in part, the expression, written as well as spoken, that can be incorporated into a valid philosophy upon which to predicate a genuinely constructive welfare service for rural sections. No one else can completely do that task for the program.

STATISTICS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF A PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAM

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AS AN introduction to the discussion of the somewhat formidable subject assigned to me, I would like to comment for a moment on the remarkable development of welfare statistics within the brief space of the past few years. Even ten or twelve years ago only scant attention was being given to the problem of statistics in welfare administration; regularly published statistics were in the main only those tardily assembled by occasional local agencies and an exceedingly few state welfare departments to satisfy the formality of an annual report; and statisticians actually functioning in welfare administration were practically nonexistent.

That such statistics as were then being compiled and published by welfare agencies were usually not prepared for serious administrative purposes may be assumed from the fact that much more often than not the material of the published reports gave no evidence of recognition of the most elementary use of operating statistics, that is, for recording trends. Rarely were data for successive years published together, and often the statistics of successive reports were not prepared in such a way as to permit valid comparisons. Data for shorter intervals, revealing seasonal or other short-time fluctuations, were seldom found. Since local and state data were lacking, there were naturally no national statistics of welfare operations worthy of the name.

The contrast today is striking. In the field of relief there is now a remarkably systematic coverage of the entire country, ✓

giving nearly, though not entirely, complete statistics of the amount of relief disbursements to recipients, almost equally complete information concerning beneficiaries in the case of direct relief operations (but less accurate information for the beneficiaries of work relief), and less adequate information on total expenditures for relief purposes.

A large amount of other statistical information is being assembled through routine reporting systems and special statistical studies on the part of the several federal statistical bureaus concerned with welfare services, especially those of the Social Security Board, the Works Progress Administration, and the Children's Bureau. In addition it should be noted that most of the states and a considerable number of the larger cities are now publishing monthly, or in a few instances weekly, reports of relief operations. In some states also impressive annual statistical reports, and in some numerous reports of special statistical studies, add to the body of pertinent welfare statistics.

The impressive present development of statistics of welfare administration has been primarily the result of emphasis, or pressure, exerted by the federal agencies. But it would be a mistake to overlook the fact that the cause of the development has been, not academic interest, but a direct administrative need for statistics as a basis for planning and legislation, for allotment of funds, and as a medium for administration, supervision, and control.

This was eminently true of the statistical system of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, which produced the first national statistics of relief approaching adequacy for any purpose. These statistics were designed to meet the immediate administrative needs of the federal administrative agency, and the same is true of the statistics now being compiled by the Works Progress Administration for the largest of the present relief programs, that of work relief. Similarly, an administrative need for statistics for use in planning, in allotment of funds, and as a medium of supervision and control underlies the system

established by the Social Security Board for the collection of national statistics of old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind.

In the case of statistics of general relief the administrative need does not now involve supervision and control on the part of a federal agency, but these statistics, which were for a time neglected when federal support of general relief was withdrawn in 1935, have been continued chiefly because the federal agencies in planning and conducting their own relief programs have administrative need for accurate current information concerning the category of relief which has been left to the states and the local communities.

One of the most fortunate events of the past year has been the development of interest on the part of the federal agencies in current consolidation of the statistics of the various relief programs. Experiments in this direction have been made within the year by both the Works Progress Administration, which now regularly prepares for internal use a consolidated statement of relief statistics by states for its administrative regions, and by the Social Security Board, which for several months now has been publishing consolidated relief statistics for the country as a whole. These data have value not only for the federal bureaus but also for the individual state and city administrations. Current compilation and publication of consolidated relief data for each of the states and the larger cities has been urgently needed, but has been lacking chiefly because of the inaccessibility of statistics of Works Progress Administration relief wages for states and cities. This fault has now been removed in the case of the series of urban relief statistics of the Social Security Board, but current publication of consolidated statistics for the states is still lacking.

I have been careful to say that the development of these national relief statistics has been *chiefly* a response to a realization of immediate administrative needs on the part of the federal agencies. That this is not the only factor in the situation may be illustrated by the Children's Bureau's experimental

work with various types of welfare statistics for certain urban areas, and by the Social Security Board's initiation within the past few months of a noteworthy new series of statistics of general relief operations for a group of the largest cities.

State welfare departments have the same need for statistics of relief operations as have the federal administrative agencies. For each type of relief program they need to make periodic comparison of their experience with that of other states and the country as a whole. They also need for state planning and legislative purposes, and for assistance in supervision and control, statistics of the operations of each of their constituent administrative units. In so far as the state departments are concerned with the supervision of details of operations of local units, they will have need for compilation of more varied statistics than those which are gathered for the more general planning and supervisory functions of the federal agencies. The state agencies, most of which now have effective systems for periodic collection of monthly statistics of their own relief programs, vary greatly with respect to the detail of the statistics collected and the actual use made of the data. In some instances it may be concluded from the character of the bulletins issued that the statistical process is perfunctory and exists primarily to satisfy the request or requirement of a federal agency. At the other extreme, however, are state bulletins which indicate an analytical interest of high order, and a degree of ingenuity and an amount of effort and expense which can be justified only if large administrative use is being made of the data produced.

State systems of relief statistics are of recent origin, most of them dating from the establishment of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, but they have been much expanded and developed since the establishment of the Social Security Board. To name only three, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and Indiana may be cited as examples of large states where especially noteworthy state systems of relief statistics have been developed

during and since the period of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

Time does not permit discussion of the statistics of the individual states, except for brief reference to the program now in operation in Pennsylvania. It deserves mention both because of the variety of data useful for administrative purposes which is being produced there and also because of a problem of statistical organization that is there presented. This state department now issues one weekly and two monthly statistical reports designed primarily for immediate administrative use. One of these now consists of a series of compact but legible tables containing columns of comparative statistics for the sixty-seven operating units (counties) of the state. It is significant that these data are primarily *derived* statistics (that is, ratios) that permit immediate judgments concerning the practices of and current performances of the operating units.

In Pennsylvania the situation differs from that existing in many states, in that relief is administered as a state rather than a local function and the operating units, the county offices, are administratively wholly responsible to the state department. Pennsylvania has followed the practice, until recently observed also by the federal Works Progress Administration, of completely centralizing the statistical service for the local relief organizations.

There can be no doubt that under the present efficient centralized system in Pennsylvania, the sixty-seven county units as a group are supplied with more, more prompt, and more useful statistics for local administrative use than could be produced by perhaps sixty-five of them if the counties were individually responsible for their statistical compilations. There is also in all probability a large saving in the expense of the service, which is one important factor to be taken into account in estimating the efficiency of the system. The Pennsylvania experience surely merits the examination of other states, but a problem arises from the fact that extreme centralization of

statistics in the state office removes from the local administrative units statistical services which may be greatly needed, at least in the larger local units.

This brings us to the topic on which consideration is now most greatly needed—namely, the place of statistics on the operating level. Although some statistics of welfare operations are needed for other purposes—for the sake of the historical record, and for the general information of the public concerning expensive programs for which the public must pay—these are secondary excuses for the existence of relief statisticians and for their participation in the process of welfare administration.

The primary purpose of statistics in welfare administration should be to facilitate the process of administration and control on the operating level. If this generalization is admitted, it would call for the substantial revision of some of the reporting systems now in existence, for they have been planned largely without sufficient consideration of their usefulness to the administrative units from which the data are collected. This is not to say that the data assembled are not of some use for local administrative processes. It can be said, however, that in some important instances they have been collected without periodic return of information to the reporting agencies, and that often the data collected and returned have not been those which would be most useful to the operating units. This has seriously affected the success of some of the central reporting systems.

Another generalization that I would like to offer is fairly obvious. *The need for statistical service in the administration of the operating units varies with the size of the operations.* In small organizations relatively few and simple statistics are needed, since it is possible for the administrator to have first-hand knowledge of the details of operations, and little analysis is necessary as a basis for the administrative decisions he is called upon to make. As the size of the enterprise increases, the

number and importance of administrative decisions increases, while the extent and accuracy of the administrator's firsthand knowledge of the situation decreases.

It follows that in the larger operating units there is large opportunity for the peculiar function of statistics. That function is not the keeping of records, which is a bookkeeping or clerical process, but the organization and analysis of records for the purpose of answering significant questions—in operating organizations, questions concerning administration.

Too frequently statistics in welfare agencies have amounted to little more than record keeping, and too frequently administrators have recognized no need for statistical service more elaborate than the tabulation of a prescribed set of figures periodically and the computation of a few simple percentages. The statistical task is more than this. It should comprise in addition to the planning and producing of statistics which are needed routinely, exploration and experiment with existing records and new data to answer constantly arising new questions. This, perhaps, is why statistical bureaus of welfare agencies are so often labeled "Research and Statistics," although it may be remarked that the statistical technique is itself a process of research. The statistician who is functioning efficiently in a welfare administration must, in fact, devote much of his time to the following typical research procedures:

1. Formulating administrative questions in a manner in which they can be answered with procurable information.
2. Determining the type of data to be produced to answer them.
3. Applying statistical techniques for the production of only so much accurate data as is needed for the answer.
4. Establishing the extent of reliability of the answer.

At the risk of being misinterpreted I would suggest that our statistics in the field of relief have already reached a stage at which they should be examined for overproduction. At many points, less frequent data than are now produced would suffice, and for many important administrative decisions much less

than entirely complete answers to the question is essential. Sound sampling procedures, which are now rarely used in the production of welfare statistics, could be widely adopted with large saving of both time and expense.

✓ In passing it should be observed that, if statistics are to serve effectively as a medium for assisting in the process of administration, two things are necessary: the statistician must be selected for his competence in statistics; and his place in the organization must be close to the administrator himself. He must be in a position to know of the important administrative problems as they arise, and he must be expected by the administrator to participate in their solution.

Of many other points which deserve consideration with respect to the place and nature of statistics in the operating welfare unit, I wish to mention briefly only two. One concerns the distribution of statistical service within the organization. In so far as the administrative function is subdivided, the statistical service should be distributed. The statistical office should be alert to the needs of the heads of each subdivision, whether they are departments dealing with different functions or are geographical divisions having similar functions. The district supervisors of a relief unit have their own administrative problems and should be given essential statistical service no less than the administrative head of the organization. It is my belief, moreover, that the effectiveness of a welfare organization will be improved if care is taken to provide the individual workers with statistical evidence of their combined activities, and with an opportunity to compare the statistical record of their own work with that of other workers.

The other point concerns the extent to which statistical detail is needed currently. There is a limit to which even important statistical records should be compiled. Record keeping is exceedingly expensive—much more so, in fact, than is usually appreciated, for usually little or no account is taken of the actual time consumed by nonstatistical members of the staff in preparing the original records and of the interference of this

work with their primary duties. This cost should be carefully estimated in setting up new plans, whether for routine compilation or for special studies. Continuous statistics should be reduced to the minimum needed for actual continuous use, and those compiled routinely should be regarded not as providing all the information needed for judgment on the points to which they relate, but rather as a diagnostic gauge, important change in which may be the signal for instituting a special inquiry.

These comments, it is recognized, have related chiefly to statistics of relief administration. But this is because during the past decade the development of welfare statistics has been chiefly confined to that field. Relief, at present, represents the field of largest welfare operations and largest units of operation, and the statistical function has been undergoing growth and development there because of the urgency of the administrative need. But I should like to close this paper by pointing to the fact that other fields have been neglected, partly because funds for the development of their statistics have not been so readily available. There is now great need for directing attention to the use of statistics as an aid in the administrative functions of planning, controlling, and interpreting the operations of other departments of welfare. Probation, parole, institutional care, and health services are some of the fields that are particularly in need of such development.

RECRUITING OF PERSONNEL IN PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

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✓ **I**N DISCUSSING "the recruitment of personnel" in the field of public welfare at this Conference, it would be carrying coals to Newcastle to spend time outlining the necessity and importance of good personnel in public departments. It is sufficient to say that the problem of getting an adequate number of people with a proper background of experience, training, and personal qualifications to fill the many different jobs in these departments is equally as important as the problem of getting appropriations for relief needs.

The question that must command attention is "how can this be done?" Three major steps are indicated, which are as follows: (1) some instrument of government must be provided whereby employment in public welfare becomes in reality a career service; (2) definite standards of employment practices must be established; and (3) opportunities for formal and in-service training must be provided for all persons operating within the area of public social work.

Thus in the first place, it is essential that a merit system be established through which "appointment, compensation, promotion, demotion, and discharge are based upon merit, and upon merit alone." Experience seems to indicate that this can best be done through the system known as civil service. In this connection, it is well for us to remember that, by and large, across this country, there is not a broad coverage of public welfare employees under the civil service system. In some instances

plans have been made for the provision of a merit system not based on civil service.

In assuming that the civil service system affords many bulwarks of protection to provide decent social services for those in need and security and equitable treatment for the workers in public departments, it must not be assumed that the mere establishment of such a system guarantees these values. Like other legislative enactments, a civil service law is merely an enabling act. The degree of honesty, integrity, intelligence, and skill, which the staffs charged with its administration show, will determine the degree to which protection is afforded the employees and decent social services are provided for the socially disadvantaged. The responsibility for the proper administration of civil service rests in no small measure directly upon the shoulders of those of us who are professionally concerned with social work, both public and private. We shall have good civil service, in relation to public welfare jobs, when there is an insistent public demand for it, and the responsibility of interpreting the imperative needs in this direction to the public is a professional one.

Commissioner Ellis of New Jersey, in pointing out the weak spots in recruiting able personnel, indicates that, "in the first place, in many areas, the public does not now understand the importance of putting welfare service on a sound basis in order that constructive work may be done." Unfortunately, the idea still persists rather generally that the big job of the welfare department is merely to hand out relief orders. Second, "there has been a notable indifference to the importance of trained and competent personnel as the key to the solution of the welfare problem." Third, "we have sufficiently recognized the fact that problems of dependency and special treatment and care afford opportunities which should interest the highest types of professional workers, particularly now that we have come to know that the job does not end with the amelioration of suffering but extends into the thrilling adventures of treatment and research and the establishing of effective well-organized preventative

procedures." The fourth point made by Commissioner Ellis relates to the need for welfare agencies to make it possible for civil service administrations to understand the welfare department, its work, and its needs. All these points indicate the imperative need of proper interpretations of the various phases of public social work—interpretation to the public, interpretation to the body of governing officials, to our own associates in the private field, and to other governmental units with which we have a co-operative relationship.

In the state of New York a great deal has been accomplished in this direction. To be sure, the present system is far from perfect and does in certain instances function to the detriment of a few individuals, whose capacity to do a given job has been demonstrated. It is also true, however, that any law set up for the purpose of making irregularities impossible inevitably hurts many people who have no inclination to walk outside the law. In such instances, it is quite human for administrators or executives to at least consider ways and means of getting around civil service. The utter folly of such a step becomes quite apparent when the price to be paid for it is given thought. A splendid illustration of this is given in Miss Edith Abbott's paper, "Public Welfare and Politics." In New York State it has been possible to have a co-operative relationship established between the State Civil Service Department and the State Department of Social Welfare, whereby job specifications of a sound professional character were established and examinations set up for social-work positions for which no apology need be made to the most discriminating. Furthermore, the statement cannot be challenged with propriety, that following the examinations, lists are established with honesty and integrity.

The co-operative relationship between the two state departments, Civil Service and Social Welfare, has been effective, not only on the state level, but has been the means of guaranteeing examinations of high quality in the smallest cities of the state. By way of illustration, may I explain:

From 1931 until 1937, the staffs in local public welfare de-

partments were employed on a temporary basis, since the necessity of large expenditures for home relief were considered to be both temporary and emergency. Recognizing that the situation no longer was a temporary one, the legislature provided for the induction of such workers into the permanent setup of local welfare departments. This meant that such workers would be required to be employed under rules and regulations of civil service. In New York State, each municipality has a civil service commission which operates on the basis of local autonomy. It becomes obvious, that many of these local commissions would be totally unprepared to provide technical examinations which would place positions in local welfare departments under civil service. Consequently, a plan was arranged whereby through the use of funds from the State Department of Social Welfare, the State Civil Service Department was enabled to take on the task of rating applications, setting up question papers, marking these papers, and establishing lists. This could be done, however, only at the request of the cities concerned. A representative of the State Department of Social Welfare was loaned to the State Department of Civil Service and visited each of the cities of the state. Out of forty-four cities in which examinations were scheduled, thirty-eight agreed to accept the services of the State Department of Civil Service in handling this job. These examinations were held in May. The same examinations were given for comparable jobs in all cities on the same day and at the same time. Of the six cities which did not accept the offer of assistance from the State Civil Service Department in May, practically all have now asked that this service be provided for them and that the candidates for positions in these welfare departments be permitted to compete in the June series of state examinations. Reactions from localities after these examinations were held in May indicated that local public welfare officials and persons who took the examinations felt that they were reasonable and fair, even though difficult. We feel that the holding of these examinations under the auspices of the State Civil Service Commission will guarantee,

in so far as it is possible, that competent workers will be made available to local officials and that workers who have served on an emergency basis will be given a reasonable opportunity to compete for the jobs which they have held during the emergency period.

This serves, I think, as an excellent example of the benefits which can come from the voluntary association of different units of government in the interest of good public service.

Finally, in regard to civil service, may I cite three important considerations which have been stressed by Marjorie Anne Merrill in her article entitled "Personnel Selection and Management."

Those of us who are entering upon or continuing in the growing field of public welfare administration should be careful to consider:

1. That job standards formulated without regard for local conditions will prove detrimental, but that a successful program of recruiting and assimilating workers must be based upon flexible qualifications.

2. That a panacea for sloppy personnel practices and standards which gives rise to agencies of political jobholders cannot be found in any system that establishes and maintains standards by force, but that a sound growing personnel policy must have its roots in public recognition and participation.

3. That the profession of social work cannot afford to disregard the existence of many persons who have been identified with relief work in positions we may now wish to identify with the profession. Some form of recognition with opportunities for advancement must be afforded these people.

STANDARD OF EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

Closely allied with the initial job of recruiting personnel is the task of establishing reasonable standards of employment practice in order that the personnel turnover be reduced to a minimum, and that the greatest possible benefit be derived from personnel employed, through the maintenance of desirable

working conditions. Millspaugh, in his book, *Public Welfare Organization*, lists several measures which are desirable, if not indispensable, to assure the appointment and retention of the best-qualified persons obtainable. These measures may be considered as follows:

1. The exclusion from personnel administration of political partisan and personal motives not connected with administrative fitness.

2. Equitable compensation according to positions and work to be done, at ranges of salary sufficiently high to attract the best-qualified persons.

3. Security of tenure and reasonable assurance of promotion to those whose work is satisfactory, and the reasonable certainty of demotion or dismissal for unsatisfactory work.

4. Physically and psychologically wholesome working conditions and the creation and maintenance of morale.

5. The giving of governmental positions equal or superior prestige to that enjoyed by private employment and the wide advertising of openings in public service.

6. Provision for training those who need training.

7. Where training is given before employment, provision for selecting those best qualified for training and rejecting those who are incompetent even when trained.

The foregoing points are obviously directly related to the problems of recruitment and in many cases impinge on one another. It is important that not only the persons employed within the agency know, but also that prospective employees be made aware of the agency policies, purposes, services, and structure. The areas of responsibility and scope of work should be clearly defined at the time of employment. Special emphasis should be given to a careful interpretation of the agency policy with regard to such matters as vacation, sick leave, hours of work, and the staff relationships between the several bureaus of the department. All these imply the necessity of an agency policy on such matters.

It becomes evident from these considerations that the work

that will be done in an agency and the status of that agency in the community will rest upon the caliber of administration and the interpretation given the agency's activities. To illustrate: In one city of New York State, the salaries paid to beginning investigators two years ago was \$86 a month. This salary range was established by the "city fathers" as being a reasonable one, and there was a solid block of opinion in the city council that no increase would be made. Under the direction of an able but untrained administrator, standards of specifications were established for all positions and a careful job of interpretation done with the members of the city council. As a result, the salaries of these beginning workers were raised from \$86 to \$108 a month, and the minimum at this date is \$1,500 a year.

On the caliber of administrative direction will also depend the type of service that is provided by the public agency, since regardless of appropriations, adequate services will not be available unless the several units of the department are integrated and these units and employees in them appreciate the function of each unit and the necessity for its being a part of the administrative structure. For example, it is probably within the experience of each of us who have been concerned with the administration of public welfare, that the social service division and the division of accounting within the agency functioned as though each was sufficient unto itself. I think it is true to say that generally not only do they function altogether too independently, but there is often no inclination of either unit to appreciate the values that each have and the problems that each must necessarily deal with. The clear definition of areas of responsibility and the co-ordination of these into a well-rounded unit of administration will certainly lessen the worries of an administrator charged with the responsibility of recruiting personnel.

There are two other points which I think a wise administrator will place on his "must" list of things to be done in regard to staff morale. Opportunities must be promised whereby staff members are enabled to participate in the determination of agency policies and procedures, in the light of their working

experience. This principle is basic in the operation of the Department of Social Welfare in New York State. Under present regulations no policy becomes effective until it has been referred to the field staffs in all of the seven area offices. By this means, a proposed policy is subjected to a critical review by the members of the field staff who are out on the front lines and who are keenly aware of the disastrous results of policy establishment without due consideration. The second point to which I think a wise administrator must give his considered attention relates to the adoption of a fair but sound personnel policy, in the formulation of which the staff members have participated. Many of the essential elements of such a policy are obvious; one, however, which is important and which many times is omitted is a clean-cut statement of the agency policy with regard to the right of employees to organize for their mutual advantage.

Up to this point we have discussed the method of recruiting personnel and the policies which should govern the employment of workers in public welfare departments. The final point, that of training for technical workers, is related to both recruitment and employment practice. Because of its importance I propose to give it separate consideration.

We continually stress the fact that training is important in discussing public welfare personnel, but I am not so sure that we always give reason for the "faith that is in us" to those who have the responsibility for making appropriations. Why training is necessary is not either generally understood or accepted. A good example of simple yet effective interpretation of this point is found in the following quotation.

"The one thing humanity has in common is that no two people are alike."¹ This quotation embodies the significant fact upon which a sensible conception of case work is based. When we say that we want the case-work approach in the administration of relief we mean that there should be recognition of individual differences and acceptance of peoples' right to be themselves. The relief worker should be trained to distinguish dif-

¹ Anna Kempshall, *Case Work in Public Relief Agencies*.

ferent needs, to act objectively, yet sympathetically, and to treat differently different standards of living, resources, purposes, and capacities. Though the amount and rate of relief are standardized, peoples' needs remain peculiarly their own and can be considered to some degree within the necessary administrative framework.

Next to the importance of recognizing that people are different is the case-work concept that people should be allowed to use their own capacities, and again we mean everyone, so far as his capacities permit, and not the "new poor" only. Even in mass relief people feel less humiliated and are less crippled by the experience if they are not "investigated" but are encouraged to be participants in a straightforward investigation of their resources. It costs no more in taxpayers' money to help the client keep his self-respect. The most expensive thing that can be done is to force large numbers of people to be merely recipients. Case workers have always believed in self-help and self-direction, but it is the trained worker in the public just as much as in the private agency who most elicits and develops these qualities.

Recognizing the importance of training, it is wise then to set specifications for personnel and salary schedules which will bring persons to the public department who have this type of background; within the agency itself a training program should be established, the scope and character of which will be dictated by the training, experience, aptitude, and responsibilities of all staff members. Due consideration must be given for the different training needs of different staff members.

Provision should be made for workers who show promise to secure formal training at a professional school by leave of absence and scholarships. Such a program has been in operation in New York State, which has made it possible for workers in public assistance and children's services to attend these schools. During the last two years, 147 fellowships have been provided to workers in local welfare departments in the state, outside of

New York City. Of these, 79 received one increase in salary and 43 two or more increases after training was provided. Thirty-five of the student workers sent to schools for training were promoted to supervisory positions. Through this fellowship program not only has there been a decided stimulation throughout these agencies for further opportunities, but our public relations have improved considerably, since local people of capacity were enabled to hold local jobs, and the difficulties of importation were in many cases avoided. In connection with the extension of facilities for formal training, public administrators must accept the responsibility of assisting schools of social work by making available to the schools the services of the department and its staff for the purposes of teaching, supervising field work, and giving consultative service in regard to matters related to public welfare.

Together with opportunities for formal training, a progressive welfare department must provide means whereby workers "will grow on the job, with an increased capacity to do that job." Such in-service training, however, cannot be a substitute for formal training. It is a direct method of improving the quality of service rendered by the agency and brings indirect returns in giving the worker professional satisfaction in work well accomplished.

It is impossible to consider programs for in-service training independently of the scope and character of case supervision provided by the agency. The training program will be only as effective as the skill, imagination, and ingenuity of the supervisor permit. Stimulation to greater competence and the utilization of the workers' potentialities to the best degree depend in the final analysis upon the type of supervision which is available. The use of individual conferences between worker and supervisor, which are planned and are regular, and provision for staff conferences of a wide variety provide the supervisor with boundless opportunities for staff development. Institutes developed from the character and interest of staff groups at

levels from which workers can profit and extension courses tied up with existing educational institutions offer further advantages which can be made resources for staff training.

In closing, may I remark that administrators choosing personnel for public welfare departments at this time will have to live with the people selected for this work, by and large, for many years. This, the least of all reasons, makes the selection of personnel a job that must be well done.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

WHAT ARE THE CASE-WORK NEEDS OF THE AGED?

*Gertrude A. Smith, Medical Social Case Worker
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FOR the last eight years, the Benjamin Rose Institute in Cleveland, Ohio, has been attempting to meet the needs of its aged clients on a case-work basis. Much, if not all, of the writer's opinions about to be expressed have had their birth in the day-by-day experiences as a member of the staff of this organization.

Long before the country as a whole recognized a need for providing for the aged indigent, Mr. Benjamin Rose made provision in his will for the establishment of a foundation to care for old people. Following his death, the Benjamin Rose Institute was established in 1909 and has continued to provide for certain eligible men over sixty-five and women over sixty years of age, residents of Cleveland. During the first twenty years of the Institute's existence no attempt was made to offer case-work service to the beneficiaries; in fact, at that time, social case work was not well enough developed to make much, if any, contribution to the care of the aged. During the last eight years the Rose Institute has been developing a case-work program. Many of the same clients have been on our roll during both regimes, affording us an unusual opportunity for contrasting the results of the two methods.

During this eight-year period we have learned many lessons about the aged and their problems. We are convinced that the majority want case-work service as much as they want money. Before discussing the problems presented at the Rose Institute and the treatment methods employed by the workers there, a

few statistics about the organization may help to picture the work being done in Cleveland.

Approximately 300 men and women are receiving monthly pensions, the average of which is \$30, the maximum \$50, with extra provision for medical care. The largest number are between seventy and seventy-five years of age, a few are between sixty and sixty-five, with a rapid decline in the number between eighty and ninety-three. The mode of living in each case depends upon the individual need and wish. We have approximately 200 living in their own homes or small apartments, 37 with relatives, 27 with friends or in boarding-homes, and 34 in private nursing-homes. Those living alone are physically and mentally capable of managing a home. Those living with relatives are there because it is the happiest arrangement for all concerned, and not because we consider the home of a relative as always the best place for an old person.

Experience has taught us that frequently the picture presented by an applicant in his first appeal for a pension is not a true portrayal. Particularly is this true with those brought up to believe that every self-respecting person should be thrifty, independent, and provide for old age. They come distraught, feeling it a disgrace to admit dependency, desperately wanting help, but holding back the real facts. They frequently dramatize their situations and present pictures they think will be acceptable to the worker. In many ways the aged are like children, unable to cope with the adult world, and so they concoct devices to get what they want.

If we are to get the facts in these early interviews, we must search through all that the applicant says for the real problems. We must have patience while he reminisces, keeping constantly in mind that the tempo of an interview will be slower than with a young person, but that we must control the course. If we are patient, give the client time to tell his story, show by our very attitude and facial expression that we are sympathetic and understanding, if when applicable we interpret this changing world, pointing out that the philosophy of old age dependency

is now different from what it was twenty years ago, we shall have made it easy for the applicant to give an honest portrayal of his needs as he sees them. Frequently in the first interview we can be of service to an individual who must be rejected because his financial needs may not yet be as great as others. In this day of specialization the older person looks to us, in agencies for the aged, for the sympathy and understanding he often does not get at home. Frequently we are called upon to give consultative service in matters of medical care, nursing-home, or family problems long before financial aid is necessary.

Not many months ago at the Rose Institute we analyzed the problems presented by our beneficiaries, a group which from the standpoint of its social problems is probably characteristic of any group of aged dependents. The most obvious problem was financial. Those of you who are familiar with Gordon Hamilton's *Terminology*¹ will recognize our use of its classification in the following subdivision of the financial problems most prevalent among our clientele. They are: economic insecurity, economic dissatisfaction, budgetary mismanagement, and involved property situations.

We find that our success in helping the individual meet his problems depends upon his desire to be helped, his mental and emotional capacity to accept and act on suggestions, and the wealth or dearth of community resources, such as adequate quarters at low rental, good boarding- and nursing-homes.

Next in importance to financial are the health problems, which include acute as well as chronic, physical, and mental diseases. It is a well-known fact that the human body breaks down late in life, but it is equally true that the aged suffer unnecessarily because of the prevalent assumption that the majority, if not all diseases of old age are chronic. Life is not yet over for these people, nor are their ailments necessarily hopeless. What should be kept constantly in mind is that there is a difference between enfeeblement and those health problems

¹ *A Medical Social Terminology*. New York City: Social Service Department, Presbyterian Hospital, 1930.

which call for active treatment. The tendency even among many good doctors is to show less interest in his older patients than in the young. Too often older people have been labeled neurotic or psychotic and treated as such when there was present an organic basis for the difficulty. This is generally true in cases of generalized arteriosclerosis, brain tumor, or general paresis. We should always be skeptical and suspect a physical basis when psychotic symptoms appear for the first time after a person reaches old age. At the Rose Institute the discriminating selection of doctors has made it possible for many so-called chronics to enjoy active life.

The present-day hospital dispensary is not geared to meet the demands of the older ambulatory patient. Long waits, plus the limited time allotted the doctor for each patient, tend to confuse, tire, and discourage him. Here even more than in the private doctor's office there is a tendency to consider each old person as an uninteresting chronic. The result is ineffectual treatment of his illness and an increase in the patient's belief that when old no one is interested in you. As medical science advances in its study of chronic diseases, we may hope for more effective treatment of the diseases of senescence.

To serve the beneficiaries of the Rose Institute we have selected with great care a medical board of three general practicing physicians, a dentist, and an oculist. When occasionally one of these is baffled by a situation, a specialist may be called in consultation. This procedure has actually saved money in the end and has reduced the discomfort and anxiety of the patient.

A leading drug company, which dispenses only the best grade of medicines and supplies, fills our orders, and because of the quantity used each month can afford to give a generous discount. In addition to pharmaceutical supplies we also provide artificial dentures and glasses when prescribed by competent dentists and oculists. The average cost per month for this entire service is \$200, or less than \$1.00 per month per client.

Just as important as the selection of the doctor is the choice of the nursing-home. We have attempted to raise the local stand-

ards by refusing to patronize those which cannot meet certain requirements. To be acceptable to us one graduate nurse must be in constant attendance, the linen changed frequently, the food adequate, the general appearance of the place and neighborhood respectable, and finally, but by no means the least important, our patients treated with kindness.

In addition to the financial and health problems, we have a third group which we classify as emotional. These problems call for case-work skill if we are to render effectual service. Because the aged as a group react emotionally rather than intelligently to their problems, it is important that we study each person as an individual, remembering that the aged are no more homogeneous than those of other age groups. The way a person reacts to old age and its problems corresponds to his earlier reaction to other phases of life.

Thus we find that some adjust to old age peacefully, while others will not accept its limitations. There are those who cling to old things and places, making it difficult for us to improve their environment. Only when we can learn the causative factors for the attachment and offer a satisfying substitute are our results satisfactory. Dr. A. Kardiner² tells us that old people hold to worthless objects and reject change because they identify with the object or place, and so to admit that the usefulness of a thing is over is to admit that their own usefulness is also over. Others react in the opposite manner, are restless, move from place to place never satisfied, and are unable to find a place in the world. Still others scoff at any intimation that their powers are weakening and go to extremes to convince themselves that they are not growing old. They react to a delusion that all is well.

It is true in case work with the aged, as with other age groups, that some react favorably to treatment while others do not. One of the obstacles to successful case treatment is the difficulty

² "Psychological Factors in Old Age," in *Mental Hygiene in Old Age*. Family Welfare Association of America, 1937.

in some instances in helping these people feel that they still hold a place of usefulness in the world.

Consider Miss C. for instance. She is the last of her family. Her father died when she was three. The adolescent years when she should have been having a good time were spent helping her mother maintain a large rooming-house. When she was seventeen her only sister, to whom she was devoted, died, and three years later her mother, leaving her at the age of twenty alone in the world with no close relatives. Her mature years were spent working as a practical nurse. During this time she denied herself all pleasure in order to save. The early family struggle for existence had made such a lasting impression on her that she has gone through life denying herself any recreation in order to build a bank reserve for her old age and to escape burial in potter's field. For the last eight years her situation has been made more pathetic by ill-health. Savings had to be drawn upon and were depleted much earlier than she had anticipated.

Even the granting of a pension and the assurance that it would continue through life if needed failed to give her a feeling of financial security, and she continues to live as frugally as in the past. Totally lacking any capacity within herself for happiness, she radiates discontent wherever she is. Any suggestion from the case worker which if carried out might make her life fuller she rejects. She is wretched, but blocks all offers of help. Knowing what we do about her, we question whether she would ever respond to case-work treatment.

In contrast, there is Miss D., age seventy, an accomplished musician, who unlike Miss C., had a happy childhood. There was money, and her father was cultured. Believing that European schools had more to offer his motherless daughters than boarding-schools in this country, he sent them to France. Miss D. early showed rare ability at the piano and was given every advantage of the best French and German conservatories. Her well-developed talent, charming manner, and lovely appearance made her popular wherever she went. She was acclaimed not only in Europe but in the Orient and later in this country.

The illness of her father and sister eventually brought her back to Cleveland. Her father died and her sister had to be committed to an institution for the insane. These were trying years for her. Then came the stock-market crash and heavy financial losses. In referring her to the Rose Institute for a pension the doctors expressed their belief that in spite of her emotional temperament she could make a satisfactory adjustment to society if given financial security.

She was granted a pension, assisted in working out satisfactory living arrangements, was given medical and dental care as needed, and encouraged to take up her music, which for so many years had been her life. At first she was discouraged over her regression, due to years away from the piano. One day she admitted rather timidly that what she wanted more than anything else was to take a few lessons from Mr. M., an outstanding pianist. It seemed like a foolish wish to her since she knew his rates were prohibitive on her pension, but she saw no harm in verbalizing her aspiration to a listener she knew would be sympathetic. She was, therefore, astounded, when some weeks later the case worker announced that she had made arrangements for an audition before the teacher of her choice. Astonishment turned to childish delight when, the audition over, he announced that special financial arrangements would be made at once in order that she might have the desired lessons.

For over a year she has been spending hours daily at the piano. She has good reason to believe that she may realize her ambition to again bring happiness to others by appearing in public as a pianist. We have good reason to believe that her emotional excess is being worked out and that she is making a more satisfactory adjustment because she feels that her days of usefulness are not yet over.

Emotional manifestations are commonly seen in old people in the form of anxiety, suspicion, and hyperindependence. One reason these emotional problems assume such proportion is because the majority of old people have too much time to think about themselves. In this world of modern conveniences we all

have more leisure than ever before. Serious thought must, therefore, be given to the recreational or leisure-time needs of our clients.

We have been able to discover the needs and develop the treatment of our aged through the use of our records. Believing that the greatest value in a record is its use as a tool in treatment, we strive to keep them from being episodic or static like a photograph, but concise, alive, and analytical, containing, apart from factual data, only material which has potential significance in treatment. The personality changes in old age are rapid, and unless we record certain incidents and attitudes we have difficulty in evaluating our treatment and have no tangible basis for study and research in this new field of case work.

We agree with Dr. A. Kardiner³ when he says: "Any program of Social Security which takes care of the aged by allowing them a stipend takes care of only one small portion of the psychological factors in old age"; and with Mr. Harry Lurie when he says: "A program for the care of the aged, in addition to offering economic resources for dependents, must offer intelligent service for medical, personality and social adjustments."⁴

By way of summarization, we believe that the case-work needs of the aged are: (1) Sufficient economic security to provide appropriate living conditions, an adequate diet, and clothing; (2) medical care; (3) recreation; (4) a feeling of usefulness; (5) to be understood and treated as individuals.

Some will make the best adjustment in homes of relatives, many more in homes of their own, still others in boarding- or nursing-homes, while some will find in homes for the aged the security they seek. The important thing to remember is that health and personality requirements vary in different individuals and that the Social Security Act, providing for old age assistance, does not by any means offer an ideal or final solution to the problems of the aged. We have every reason to believe

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "The Relation of the Family Service Agency and the Care of the Aged," in *The Care of the Aged*, ed. I. M. Rubinow. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

that they will be even more serious in the future than in the past. We must recognize that we have new trails to blaze. People past sixty are capable of change and growth, but more time must be given them to effect the change. There is a challenge to develop a better understanding of their needs and better techniques in this new and specialized field of social work. It calls for a change in our philosophy regarding the lives of old people; it calls for leaders and trained workers who will consider the job neither depressing nor hopeless, but a challenge in a new field.

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RECREATIONAL NEEDS OF THE AGED

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CERTAIN facts about the aged, those sixty-five years and over, serve to give special significance to the subject of their recreational needs. The first is that the aged, numbering almost 8,000,000 at present, show a progressive rise in their proportion to the general population. Comprising but 5.4 per cent of the population in 1930, they will represent 11.3 per cent of the total in 1980, according to estimates. A second is that because of severely limited employment opportunities and because of the effects of various retirement mechanisms, such as old age insurance, old age assistance, aid from relatives, and the like, the aged tend to be a predominantly leisure group. A third is that because of special physical, psychological, and social characteristics, their physical and mental activity is reduced, their social lives narrowed, and their satisfactions diminished. In such a setting the role of a stimulating, pleasure-giving, socially enriching recreational program is one of particular importance.

As the question of leisure of the population in general has begun only recently to receive serious attention, it is not surprising to find that consideration for the specialized recreational needs of the aged is very limited and of very late origin. As a matter of fact, we are at present only entering the threshold of this field. The New York Committee on the Use of Leisure Time points out that "a program for socially, physically and mentally handicapped groups is almost entirely lacking."¹ While

¹ *Report of the New York Committee on Use of Leisure Time* (1934).

not directly alluding to the aged, the findings of the committee certainly apply to elderly people who, if not quite as handicapped, have been almost as much neglected. The person surveying the field of recreation for the aged will find that, although interesting recreational ideas have appeared sporadically in different parts of the country at various times, there is little recreational planning of a sustained character and extremely little of a comprehensive, programmatic nature.

The recreational activities arranged for its clients by the Old Age Assistance Division of the New York City Department of Welfare are no exception to the observation just made. These activities will be reviewed in some detail to illustrate the pattern of the thinking about recreation in a large public agency dealing with the aged and also for the purpose of setting down this experience for whatever value it may have to others giving thought to the question.

One of our first experiments was an entertainment, consisting of a musical program and a vaudeville presentation, held in Staten Island, our most suburban and country-like borough, where we believed our clients would benefit most from such an event. Names of clients who were physically able and would be interested were submitted by the field workers serving that borough. The use of an auditorium in a centrally located school was secured, and the services of a few musicians and a small vaudeville unit were obtained from the W.P.A. Of the two hundred people invited, about fifty attended and evidenced great enjoyment. Though not well attended, the entertainment did indicate to us that some of our clients would respond and would enjoy such events.

Continuing to choose that area where our resident clients would benefit most, we selected for the scene of our next event the Harlem area, where most of our Negro clients live. Besides reaching those who were perhaps most socially underprivileged, we were able to reach a fairly homogeneous group. A musical entertainment was arranged at a conveniently located community center, where a program was given consisting of instru-

mental and vocal offerings by Negro artists whose services were made available by the W.P.A. About a hundred of our Negro clients attended the concert, which was completely successful. The reception of the musical numbers, the hearty participation by the audience in the singing of Negro spirituals and other folk songs demonstrated the keen pleasure experienced by all. Our workers in this area, acting as ushers and hostesses, recognized clients who, accompanied by relatives or obliging neighbors, had ventured away from their homes for the first time in many months. The exuberant expressions of thankfulness at the end of the concert and the inquiries regarding future events left no doubt about the interest of the audience, the enjoyment and benefit derived, and the worth-whileness of such efforts.

In order to reach probably the most lonely of our clients and to show the esteem with which the dependent aged are held by the city fathers, a Thanksgiving dinner was given by Mayor LaGuardia at the city hall for some of our most venerable recipients. Speeches by the mayor, Commissioner Hodson, and by a few of the clients were broadcast over the Municipal Broadcasting Station.

Some time later a musical entertainment and tea was held at a community center for about a hundred clients who lived in the borough of Queens. Again, members of the staff submitted names of recipients, obtained the auditorium, arranged for talent through W.P.A., managed a loan of song sheets for community singing, got donations of refreshments from local stores, and acted as hostesses at the affair. Despite the fact that the function was held during the winter, the afternoon was a success, from the point of view of client enjoyment and a sense of reward for the participating members of the staff who felt that they were filling a need that could not be met by a budget item.

Another entertainment was given on our East Side, which, like Harlem, is also an underprivileged area, but one that is relieved by many excellent settlement houses and other community agencies. There, with the hearty co-operation of a pro-

gressive settlement, we arranged a dramatic entertainment for about seventy-five of our clients living in the area served by this settlement. Our clients, who made up most of the audience, were welcomed to the house with graciousness and tact by a member of its staff and invited to attend the rest of the plays, forums, and other events in its busy schedule. Laughter from those not much given to such expression greeted every humorous situation, and even those who didn't quite understand all the English joined in the infectious jollity.

The foregoing events were convincing evidence to us of the interest our clients had in the group-entertainment type of activity. An effort was next made to try something that would directly reflect the individual interests, hobbies, and activities of our recipients. Our workers would often report the lovely things they had seen in the clients' homes collected or made by them in connection with hobbies still actively continued. To emphasize these more active recreational pursuits, we began our most ambitious venture, a "Treasure Show," which consisted of an exhibit of any objects possessing aesthetic value that had been created or collected by our clients, or by any other persons seventy years of age in the community who wished to participate. The chief aim behind this plan was to give public recognition to the talents of elderly people, to encourage them in the continuation of their leisure pursuits, and to stimulate others to such activities by the example of the work of their contemporaries.

A committee was formed consisting of a representative of the State Department of Social Welfare and volunteers from our own staff. Names of clients who were thought to have objects suitable for exhibition were submitted by our field workers, the clients visited and acquainted with our plans. The response was overwhelmingly favorable.

An exhibit hall was obtained at a settlement house that had put on many shows of its own, and the head worker kindly volunteered his professional experience in assisting to mount and arrange ours. The department's publicity staff, alert to this

opportunity for public education regarding the interests and activities of the aged in our city and the department's relations to them, contributed its services. A number of persons prominent in the field of art, public affairs, and welfare work with the aged were appointed by Mayor LaGuardia to serve as a committee of patrons and patronesses of the exhibit. Through the help of the Federal Art Project of the W.P.A., many attractive posters announcing the show were obtained and were distributed by our field staff in prominent places throughout the city. Newspaper copy was prepared by the publicity staff for the day of the opening and for publication at intervals thereafter.

Contributions of one or more objects from ninety-one persons were finally chosen as acceptable from the many more which were offered. Entries, made in the occupational therapy departments of some homes for the aged, were also sent. A host of interests, activities, and hobbies were represented. Paintings, a number possessing high artistic merit, were present in profusion and had to be limited. Also among the items were drawings, ship models, treasured heirlooms handed down for generations, fine embroideries, delicate shawls, lovely wood carvings, pieces of sculpture, and other items too numerous to mention, which filled the good-sized exhibit hall to capacity.

The client-exhibitors, the patrons and patronesses, and other distinguished guests were invited to the opening of the exhibit. An air of pride in their own contributions and admiration for those of other exhibitors were clearly expressed in the beaming faces of the clients who, with newly found energy, strode the exhibit hall, talked eagerly with the visitors, and once again courted and merited praise. A sense of renewal with the general current of life, a realization that the world was aware of their existence and their contributions to the community were some of the feelings that these elderly people experienced that day.

Accounts of the opening of the show, with photographs of some of the exhibits and exhibitors, appeared in the newspapers, which carried releases at intervals during the two weeks' course

of the event. Our recipients, their friends, the rest of our staff, and the general public were invited to attend any of the two daily sessions of the exhibit, which was seen by 2,500 people. Here it was graphically demonstrated that elderly people did have recreational interests, capacities, and talents. Here it was also demonstrated that they greatly needed recognition of their interests and encouragement to continue expressing them.

And now I come to the last, perhaps the most significant and promising activity, of any the division has so far promoted. The possibility of arousing interest in our clients to attend plays, concerts, and teas, and the profit to be derived from such activities was by now abundantly demonstrated to us. However, for the more active, mentally alert, and for our younger client group around sixty-five, we believed a more stimulating, continuous type of activity would be more attractive and rewarding. Fortunately, a community resource was available which we hoped we could press into service for our purpose. The Adult Education Program of the W.P.A. was approached, and we learned that, in conformity with its policy to organize a class in any of its varied subjects for a group of ten or more adults, the W.P.A. would be glad to provide an instructor in any subject we requested. Thereupon, we interested some of our field workers. Clients were interviewed about the matter, responded eagerly, and soon a nucleus was formed of twelve men living more or less in one area. The number was intentionally kept small and confined to men to assure similarity of interests. As this planning occurred about November of last year, around the time of our election, when a new city charter was to be voted, the subject for the class suggested to the clients and agreed to by them was a course in "Civics and Proposed Changes in the City Government."

A meeting-room for the weekly sessions was obtained once more in a conveniently located settlement house. An instructor was assigned, and the first meeting (after the election) was arranged. Conducted on an informal and discussion basis, the interest of the group was obviously manifest in the spirited dis-

cussions, the frequent interruptions of the instructor, the ideas confidently advanced and stoutly defended. At the conclusion of the hour's session, coffee and cake, obtained through donations, were served by the field worker in the district who had organized this group and who acted as hostess and as the division's representative at each of the subsequent meetings. With the refreshments and the social side of the hour looked after by the district worker, the meeting ended smoothly and enjoyably with the "students" eagerly anticipating the next one. When the civics phase of the course was covered, an easy transition was made to a weekly consideration and discussion of current events. The attendance, despite the winter season, was fairly constant. The interest of the group, which depended not only on the subject matter, but also to a considerable degree on the right kind of instructor, was maintained.

With this group launched satisfactorily, a mixed group of twelve men and women was started at a settlement house in another part of the city. The subject, "Contemporary History," presented along more academic lines, though vitally and informally, proved most stimulating and enjoyable. Again the division's district worker acted as hostess, served refreshments, and took care of the social part of the meeting.

So favorably received was this subject and so effective the instructor, that the same subject, presented by the same instructor, was given to another group consisting of eighteen men and women in a community center in another section of the city. This class functioned most satisfactorily. Its members served on a sick committee, which visited any classmate absent because of illness. This group plans to retain its identity by forming itself into a club with regular officers, by having outings during the summer, and by enrolling for another course in the fall.

Our most recent group, of about twelve men, meets weekly at a settlement house in still another part of the city, where a course in "Everyday Problems in Healthful Living" is given. This class finds interest and profit in discussing the principles of

hygiene as they apply to the requirements of elderly people. Even the member who dozes off quite regularly apparently derives some benefit from the course, for his attendance record is well-nigh perfect. Pamphlets and other educational material on many phases of the subject are distributed to the class for perusal at home.

While this is only the fourth of such groups, it is hoped that we may be able to start many more on different subjects in various parts of the city. So far, these classes, the first of which began in the middle of November, have held the interests of their members, who have attended with surprising regularity. By their statements and by their eagerness to continue these meetings, these elderly people have indicated a degree of enjoyment and stimulation which has been the reward for the efforts of the staff members associated with the activity and has been the inspiration for further planning along these lines.

Because of limitations of time, very brief consideration will be given to a few significant activities that point directions which the person interested in a rounded recreational program for elderly people should consider. The idea of sheltered workshops, exemplified by Crawford Shops of the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor in New York City, can be adapted to recreational purposes so that it may serve the manual and occupational interests of a large section of the aged. The common experience of homes and institutions for the aged that elderly men and women can find pleasurable activity in the making of rugs, toys, and many kinds of needlework, marks this as a noteworthy type of recreational effort. The experience of the Recreational Department of Louisville, Kentucky, in successfully developing the game of croquet for elderly people, and the popularity of horseshoe pitching in California and Florida for old people point to the possibility of employing exercise and sports in a recreational program for them. It may be noted that Dr. I. L. Nescher, in his *Geriatrics*,² states that physical exercise, together with mental stimulation and diet,

² Blackiston, 1916.

represent the three outstanding factors in dealing with the problem of old age. The use of volunteers in a friendly visiting plan, developed in the state of Washington, is a valuable extension to a service program that has recreational value. The purpose is to re-establish contact between the lonely old person and the community by the volunteer's performing such services as reading to those with failing vision, writing letters to friends or relatives, obtaining books from libraries, providing automobile outings, and the like. The School for Maturates, conducted by W. A. McKeever in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, for more than 900 men and women over seventy years of age, confirms the New York City Old Age Division's experience in this type of activity. Annual or periodic vacations in the country, like the ones in Sunset Lodge offered to the clients and friends of the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor in New York City, have considerable recreational and restorative value. These references indicate but a few of the interesting recreational activities for the aged that are going on which could figure in the development of any well-rounded program.

What does the New York City Old Age Assistance Division's experience with the recreational events it has sponsored indicate? To me it indicates: (1) that our recipients have largely unutilized leisure time; (2) that they will welcome, will use, and will enjoy opportunities for recreational expression; (3) that diversified activities to provide for different interests at various mental and physical levels should be made available in an attractive, understanding manner; (4) that community recreational resources should be more flexible and should be made available to elderly people; and (5) that to provide adequately for the recreational needs of such people, planning of a continuous character is required.

To implement these observations, a program of education, interpretation, and promotion is necessary, which would entail the following: (1) bringing the recreational needs of the aged effectively to the attention of the staffs of those agencies dealing directly with them; (2) acquainting the agencies serving the

recreational needs of the general community with the unfulfilled leisure needs of the aged, and having those agencies—settlement houses, community centers, schools, churches, libraries, recreation agencies—plan to meet these needs; and (3) having the agencies dealing with the aged accept the responsibility of taking the initiative in planning, promoting, and providing a comprehensive, continuing recreational program.

In conclusion, I should like to quote the following passage from Dr. Abram Kardiner's "Psychological Factors in Old Age":

For an ideal society, we would demand for the aged that their activities should never be abruptly stopped, but changed in accordance with their altered capacities; for, as long as the individual is alive, in addition to food and love he needs the opportunity to be both functioning and effective.³

³ *Mental Hygiene in Old Age*. Family Welfare Association of America, 1937.

MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE AGED THROUGH PRIVATE INSTITUTIONAL CARE

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TODAY social workers are greatly concerned over the question whether state or public care will or should supplant private agencies. In the May issue of the *Survey*, Paul Kellogg, in support of the value of private institutions, points out rather acutely:

We shall need the sheltered social practice of such agencies just as we need undisturbed research in university laboratories. We shall look to these institutions for scientific advances, for concentrated and individualized care, for independent criticism and demonstration.

The truth of Mr. Kellogg's assertion has been demonstrated by the experience of the Hebrew Home for Aged in San Francisco. In the last twenty years the home has passed through an evolutionary period. In the course of this experience certain principles have come to light, which, we feel, are of general validity and will be of general interest. We are hopeful that these findings may be accepted as an advance in the human science of the care for the aged.

Recall, for a moment, the typical almshouse of twenty-five years ago, which, in all its wretchedness, was not only a public scandal, but an indictment against civilization as well. Here in segregated districts usually far removed from the center of a city were found the old, the sick, the feeble, the chronic incurables, and, at times, even children—all huddled in misery.

The fundamental difference between the old, vicious institution of the past and the more humane institution prevalent today is one of physical comfort and care. Psychologically con-

sidered, however, both types of institution remain identical. In both, the inmates do not live—they merely exist. The essence of living for both old and young is adequate activity.

The common defect of the isolated poorhouse of yesterday and the more advanced home for the aged of today is the total and complete absence of activity. This hopeless inactivity quickly degenerates into morbid thinking. This attitude of dread is reflected in the worried faces of aged women, rocking and swaying, as if waiting for nothing to happen; and old men tapping their canes, as if the impatient beating of time would hasten the inevitable end.

In 1930, at a convention in Boston, we ventured to present a picture of accomplished progress. The Home for Aged in San Francisco had mastered the task of changing a place of gloom and listless existence into a normal, healthful home. Here residents had acquired the art of growing old through a joyful, interesting, constructive scheme of living. ✓

The principles which we urged at this conference were: (1) that adequate activity is essential for normal living at every age; (2) that in old age adequate appropriate activity is crucial for the preservation of life itself.

The answer to the problem as to what constitutes appropriate activity for old age came to us out of practical experience. We drew the conclusion that old age must be kept vital by activity, recreational and cultural in nature, individualized in selection, and socialized in expression.

The foregoing principles are basic and fundamental in the care of the aged and should consciously underlie all institutional programs.

In the practical application of this principle certain fundamental corollaries were observed. ✓

First, that all activity must be voluntary. No one should be compelled to engage in any activity. There should be no regimentation. Compulsion would defeat the very purpose of the program.

Second, the activities should be built around the desires, inclinations, talents, and past experiences of the individual.

Third, added value is derived from group activity whenever possible, in contrast to solitary pursuits. It might be added that the program must be flexible. The activity in any institution at any given time and place should depend solely upon the types of individuals then and there resident.

Guided by these principles, patient, persistent effort brought into existence in our Home for the Aged a lively little world. Groups of old folks around a piano gave rise to a glee club; former lovers of theater drama organized dramatic groups; students, politicians, and lodge members joined current-topics discussion groups. The dance floor found couples congregating to again try the dances of yesteryear. This group life proved a powerful force in increasing the happiness of our inmates.

We may observe generally that eight years ago we placed accent on recreational and cultural activity. As a result of our previous experience we had deliberately concentrated on these activities as the necessary normal and suitable outlets for the limited capacities of the aged groups. A friendly yet skeptical reception greeted our presentation in 1930, it being thought that the plan, though perhaps unique, was definitely local. It is interesting to note the national change in attitude toward this very problem during so short a period as eight years.

It is gratifying to report the increasing general acceptance of the essential value of a cultural and recreational program in homes for the aged, and the responsive attitude on the part of so many communities throughout the country which have successively adopted this plan.

In the meantime, we in San Francisco found that we had reached no ultimate truths; that there was still much room for study and for improvement of our plan. We recognized the value of activity over passive entertainment. Subsequently we came to a realization that our general program could be greatly improved by injecting therein a new motivation.

We found from our actual experience that if the activity of

the aged person were not only recreationally enjoyable or culturally stimulating but were linked to a practical or economic use, the psychological benefit would be enhanced. The essence of the matter is that activity which is economically useful provides a satisfaction, a sense of real living—of earning one's keep. In brief, the addition of the economic motif to activity of old age is as valuable psychologically in homes for the aged as it is normally beneficial to life in general.

Accordingly, we conclude that opportunity should be provided for the expression of individual capacities, talents, or experiences, so that the aged persons in our care may engage in such projects as serve a practical and economic use in the home. We need not go outside the institution to provide an outlet for such economic urge. It is rare that a faculty or craft practiced in preinstitutional life will not serve an end that will be found useful in the institution itself.

Again we sound a warning that such activity is intended solely for the benefit of the individual and not for the benefit of the institution. It would be pathetic if such work should resemble prison labor. We of the Hebrew Home for Aged in San Francisco received a warm response, on the part of our residents, to this suggestion of establishing a new productive concern, to run at its own tempo, devoid of rules and regulations. We found them ready, willing, and able to contribute and participate.

There are, of course, obvious limitations. All residents are not adaptable to such a program. Health and strength may prevent many, otherwise inclined, from participating. Yet it is surprising how many old people retain their faculties and capabilities, to be sure at slower speed, and joyfully return to the practices of useful life which they enjoyed before old age announced itself.

It came to them with surprise that they were capable of renewing their formerly useful lives. Once realized, the idea brought them renewed zeal for living. Their energy and willingness had an outlet which produced tangible gains. The work of

the old folks in many cases compares favorably with the accepted standards of skill in competitive industry. The annual output of men and women reaches a commercial value of several thousands of dollars.

Carpenters build such articles as tables, cabinets, stage sets, garden arbors, and benches. Upholsterers decorate and reupholster chairs, couches, and keep furnishings in repair. Tailors and dressmakers fashion clothing designed by their own hands. Our old men who love gardening are no longer satisfied to simply rake a garden, they raise flowers and plants to decorate the rooms of the home.

Years ago old ladies crocheted the useless tidy-after-tidy. Today this is replaced by dozens of tray cloths, bureau scarfs, bed jackets, cross-stitched tablecloths, etc.—all used for the comfort of both the well and the sick.

A barber-shop conducted by the old folks is a model in sanitation. Here tonsorial skill is given to both sexes. Even the recreational and cultural work has been modified and expanded to include practical craftsmanship. In 1930 we looked with pride upon a home newspaper of six pages. The old folks wrote the articles, but the work of publishing the paper was done outside the institution. Today we are able to report that this leaflet has grown to a magazine of twenty-six pages. The periodical is written, edited, mimeographed, assembled, and mailed by the old people themselves. In addition to this, the art work, including the etched cover page, is due to the skill of an eighty-five-year-old gentleman. The editor is a wheel-chair case.

I listened to an interview between the editor and one of our residents who had crossed the ocean 104 times on business trips for a concern dealing in hops. His wife accompanied him and did her shopping in Paris one week of each year. As I listened, I realized how he and many others had left broader contacts behind them and how keenly they had enjoyed the sparkle of prosperity. They were "slithered off" in the depression and thrown into mass unemployment. Such people find renewed joy in life in renewed activity.

We number among our residents men who, as stage managers, were responsible for the appearance of such theatrical celebrities as Sarah Bernhardt. There are also former members of opera staffs, prominent attorneys, physicians, teachers, carpenters, upholsterers, tailors, and housewives. This experienced group is willing and anxious to adopt the new road to reliving. They are desirous of forging ahead into continued or new fields of endeavor, as if life for them really began at seventy.

We could continue with numerous examples of this outpouring of renewed life-interest. Suffice to say our experience convinced us that a program based upon the foregoing principles is applicable to any home for the aged, provided only that it be sufficiently individualized and adapted to the particular economic outlets available and to the aptitudes of the residents.

Remember, however, we deal at the outset with a mentally despondent and physically dilapidated group of weary old folks. They must be studied and sympathetically and patiently nursed into such a program. It is a slow and tedious process and is based on maximum effort, understanding, interest, and zeal, and an inspirational desire to serve.

It is for the social workers to gather the strength necessary to readjust, rehabilitate, and re-educate these men and women whose lives, handicapped by old age, have been disrupted in the struggle against great and changing economic tides.

Thus far we have dealt with our experience in coping with the needs of the aged within the institution. Paralleling our progress within the institution itself, there has developed in San Francisco a somewhat unique agency which integrates the Home for Aged with the whole field of care of the dependent in the community. It is known as the Bureau for Dependent Aged. It consists of several representatives from the Federation, the Eureka Benevolent or Relief Dispensing Agency, Mt. Zion Hospital, and the Home for Aged.

To this Bureau all cases of dependent aged in the community are referred. The Bureau, meeting as a whole committee, reviews each case. The economic, social, and medical history is

discussed. The case is studied from a broad community interest rather than from the viewpoint of any single agency.

After careful consideration, the Bureau decides upon the type of care necessary and refers the case to the agency best adapted to meet the needs of the individual. No longer is the applicant at the mercy of his own ignorance and friendlessness. No longer is he subjected to the mood of a social worker, nor is he dependent upon the restricted outlook of individual agencies.

Through the Bureau, the community as a whole takes responsibility for every case of dependent aged from first to last, re-investigating, rechecking, and rerouting if necessary. The Bureau does not stop functioning nor does it consider its responsibility discharged until the individual has been provided with the best and most appropriate care that can be made available in the community.

Let us take a special case, one of many. Miss D. was a ward patient, aged seventy-five, in Mt. Zion Hospital. The case was discharged medically, due to chronic disease, and was about to be sent to the County Relief Home. The hospital social worker, familiar with the history, reported the case as an emergency to the Bureau, as it then happened to be in session. Immediately all forces worked together. A committee visited the patient in the hospital, application was taken, history studied, medical report acted upon, and a decision reached that the case needed immediate placement requiring institutional care. Within a few hours the patient was transferred by ambulance from the hospital to the Home for the Aged.

This completed program was accomplished without any effort on the part of the applicant. Compare this sensible, happy procedure with the wretched and unfortunate experience of applicants who bat around the community in heart-breaking search for aid that, ironically enough, is there for all. This is a partial picture of the committee service to the individual.

The Bureau also protects the institution itself from the importunity of types of the aged who seek admission but who are not adapted to group life within the home. This process of selec-

tion involves an intimate and intelligent understanding of each case from an economic, medical, and social point of view before admission. This preliminary study is a potent factor in bringing about prompt adjustment within the institution. It serves to break down imaginary fears and dreads of the applicant before he crosses the threshold into his new home. It prepares him to anticipate the warm human atmosphere awaiting him.

The Bureau fulfils a third important and broader function. It is in position to act as a community planning agency on all problems concerning the aged. It should operate as a guidance clinic alert to and conscious of the trends which affect the aged group.

The Bureau surveys the entire field of care and, responsive to any change, it flashes its signal information to the community. It should offer suggestions to each agency as to modification of policy required or physical changes in buildings necessary to best complete the task and responsibility assigned to it. I cannot overemphasize that already the Bureau has produced tangible results. Through it the responsibility of each agency dealing with dependent aged becomes the responsibility of the community, and the needs of all dependent aged are more efficiently met through centralized and co-ordinated effort. It is amazing how much improved is the service of each agency when the trained eye of the community is continuously focused upon it and when, at the same time, the sympathetic co-operation of all other agencies is at its disposal.

We venture to say that if any community were to survey the entire field of its dependent aged, it would find a large area of need either overlooked or partially neglected or perhaps knowingly disregarded. The glaring gap in service is that of the care of the aged chronic sick. We ask ourselves, why should a community wilfully weaken in the medical interest and social care required at this terminal stage of life?

There are many replies but no answers. The task of adequate care for chronic sick, itself, is admittedly difficult. It is long termed, uninteresting, and not spectacular. It concerns

old folks—difficult, fault-finding, and troublesome to handle, owing to age and physical handicaps and retarded recuperative functions.

So the responsibility of caring for chronic cases is evaded. Their own families are unable to help, assuming their willingness to furnish adequate care; private boarding-homes are not equipped and turn them away. Homes for aged in many communities bar the door of admission to any but the well and strong. Physicians in many cases are disinterested in the study and treatment of the phase of medicine dealing with the aged chronic sick. Hospitals are reluctant and refuse to give up beds to long-termed care. As a result of disinterest, lack of co-operation, and evasion of responsibility, this helpless aged group finds itself forsaken and drifting out of reach of needed aid.

Foreseeing the inevitable future increase in the already heavy load, each social agency concerned hesitates to accept basic responsibility. It is realized that as the span of life grows longer and as preventive and curative medicine progress we will be more and more concerned with the chronic disease among the aged. The problem is a growing one.

Beyond question, the prevailing practice today throughout the country in private institutions for the aged is to refuse admission to the chronically ill and, in many instances, to go so far as to put out those who become ill. Our own policy in San Francisco, for at least ten years, has been quite to the contrary.

Encouraged by Paul Kellogg's thought, mentioned at the outset of this paper, that solutions to wide problems may well emerge from the experience of private institutions operating in a limited field, we venture to review for you our experience in San Francisco.

We admit that ten years ago we were in the classification of homes that only occasionally admitted chronic sick. We did, however, assume the responsibility of caring for our own aged within our home, who became ill after admission. To do this adequately we designed and erected a new wing to meet the medical and social needs of the ailing group. The building was

replete with hospital facilities, including porches, physiotherapy, solarium, down to the detail of proper bathroom accommodations. The unit proved a success. Our next step was to liberalize our policy of admission to include already chronically ill cases.

Caring for this aged sick group within the home became a potent factor in advancing our own study and understanding of the care required. Simultaneously it stimulated community study and action on the general problem and brought about closer co-ordination of the various community facilities.

Based on the study of the hundreds of cases that have found comfort and hope within its walls, we offer the following suggestions: (1) that each community make a survey to ascertain the number and needs of its aged chronic sick; (2) that no case be serviced socially until it has had a complete medical diagnosis.

We advocate and are in a position to recognize the value of co-operation of a local hospital with the home for the aged. This union of facilities is essential. The consultant staff of a well-manned hospital should be available to the institution at any time. The home for aged should feel privileged to transfer any case requiring added facilities to a well-equipped hospital for diagnosis, treatment, or operation.

A definite advancement, perhaps the result of this attitude, is the fact that the Mt. Zion Hospital now maintains a clinic devoted exclusively to old age chronics. Its function is to take patients from clinics where ailments of this group are disregarded, or where very little interest is manifested, and place them under a single clinician. This affords adequate scientific facilities for the study of cases where illness is dependent largely on the time element for cure or improvement.

We are in favor of taxing present community facilities to capacity, of changing and liberalizing policies, of building additions if necessary to existing institutions, rather than initiating separate institutions for the segregation of chronic aged cases. We have witnessed the impressive results on individual patients,

where the hopeful atmosphere of the home strengthened the morale of the chronically ill patient.

Our experience warrants the assertion that environmental change is of great value in the scientific treatment of chronic cases. Mere transfer to improved surroundings has great therapeutic value. Our results have shown us that it is essential to establish a hopeful medical attitude—one that eliminates the finality implied in the word "incurable." And in addition to this interested medical attitude, sympathetic nursing and the security of a comfortable home go far in improving the health of the group.

The frequent occurrence of striking improvement among our group of chronic aged under this plan has impressed the medical group with whom we are co-operating. Their success, to date, has led our physicians in many cases hopefully to revise their prognostic conclusions on ailments of old age. The medical director of the home has been amazed at the degree of improvement shown in many cases of angina pectoris, heart conditions, and high blood pressure.

To permanently isolate the aged chronically ill is bad medicine and bad sociology. Not only humanity, but good therapeutics dictate that we keep open the avenues between the sick and the well, that we keep intact the ties that bind the chronic ill into the life of their fellows, that we facilitate their ready resumption of group life and group activity whenever health permits. To the good cheer that the aged bring each other in simple fellowship, let us add "unified and continuous social and medical responsibility."

Caring for its aged still remains a community's noble adventure into pure altruism. So let simple humanity point the way and guide us, hopeful, on the proper road.

INTERPLAY OF THE NEW SERVICES FROM THE GROUND UP IN THE PACIFIC COAST FOREST-PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES

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THE forest-products industry of the Pacific Coast, particularly in the Pacific Northwest, is basic in many ways. It deals with the principal natural resources. In its varied branches it comprises the largest group of employees. The range of the type of employment in the combined forest-product industries is very wide. Beginning with cruising, road and railroad construction, falling, logging, transportation by rail or water, it moves, in the lumber phase, through the sawmilling, remanufacturing, veneer or plywood manufacturing, shipping, yarding, marketing, and to the final stages of construction or other consumption; in the pulp phases it reaches through the breakdown processes, reducing logs to blocks, the grinding of the blocks for one form of pulp, their reduction to chips for other forms of pulp, the chemical processes of cellulose recovery, the technical work of refining, bleaching, machine forming and drying, the shipment of large quantities of pulp to all the markets of the world, the manufacture of larger quantities of pulp into hundreds of varieties of paper. In all three phases—lumber, pulp, and paper—the output goes far beyond the Pacific Coast consuming market.

In its employment of workers, normally exceeding a hundred thousand, the forest-products industry of the Pacific Coast has had experience with every form of organized employee relationship. It is one of the principal fields of conflict between divergent forms of union organization. In general, the wages are the

highest in the world for any related industry. In its contacts with government, the forest-products industry in the Northwest has all the relationships sustained elsewhere in the country, plus the relationship arising from the existence of large amounts of national forest and Indian reservation timber in the area. The forest-products industry in the Pacific Northwest has shown ample evidence of a constructive desire to co-operate with programs administered by governmental agencies for the common good.

The members of the industry have co-operated in the conservation program. They have co-operated in the program for prevention of accidents and for assuring adequate care and compensation to their employees who are the victims of accidents. They are now earnestly endeavoring to co-operate with the agencies serving in the new field of social security, as it affects the employees in the industry. It is in connection with this last effort to co-operate that some of the problems of the industry are being presented in this paper.

We may pass as common to all industries the problems related to paying the tax on pay rolls. We may also consider as common to many industries the problems resulting from some duplication of reports, the necessary variations in the bases on which pay-roll taxes are collected, the burden of voluminous paper work, both in relation to pay-roll summaries and in relation to individual case histories.

Perhaps the best picture of the reaction of the industry toward some of these new responsibilities can be obtained by centering our attention on the unemployment compensation features with incidental mention of their relation to other features.

Respecting the title which was assigned to me, "From the Ground Up," in its operations closest to the ground, even in the climate of the Pacific Northwest, the forest-products industry is definitely seasonal. There are very few locations in the area where logging operations can be maintained throughout the year with a constant employee force. The nonoperating seasons vary in length from one month to four or five months in differ-

ent locations. The industry is served by a type of men who recognize and to some extent enjoy this seasonal occupation. The western logger is one of the finest types of Americans—individualistic, independent, aggressive. With all his virtues, it cannot be claimed that he has been able to manage his personal finances in such a way as to enter the nonoperating season with ample savings to carry him through.

Despite all the educational work which was done in the state of Oregon, the average logger probably expected unemployment compensation to support him during the nonoperating season. When he discovered the legal provisions for seasonality, he developed an unkind opinion of social security in general. This was aggravated by the fact that the date for the beginning of unemployment benefits, in Oregon particularly, was right in the middle of the nonoperating season, during which benefits were not payable to the seasonal employees of the logging industry.

This initial dissatisfaction contributed to some antagonism toward the use of the public employment service by loggers. An equally important factor was the continuing effort of the labor unions to make their organization one of adequate service as an employment channel or hiring hall.

The employer in the logging field finds himself faced with the urge to use the public employment offices as a highly important feature in the program for stabilization, fostered by the Social Security Board, the State Federal Employment Service, and the State Unemployment Compensation Commission, and at the same time to maintain satisfactory union relationships, or in some cases to perform existing labor agreements calling for the use of the union hiring hall.

The misunderstanding on the part of thousands of employees extends to the belief that the deduction in their pay checks for old age benefit purposes is a contribution for unemployment compensation and that they are not receiving a just return for it. There is room for further confusion in the opportunity to register as unemployed seeking private employment at one government office, later seeking W.P.A. employment at another.

The problem of seasonality extends beyond logging operations to include most lumber operations and a limited amount of operation in the pulp- and paper-mills. It has been a serious task for employers to furnish clear and correct information to their employees on this subject. They have attempted to show that the interest of employee groups as a whole demanded that the unemployment funds be conserved for purposes provided by law rather than depleted for the support of seasonal workers in their nonoperating seasons merely because there was great need among these workers. The necessity of making this explanation has added one complication to the efforts of the industry to maintain satisfactory relations with its organized groups of employees. In this educational work there has been excellent co-operation from the unemployment compensation commissions, but the experience of the present year should lead to more thorough and continuous educational efforts in the form of organized public relations on behalf of the unemployment administrators and their staffs.

The misfortune of initiating unemployment-benefit payments during an abnormal adverse period has been serious. In the state of Oregon, for instance, we are informed that 18,437 claimants for unemployment compensation—30 per cent of all valid claims—have already been paid the maximum benefits on the basis of their previous respective earnings records. This means that thousands of them have passed from the status of unemployment compensation cases to the status of candidates for relief or W.P.A. employment. In many cases they are finding the latter capable of producing more income than their previous unemployment benefits. The spread of any conviction that this differential exists will create a further problem of education.

The occasional occurrence of lump-sum settlements under the old age insurance features of the Social Security Act has not in general been beneficial toward building for popular approval of the social-security program. While it is true that a great majority of these lump-sum settlements are characteristic

of the early years of the old age insurance program, they nevertheless constitute another challenge for explanation and education.

I am not bringing to you any suggestion of concern with overlapping reports, overlapping audits, conflicting requirements, and multiplied contacts, which create burdens, annoyances, or confusion for the employer. The problems will automatically solve themselves in the hands of intelligent administrators of the various features of the Social Security Act.

The concern which I am bringing to you is, in my opinion, much more fundamental. It is the necessity of education which will build good will in the minds of the great mass of workers. I need not emphasize the opportunities for confusion in the mind of the worker who finds himself facing the mysteries of a seasonality provision which denies him unemployment compensation when he feels he most needs it; a pay-roll deduction for what he generally calls social security without clear distinction in his mind between unemployment compensation and old age insurance; conflict between the desire of the state and federal governments to secure employment for him and furnish workers to employers through the public employment offices, and the justifiable ambitions of his union in some branches of industry to be the sole hiring agency. The difficulty of understanding the various ways in which social security is being provided—unemployment compensation, direct relief, W.P.A. employment, old age assistance, old age insurance, industrial accident disability; the confusion which results from his repeated transfer between covered and uncovered employments, particularly prevalent in an area which is both industrial and agricultural; the conflict between the size of employer units covered by the old age insurance phase and the unemployment phase; the denial of unemployment compensation benefits when his unemployment is caused by a labor dispute, coupled with the vague hope that some other agency of government will be able to collect back pay for him when he knows he is engaged in a labor dispute; the uncertainty as to what is a labor dispute

within the meaning of the different laws—all contribute to confusion in the worker's mind.

My personal conviction is that we are facing an increasing development of governmental service in some of the primary needs of the general population. We must realistically face the probability of the inclusion of employments now excluded from the various social-security coverages, either by nature or by size of the employee unit. The proportion of our population serving the rest of us as members of governmental pay rolls will constantly increase. The proportion of our dollar of earnings which will be saved, spent, or shared, under governmental compulsion will increase.

The fundamental problem is whether a political democracy can adjust itself to carrying the burden of service which will be expected of government during the next generation. Simplification, co-ordination, uniformity, economic soundness, all these are objectives which must be obtained by legislative and administrative evolution. Long before this evolution can progress effectively, there must be an effort to develop a friendly, intelligent understanding, of the social-security program in particular, on the part of the man in the woods and the man on the farm, the man in the mill, and the man in the street.

The beginning of a concerted effort to create this friendly understanding can be made without legislative changes. A unified educational program, undertaken by all the government agencies dealing with social security, all government agencies dealing with relations between employers and employees, is almost demanded as the first step toward making our present social program safe for democracy. The relations between citizens and government, the interrelations between government agencies dealing directly with industry, are so complex as to demand comprehensive explanations, at least, as a prelude to any degree of simplification or co-ordination.

If the Social Security Board through representatives of all its bureaus, the United States Department of Labor through its Conciliation Service and Bureau of Labor Statistics; the

National Labor Relations Board; the Bureau of Internal Revenue; the State Unemployment Compensation commissions; the Public Employment Service; the State Workmen's Compensation commissions; the federal and state relief administration; if all these agencies could face the necessity of creating a joint information service, a joint public relations agency, a foundation would be laid without which the permanent structure of our new social enterprise cannot rise.

Such a service involves no surrender of administrative or executive functions by any agency. It involves no creation of joint operating personnel. It does involve very definitely the intensive schooling of competent men in a comprehensive knowledge of the whole job which government is attempting to do in the social-security field, including the field of employer-employee relations. It involves the equipment of these men to meet the individuals and groups which compose the public. It involves the selection of public relations men for the whole program, who bring to it an intensity of conviction of its soundness, a capacity for human understanding and sympathy, and a consecration to the belief that such a program can be intelligently administered by an intelligent democracy.

It envisions one central information and advisory service to which we, the people, can go with every question we have in the whole field of social security, whether we go as taxpayers, employer, employee, seeker for employment, for benefits, for relief, for accident compensation, or for adjustment of labor problems. It suggests a group of men whose responsibilities will not be administrative but educational, not specialized but comprehensive. In the creation of such a group of public relations contact men, it provides the only practical agency for field research which can lead to intelligent conclusions for the legislative and administrative evolution of the program. All developments toward broadened coverage, simplified procedure, correlated administration, can grow out of the experience and advice of a group of men committed to the enterprise of helping the public, both worker and employer, to understand the ultimate

purposes of the whole program and to understand the reasons for the present conditions, which seem to reflect a lack of comprehensive planning and administrative correlation.

We are not going to save both the social-security program in its broadest sense and our American experiment in popular government unless we assign this task of public education in some such way: it cannot be left to the subordinate employee performing one small function in one small activity of the program. It cannot be left to the self-seeking politician, exploiting some feature of benefits or some apparent discrimination through lack of benefits.

Such a program of consolidated, integrated public information service, covering the whole field of social security in its broadest sense, will be expensive. But unless the employers, employees, taxpayers, and government representatives can be enabled to see the program in its entirety, the absence of such a service will be infinitely more costly.

The enlistment in such a public relations service, such a program of public education, is, in my opinion, the most inspiring ambition which can fire the imagination of the thoughtful youth of today. Some employers in the forest-products industry are already trying to comprehend the significance of the new social enterprise and explain it to their own employees. We should do this, but it is not our job alone. The program should have the support of the whole public. It embodies the hopes of all who are committed to the spirit of the social-security program, of all who are smarting under some of the poorly harmonized legal and administrative details.

Above all, it offers a fighting chance to those who desire with a passionate desire that our form and purpose of government by the people may be able to shoulder the load of the mighty social enterprise by means of an informed people co-operating with the men they have hired as public servants. It will determine whether we are to go forward in a co-operative democracy or under some form of paternalistic and top-heavy bureaucracy.

RELATION OF SOCIAL WORK AND MEDICAL CARE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

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EFFORTS to relieve suffering are probably as old as the human race. Neither historian, archeologist, nor anthropologist has been able to find a society in which there was no evidence of at least some attempts to treat disease, crude though they may have been. It is certain that ever since the first stages of civilization men have been willing to follow many absurd fantasies in the hope of regaining health when sick.

Medicine, in its early form, evolved from a curious mass of magic, mystery, and superstition which dominated the human mind for centuries. Moreover, not even the demonstrable truths of the science of modern times have been able completely to displace the craving of people for the mysterious and their adherence to superstitions.

More than twenty-two hundred years ago Hippocrates gave medicine its ethical ideals and its scientific spirit. For centuries medical knowledge was accumulated chiefly through painstaking observations of the signs and symbols which are around and about us everywhere.

A century ago, and for many decades thereafter, the physician's practice was limited largely to the members of his own local community. He was their adviser in matters which had little relation to medicine. He shared their hopes, their joys, their sorrows, their ambitions, and their disappointments. He assisted in the birth of their children; he cared for these same

children during infancy, childhood, and adolescence; he was a guest at their weddings. He was familiar with their daily life, he knew their environment, and he followed their economic successes or failures.¹

His medical education was far less comprehensive than that which was to be available in the twentieth century; however, with the practical knowledge of disease which he acquired from bedside study and the association with older physicians he brought to his everyday practice a broad understanding of the social and environmental conditions which affected the lives of his patients. It remained for the future to develop such steps in medical progress as general anesthesia by inhalable gases; local anesthesia by injection of drugs; discovery of germs and the diseases which they cause; immunization (except vaccination against smallpox); antisepsis, soon followed by asepsis, and, therefore, modern surgery; modern hospital practice; scientific basis for diet in health and disease; X-ray and radium; chemistry and physiology (except Beaumont's pioneer observations on digestion); insect transmission of disease; control of epidemics; community organization for health improvement; liver for pernicious anemia; insulin for diabetes; knowledge of glandular physiology and treatment; artificial fever; health education; and many others.²

The medical advances which have marked the last half-century as the greatest period of medical progress in history are sometimes credited wholly to science. It is true that scientific research has been responsible for many of the most signal developments of present-day medicine, but consideration of environmental factors, study of the sick person's social difficulties, and recognition of individual mental stresses have not been omitted.

As medicine has become more and more complex, specializa-

¹ George P. Reynolds, "The Diagnostic and Therapeutic Value of the Medical Social Study of Cases," *Journal of the Michigan State Medical Society*, XXXVII (March, 1938), 217.

² W. W. Bauer, unpublished manuscript.

tion in a limited phase of medical practice has become desirable, if not necessary. Psychiatry and public health are among the specialties which come in closest contact with the social factors influencing diagnosis, treatment, and recovery. Most psychiatrists are of the opinion that a large amount of illness has a psychic component, and health officers have long emphasized the importance of social and environmental factors in disease. These and other specialists have done no more than to develop the knowledge of mental, emotional, social, economic, physical, and environmental factors with which the family physician has always been more or less familiar.

Among the changes that have been wrought in society during recent decades is an unfortunate drift away from the family physician. Thus, while physicians are still aware, abstractly, of the existence of many important factors aside from the pathology of tissues or the disturbance of function and physiology, it has become much more difficult to secure a complete understanding of those extrinsic and intrinsic social factors which may be omitted in the ordinary case history and cannot be discovered by physical or laboratory examinations. The greater difficulty experienced by physicians today in securing the patient's social, economic, and environmental history and present status is due more to the complexity of modern society than to any lack of appreciation of their importance on the part of the medical profession.

Diagnosis and treatment now frequently involve many processes which have become the functions of a considerable number of persons. Today, the medical care of many patients includes the services of physician, the hospital administrator, the nurse, the clinical pathologist, the physical therapist, the dietitian, the medical social worker, and often many others. Indeed, the diagnostic and treatment procedures have become so numerous and the temptation to apply all known tests and procedures is often so strong that there is great danger, in this process alone, of creating in some patients the very mental or emotional stresses which interfere with accurate diagnosis,

treatment, and recovery. Thus, the injudicious or unnecessary use of special procedures and facilities may lead directly to the confusion of the patient, lack of confidence in the physician, and added costs of medical care.

Social welfare was originally a relief activity often closely connected with religious institutions and practices. Toward the close of the last century co-ordinating agencies were organized to analyze the problems of poverty and to improve the administration of relief agencies and institutions. The co-ordination of the activities of the organized charity institutions called for personnel trained in social work. Thus the social welfare movement had its origin in an attempt to study social conditions and to effect a more equitable distribution of relief.

Organizations and foundations with the large sums made available for their welfare programs in turn created a wide field for their activities. The field of "social worker" was scarcely recognized as existing at the beginning of this century, but the census of 1930 listed 31,240 members of this profession and over 50,000 more who were employed as "keepers of charitable and penal institutions," "religious workers," and "public probation and truant officers."³

Social work is so young, comparatively, that it has been impossible definitely to establish functions, fields of activity, methods of procedure, guiding principles, and a complete clarification of working relationships. Two opposing tendencies are at present acting to divide and confuse social work; one is the trend toward inclusiveness, comprehensiveness, and unity; the other, toward specialization, separation, and diversity.⁴ For our present purpose, the medical social worker may be classified as a social-work specialist.

Medical social work has been, up to the present, almost en-

³ *Care of the Indigent Sick* (Chicago: Bureau of Medical Economics, American Medical Association, 1934), pp. 8-9.

⁴ Edward C. Lindeman, "Basic Unities in Social Work," in *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1934*, p. 504.

tirely associated with institutions.⁵ In these institutions there is a great complexity of personal relationships, and a large number of services and individuals are organized to contribute to the patients' needs. Some social workers have expressed the view that the co-operative care of the patient by a group of specialists which characterized modern institutional medicine is a process of team work, and since all team work depends on leadership and co-ordination, it is important to emphasize that the physician is always the leader of the team.⁶ If such is to be accepted as an established policy and if the team understands and observes the rules of the game, there should be no necessity to call time out to change players or to inflict penalties for off-side plays.

Medical diagnosis and treatment are today composed of many items. Good medical practice does not depend on any one phase of diagnosis or any single indication of treatment. On the contrary, good medical practice seeks to assemble and to evaluate all information that will contribute to a better understanding of the combination of signs and symptoms presented by a particular patient. The social, economic, and environmental signs and symptoms are often important to complete the history, physical examination, and laboratory findings on which a diagnosis is to be made. In certain instances effective treatment and satisfactory recovery require an adjustment of mental, emotional, and social problems as much as the relief of the physical manifestations of illness.

The medical profession believes that good medical care must be based on the appropriate management of the individual as a whole person; piecemeal or detached, separate treatments are likely to prove disappointing.

The medical social worker may contribute to the medical diagnosis by bringing to the physician information pertaining to the environmental maladjustments. Such assistance as the

⁵ Harriett M. Bartlett, *Medical Social Work* (American Association of Medical Social Workers, 1934), p. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

social worker is able to contribute to more exact diagnoses and, therefore, more effective treatment is now limited, for the most part, to patients in hospitals or other institutions. Much more study and experimentation is needed to test the appropriateness of medical social work in private medical practice.

The medical profession has always recognized the importance of the social factors which have a bearing on health and disease. Before the advent of the social worker, physicians were their own social investigators, although they may not have used modern methods. Even though the social worker is developing a specialized approach to social problems, it is still the responsibility of the physician to integrate the social and the medical findings pertaining to each patient. The integration of the facts bearing on an individual patient is the problem which deeply concerns the medical profession.

The acceptance by the medical profession of the assistance which social workers may be prepared to offer will depend largely on the policies adopted and pursued by social workers as a group. Physicians are justified in hesitating to embrace medical social work when they learn that active members of the social workers' profession, instead of maintaining in practice their devotion to individual case treatment, are advocating mass management of medicine in the form of sickness insurance or the socialization of medicine as projected changes in a program to build a new society.⁷ The American Medical Association, representing the majority opinion of the American medical profession, has repeatedly voiced its opposition to all forms of state medicine, sickness insurance, or socialized medicine, because of the ultimate harm that would come thereby to the public weal through such forms of medical practice.⁸

The position of the American Medical Association is specifically set forth in a resolution adopted by the House of Delegates in 1934 in these words:

⁷ Lindeman, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

⁸ *Proceedings* of the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association, 1920, 1922, 1934, 1935.

Resolved, That whether definitely stated or not, it is the position of the American Medical Association that all conditions or principles adopted by the Association, concerning the position of the medical profession, in any form of medical practice, are set forth primarily in order to maintain such standards and safeguards as are essential to the maintenance of the best medical care and protection of the health of all members of the community.

Proposals for a change in the methods of distributing medical services should, therefore, be tested by the effect which such change may have on the standards and safeguards necessary to good medical practice.

Foreign systems of state-managed medicine have been examined to determine the characteristics of these systems. Some of the characteristics are revealed only by careful study, but most of them are to be found in the reports of commissions and governmental agencies and the comments of observers who are a part of the systems. These comments, reports, and observations reveal that:

1. There is no decrease in the cost of medical care. The system adds a staggering administration cost.
2. Public health and preventive medicine are not assisted or advanced. State-managed medicine does not provide the annual health examinations or the immunizations usually promised before the systems were adopted.
3. Morbidity and mortality are not reduced.
4. The problem of so-called catastrophic diseases is not solved.
5. Neuroses are created.
6. Overmedication is encouraged.
7. The burden of the system is distributed over the low-income class, which is least able to bear it.
8. Medical care for the indigent is omitted.
9. The medical profession is divided into a "first" and "second" class.
10. Graduate education for the practicing physician is not encouraged and is usually neglected.

11. The hospital load is increased. Hospitals are encouraged to practice medicine.

12. Attention and financing are concentrated on the less essential health and medical measures.

13. Diagnosis and treatment inevitably tend to become mechanical and superficial.

14. Professional associations are compelled to devote their energies to the defense of medicine against nonmedical and political interference rather than to scientific and educational activities.

15. Medical service becomes a political issue.

16. Control over medical service is placed in the hands of unqualified nonmedical individuals and organizations.

17. The road is closed to the use of more desirable methods.

Those who insist on revolutionary changes in the systems of medical practice in America would do well to remember that the greatest progress in modern medicine has come under free systems of medical practice such as prevail in the United States and Canada. Out of these systems have come insulin for the treatment of diabetes; liver for the treatment of pernicious anemia; ethylene for quick and safe anesthesia; surgery in the treatment of tuberculosis; chemical advances, especially with relation to minerals and vitamins in the diet; and numerous other evidences of medical progress. The American people will do well, before permitting any enormous system of bureaucratic medicine to be loaded upon their backs, to give heed to the warnings of the medical profession that the real question before the American people today is not how more medical service of an inferior kind can be procured at a low price, but how better service can be made available without curtailing research, degrading the medical profession, and thus interfering with medical progress. Changes in medical practice must be by gradual development, not by sudden overturn. They must be made only with the approval and consent of the medical profession, which for centuries has been foremost in attacking and overcoming abuses, even when they occur within its own ranks.

All agencies in the community which have an interest in, or a responsibility for, the provision of or arrangement for medical services could, by a close friendly co-ordination of their activities and the adoption of some common methods of procedure, materially assist in maintaining the confidence of the public in the professions which are continuing to devote their best efforts to the provision of good medical care. Social workers are in a position to appreciate the desirability of co-ordinating community health and medical programs and activities in order that necessary services and facilities may be more readily available.

Professions have as their primary object the service they can render to humanity. In the present-day complexities of society it is sometimes necessary to take stock of the demand and supply of necessary services and facilities. Such a stock-taking falls completely short of its purpose if it is concerned primarily or even largely with the mere accumulation of data and the preparation of statistical summaries. These periodic examinations should have but one purpose, viz., to keep the demand and supply of necessary services and facilities in constant balance. Again, social workers can contribute much to the information that is needed to keep the demand and supply of medical services and facilities in balance.

The Board of Trustees of the American Medical Association, following a recent conference with representatives of the American Public Health Association and the surgeon general of the United States Public Health Service, adopted resolutions designed to assist and encourage state and county medical societies to collect information concerning medical needs and to formulate preferable procedures to supply these needs in accordance with established policies and local conditions.

The objectives of the study are:

1. To determine for each county the prevailing need for medical services where such may be insufficient or unavailable.
2. To secure, in the collection of information, the friendly assistance of all agencies, organizations, and individuals that

are concerned with or responsible for the provision of or arrangement for medical services.

3. To discover and, if possible, to recommend means to remove the obstacles which may interfere with the close, continuous, personal relationships between patients and the physicians of their choice.

4. To arrange to keep up to date the information pertaining to medical needs in order that the demand and supply of medical care for all the people can be kept in constant balance.

In the realization of these objectives there will be an opportunity for all who are in any way related to medical services and facilities to contribute their share to maintain the medical balance.

The study is to be made by state and county medical societies with the help of all public and private agencies, associations, organizations, or individuals that are concerned with the provision of or arrangement for medical or health services. The primary objective of the study is to determine for each county the prevailing need for medical and preventive medical services where such may be insufficient or unavailable.

Medical societies are expected, first, to explain the objectives of the study to members of the dental, nursing, pharmaceutical, social service, and correlated professions, to health agencies, hospital authorities, welfare and relief agencies, representatives of labor and industry, state, county, and city officials, and many others who may have information concerning medical needs or suggestions concerning the ways in which they believe medical care may be made more readily available. All agencies and organizations concerned are then to be asked to supply from their records, observations, and experience, all possible information pertaining to the demand for and supply of medical care.

This study is consistent with the long-established policy of the American Medical Association on the preferable method of distributing medical and preventive medical services. The Association has maintained that no single centralized system

for the entire United States can be made practicable for every state and county. It has held, however, that the adoption of appropriate procedures following a careful analysis of local medical problems can be made to meet local medical needs satisfactorily.

Far better that the American medical profession and the closely allied professions and agencies now arrange a suitable correlation of existing medical and preventive medical services and facilities and supplement these services and facilities appropriately, where needed, for the purpose of making good medical care available to everyone in the United States, than that the practice of medicine and preventive medicine be subjected to political control.

The American Medical Association, consistent with its established policy, is again endeavoring to adjust the distribution of medical care. In this endeavor it seeks the assistance of everyone who has information or suggestions to offer. It urges a complete, cordial, and frank expression of ideas that may result in a fair analysis of a most important problem.

MEDICAL NEEDS REVEALED BY THE NATIONAL HEALTH SURVEY

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THE social maladjustments associated with inadequate medical care have brought to most members of this Conference personal realization of the medical needs of the underprivileged. The revelation of case histories of individual families would bring compelling attention to the health problems of the poor. But while the individual case history makes dramatic appeal, it lacks the authority of the combined experience of many thousands of families sharing in common the limitations of low income, but meeting these limitations under the varying environmental conditions of the Northeast, the South, the Central region, the Far West, of the large and small city, and the rural area.

For the purpose of obtaining such a broad picture, in 1935-36, the United States Public Health Service canvassed some three-quarters of a million families, recording information concerning their experience with illness and its medical and nursing care over a twelve-month period. Families representative of all income levels were included, but some 990,000 persons—about 2 in every 5 canvassed—were members of families in which the annual income in the survey year was less than \$1,000; and relief funds had contributed to the support of 429,000 persons in this group. Ninety-two per cent of the canvassed population was white; subsequent data in the present report relate largely to this group, occasional comparison being made of the results for white and Negro families in the South. The surveyed families were drawn from 83 cities and 23 rural areas in 18 states,

but the experience of the individual community, as of the individual family, has been merged with that of others having similar characteristics, and the results are presented for groups of communities homogeneous in size and in geographic location.

In the entire group of approximately two and a quarter million surveyed white persons there occurred during the year some 400,000 cases of illness which caused disability for one week or longer. About 50 per cent of these cases were in families with income under \$1,000, yet only 42 per cent of the surveyed population was in this income class.

Almost one-third of the illnesses occurred among children under fifteen years of age, for in childhood the frequency of illness is higher than in any other period of life. Disability associated with the puerperal state, in which the pregnancies resulted in live births, represented 30,000 of the cases among women. Acute infectious diseases, many of which are preventable, were the cause of 18 per cent of the illnesses; 4 out of 5 of these cases were among children. Eight in every 1,000 of the child population under fifteen years of age had been disabled by permanent orthopedic impairments, nervous or mental disease or defect, tuberculosis or other chronic disease, and about one-half of these cases occurred among children in families with income under \$1,000. Pneumonia caused about 10,000 cases of illness; the incidence rate of illness due to this disease was over twice as high among families on relief as among those with annual income in excess of \$3,000. Two out of every 5 pneumonia cases occurred among children under fifteen years of age.

Injuries due to accidental causes accounted for the disability of almost 10 per cent of the cases, and about one-fifth of these injuries were occupational in origin. Less than 1 per cent of all cases was due to tuberculosis, but 3 out of every 5 cases of tuberculosis reported had been hospitalized during the survey year, the average length of stay in the hospital being 171 days. The survey results understate the true severity of this disease, since certain institutionalized cases were missed in the canvass, owing to loss of residence. Underenumeration, however, does

not affect the significance of relative variation in the rate of incidence. The results indicate in a striking manner the association between tuberculosis and poverty, which the social worker was first to recognize; an incidence rate of illness from this cause under 75 per 100,000 population in families above the \$2,000-income level in every surveyed community group throughout the country, compared with a rate in excess of 200 among relief families in all city-size groups but 2, and rates exceeding 300 in each of the 3 groups of southern cities.

Disability associated with nervous or mental diseases or defects accounted for 3 per cent of the cases and 11 per cent of the total days of disability experienced from all illnesses; and 2 in every 5 of these cases had been disabled at home or in an institution for at least a year. Understatement is again a defect of these figures, since many mental cases in institutions are missed in the house-to-house canvass. The major chronic diseases of later life—cancer, the cardiovascular and renal diseases, diabetes, and rheumatism—accounted for 2 in every 5 cases of illness among persons sixty-five years of age and over, and almost 1 in 5 of the cases of persons twenty-five to sixty-five years of age. The disability of the average case of illness due to these chronic diseases amounted to four months in the survey year; and the total volume of disability of these cases represented one-fourth of the days of incapacity accruing from all cases of illness.

These, then, represent the periods of life and the particular diseases for which adequate preventive health services and medical and nursing care may be expected to bring the greatest social advance: pneumonia, tuberculosis, and certain chronic diseases of later life—cancer, the cardiovascular-renal diseases—the leading causes of death, but in which the frequency of fatal termination and the severity of disability can be reduced by early diagnosis and adequate facilities for medical treatment; accidents, also an important cause of death, preventable through activities in industrial hygiene, improvement in housing, and the general safety campaign, their permanent effects

reducible through efficient medical care; the nervous and mental diseases, possible of partial control indirectly through treatment of the venereally diseased and directly through modern psychiatric techniques, adequate institutional facilities for their application, and the mental hygiene program; the period of maternity, in which adequate prenatal care, the attendance of a competent physician at delivery, and the availability of hospital facilities for emergency, safeguard the life of both mother and infant; the period of childhood, in which preventive services bring their greatest return in the reduction of illness, and in which medical care is effective in reducing serious sequelae and death.

The results of the survey throw light on the extent to which the medical services in various parts of the country, the hospitals, physicians, private-duty and visiting nurses, met the needs of the sick in 1935 in particular, of persons disabled by these diseases, the importance of which the survey affirms, and of the sick in the low-income groups in which illness is more frequent and severe and medical needs proportionately greater than at the higher-income levels.

The extent to which the needs of the sick are met varies with the availability of medical facilities and personnel, and the surveyed communities showed wide differences in their ability to supply medical care. In the large cities of 100,000 population and over, the number of general¹ hospital beds ranged from four to five per 1,000 population; in the small cities of the central and southern regions, the number was between two and three per 1,000, and in the surveyed rural areas of Missouri and Georgia, one and nine-tenths, per 1,000, respectively. The results of the survey indicate the degree of correlation between the supply and use of hospital facilities. In the cities of 100,000 population and over, 31 per cent of all illnesses occurring in the surveyed population were hospitalized; in the small cities of the central and southern regions, 15 and 19 per cent, respective-

¹ Beds in special hospitals are also included, except beds in tuberculosis and mental hospitals; beds in all federal institutions are excluded.

ly; in the rural areas, an average of 9 per cent. In the large cities of the East, each person in the population received twice as much hospital care as the average person in the small southern cities, and four times as much as the average person in the surveyed rural counties of Georgia.

In the cities of 100,000 population and over, between 30 and 38 per cent of the general hospital beds were in governmental institutions, and expenditures from public funds for their support ranged from \$1.11 in the central area to \$1.86 in the West. In these large cities, the results of the survey indicated that hospitalization of illness in relief families was comparatively frequent, the proportion of hospital cases varying from 25 to 34 per cent according to the region. The small cities under 25,000 population in the southern and central regions present a marked contrast, providing only 7 to 13 governmental beds in every 100, spending between 8 and 14 cents per capita from public funds for their maintenance, and giving hospital care to only about 10 per cent of all cases in the relief population.

When hospital facilities are inadequate, the frequency of hospitalization of cases requiring surgical and emergency care, tonsillectomies, appendectomies, and accidental injuries, appears not to be greatly reduced, but pneumonia cases, chronic patients, and, in particular, deliveries, receive, on the average, less frequent hospital care. This factor operates on both rich and poor, but it is evident that its effects on the poor are more serious. The experience of the central cities over 100,000 population and the group with population between 25,000 and 100,000 demonstrates this point, for, in the cities of intermediate size, the ratio of general hospital beds to population was only about one-half as high as in the large cities. In the large cities of this area, an average of 56 per cent of all live births to women in relief families occurred in hospitals; in the intermediate cities, only 15 per cent. Yet in both groups of cities, 80 per cent or more of the live births to women of the higher-income classes took place in hospitals. Pneumonia offers another illustration—the proportion of hospitalized cases being lower in the

small central cities than in the large for all income groups, but twice as large in high-income families as in the relief group.

The tendency for inadequate hospital facilities to reduce hospital care of women in low-income families at delivery was apparent in the cities under 25,000 population in all geographic areas, and, in the southern and central regions, appears to indicate hazard to the outcome of deliveries requiring emergency hospital care.

Regional comparison of the proportion of cases of tuberculosis receiving hospital care during the survey year indicates a somewhat lower ratio for cities in the South and West than in the eastern and central areas. Hospital facilities for care of the tuberculous in the South are notably deficient, and the survey data indicate furthermore that the tuberculous in the South are hospitalized at a more advanced stage of the disease than in other areas. Among white relief families in the large southern cities, the average length of hospital stay per case of tuberculosis was 142 days, and 166 days for all income groups; among Negroes in the southern cities the average length of stay was only 98 days. These figures may be compared with the experience of the large cities of the East, an average length of stay of 180 days per hospital case in relief families, and 179 days for all income groups. It is of interest that the records obtained in the survey relating to home-visiting of the tuberculous by public health nurses indicate that the proportion of families receiving such care was also lowest in the cities of the South, indicating inadequacy of case-finding activities.

Correlation of a similar nature was observed in the surveyed areas between the availability and use of physicians in illness treated outside of hospitals. In all but two of the cities of 100,000 population and over, the number of persons per physician was not in excess of 800, but in certain of the small southern cities and the rural areas, one physician served 1,300 persons or more within the county boundaries. Accordingly, we find that 29 per cent of the disabling illnesses in the total urban population were without medical attendance during the year,

compared with 42 per cent, for the total surveyed rural population. In the rural areas the income differential is not marked; low- and high-income groups are similarly affected by the inadequacy of physicians. On the other hand, in the small southern cities, in a majority of which the number of physicians is low but higher in proportion to population than in the rural areas, the proportion of illnesses in relief families receiving no medical care was almost three times as high as among families with income in excess of \$3,000. As in the matter of hospital care, barring the extreme situation presented by the rural areas undersupply of physicians creates no barrier which adequate income cannot remove.

But in cities undersupplied with physicians and in those which are probably oversupplied, there was a consistent tendency in all areas of the country toward less general and less intensive medical care of the illnesses of relief and marginal-income families. The attendance of illnesses of children under fifteen years of age showed even greater disparity with income, apparent in all areas, but especially marked in the South; and the illnesses of children in families up to the income level of \$2,000 were not attended with any notably greater frequency than those of children in relief families.

The effect of lack of medical care in illness becomes more significant when related to specific diseases. Among 30,000 live births to white women in the surveyed cities, 1,200 were attended by a midwife, nonmedical practitioner, or lay attendant, and the majority of these unattended births occurred to women in low-income families. In the small cities of the South, about one-sixth of the deliveries to white women and almost one-half of the deliveries to Negro women in families with income under \$1,000 took place without medical supervision.

But proper maternal care is not insured solely by the presence of a physician; it is essential, in addition, that the physician be trained in modern obstetrical technique. The need for the promotion of the study of modern obstetric methods, particularly among older physicians, is emphasized in the preliminary re-

sults of a study made in Michigan as part of the National Health Survey, under the joint direction of Carroll E. Palmer, M.D., of the United States Public Health Service, and the Maternal Health Committee of the Michigan State Medical Society. Practices which increase the hazard of maternal death, artificial induction of labor, manual dilatation of the cervix, manual removal of the placenta, frequent vaginal examinations during labor and delivery, were found to be relatively common among the older general practitioners, but were held to a minimum by obstetricians. Alexander M. Campbell, M.D., a collaborator in the study, has published results of interests in connection with prenatal care received by these Michigan women.² Only 53 per cent of the total of 10,000 births investigated occurred to women who had received prenatal care approaching minimum standards of adequacy; among women in comfortable or moderate economic circumstances, two-thirds received so-called adequate prenatal care, but only one-fourth of the women in relief families received this type of care.

The degree to which economic expediency affects the nature and extent of medical treatment is well illustrated by the group of chronic cases, including patients with cancer, rheumatism, diabetes, or the cardiovascular-renal diseases. In the small cities, except in the East, the proportion of these cases receiving hospital care was uniformly lower in relief and marginal-income families than in the high-income group. The results indicate, however, not a compensating increase in home or office medical care, but a consistently lower amount of extra-hospital medical care received by chronic cases in low-income families compared with those in the upper economic class. In the large cities, more intensive medical care outside the hospital was received by cases in the higher-income class than in the relief and marginal-income groups, but, in this case, compensation was effected by a relatively high amount of hospital care.

The results of the survey call attention to certain broad prob-

² Alexander M. Campbell, "Maternal Care in Michigan: A Progress Note," *Journal of the Michigan State Medical Society*, January, 1938.

lems involved in meeting the diverse requirements of this miscellaneous group of chronic patients. With the exception of the tuberculous and the mentally diseased, the chronic sick are cared for largely in general hospitals, designed primarily for care of the acutely ill. It seems possible that in the large cities in particular, where about one in every four of such cases in this survey received hospital care, there is need for the development of methods to turn the trend from the hospital to the home. The promotion of foster-home care for the child patient, housekeeping-aide service for the adult, and the extension of facilities for custodial care, are necessary steps toward this end.

For certain ambulatory cases of illness, adequate medical care may be obtained through clinic supervision, but such benefits as low-income families derive from clinic care are, on the whole, limited to the poor of the large cities. In these cities, the proportion of all disabling illnesses among relief families which received clinic care varied according to region from 13 to 18 per cent; in the small cities under 25,000 population, the proportion was 1 per cent or less in all areas except the central, in which the figure was 3 per cent. Relatively less clinic service was received by families in the marginal-income class. Of all clinic cases in cities of 100,000 population and over, 54 per cent were among relief families and only 19 per cent in nonrelief families with income under \$1,000, yet the proportion of disabling illnesses in these two income groups was approximately the same.

The relatively infrequent use of the bedside nurse in home care of the sick is indicated by the fact that only 2 per cent of all illnesses in the surveyed population were attended by a private-duty nurse in the home and 7 per cent by a visiting nurse. Seventy per cent of all cases receiving private-duty nursing care in the home were in families with income over \$1,000, and 33 per cent in families with income in excess of \$2,000, yet only 17 per cent of all cases of illness occurred in families of the latter class. Visiting-nurse service, on the other hand, was used in a greater proportion of cases among the low-income families,

but the same tendencies were apparent here as in the case of clinic care—a much larger proportion of visiting-nurse service being absorbed by the relief group than the marginal-income class, and the service being chiefly restricted to the poor of large cities. There is, furthermore, marked disparity in the amount of care given to the average case attended by the visiting and the private-duty nurse. The average chronic case among relief families in large cities attended by a visiting nurse received 13 visits, while the average chronic case in families with incomes over \$3,000 attended by a private-duty nurse received 68 days (or nights) of care.

The results of the survey thus indicate that the varying environmental conditions presented by the large and small city and the rural area, by regions of high and low fiscal capacity, do indeed introduce local problems in the provision of medical services to low-income families. In rural areas, characterized by marked inadequacy of medical facilities, in particular, of hospitals, rich and poor alike encounter difficulty in obtaining sufficient medical care. At the next level of adequacy, represented by the small cities, the poor suffer the effects of limited facilities to a greater degree than the rich. With increasing urbanization, supplementary medical services, hospitals, clinics, visiting nurses, become available to the poor in greater volume, with the result that the medical needs of the low-income groups in the large cities are less acute than those in the small cities. In the large cities a relative difference in need arises within the low-income group itself, the hospital and clinic facilities and visiting-nurse service giving proportionately more service to public charges than to the marginal-income class above the relief level. Finally, with the exception of hospitalized illnesses, the low-income families in both large and small cities, in comparison with the higher-economic groups, receive less intensive medical care of illnesses for the treatment of which they depend on the generous, but necessarily limited, voluntary service of private practitioners.

MEDICAL CARE AS A BASIC COMPONENT IN A PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

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GOOD medical care can be bought. We all need good medical care. Those are two simple statements of fact which no sensible person would dispute. They are of direct concern to every man, woman, and child in these United States. The ramifications and variations in medical needs throughout the nation have been portrayed graphically in the report¹ of the National Health Survey and in numerous other studies and reports² in the field of medical economics.

The socioeconomic consequences of unmet medical needs are devastating and appalling—to the individual, to the community in which he lives, to the state, and to the nation. The conservation and maintenance of the public health is indeed a primary function of government.

According to a recent authoritative report we learn:

The cost of illness and premature death in this country amounts annually to about ten billion dollars, including in this total the combined costs of health services and medical care, loss of wages through unemployment resulting from disability and the loss of potential future earnings through death. On an average day of the year, there are four million or more persons disabled by illness. Every year seventy million sick persons lose over one billion days from work or customary activities. The social consequences of ill health are incalculable, for sickness is among the most important causes of economic

¹ George St. J. Perrott, "Medical Needs as Revealed by the National Health Survey." (Conference paper, Seattle.)

² Davis, Michael, and others.

insecurity. Sickness strikes at the basis of national vitality; the good health of the population is vital to national vigor and well-being.³

That medical care should be a basic component in a public assistance program is indicated by the finding in the National Health Survey that families in receipt of public assistance had almost 70 per cent more illness than families with an income over \$3,000 a year. This is borne out by the further finding of the President's committee: "The essential lack consists not in inadequate knowledge, but in inadequate funds," and "the essential inadequacy in respect to health services is not in our capacity to *produce* but in our capacity to *distribute*."

The problem of how and when and what medical care can be given is indeed a complex one, requiring the close and thoughtful co-operation of all of us—physicians, nurses, social workers, health officers, and administrators.

The objective is a simple one, namely, that no person in each of our several communities who is in need of medical care and unable to provide it for himself shall fail to get prompt and efficient service, with due regard for the conservation of public funds.

In view of the magnitude of the public assistance program in its broadest sense, it is little wonder that we have such a widespread discussion of the payment of tax funds for medical care. In 1934, the American Medical Association issued its set of principles and proposals to be considered in setting up programs of medical care, paid for from public funds; in 1937, a group of some 430 physicians issued its own set of proposals; this year the American College of Physicians and the New York Academy of Medicine considered recommendations for social leadership in medicine. At the annual meeting last month of the House of Delegates of the Medical Society of the State of New York, there was a spirited debate on a specific proposal for "nonprofit medical expense indemnity insurance," a long term for voluntary health insurance. Although this proposal was, I

³ *The Need for a National Health Program* (Washington, D.C.: Interdepartmental Committee To Co-ordinate Health and Welfare Activities, 1938), pp. 1-2.

am told, defeated by a small margin, a report was adopted which reads in part: "We believe it is the duty of the medical profession to examine with sympathetic interest and a spirit of mutual co-operation, any plan sponsored by laymen to finance medical service expense, and to approve those which meet the following fundamental requirements." Notably, "That they not involve, directly or indirectly, the interposition of a third party, as regards medical matters, between the patient and the physician of his choice."

In March, 1938, approximately 20,000,000 persons in 6,000,000 households in the United States received financial assistance from public funds amounting to nearly \$241,000,000.⁴ Two-thirds of these, or 4,000,000 households were in receipt of public assistance, about 2,000,000 in federal-aided programs under the Social Security Act, and another 2,000,000 in receipt of general relief grants.

Unmet need for medical care is of equal urgency for each of these 4,000,000 households, regardless of the category or of the source of funds. Yet in spite of a total tax expenditure in excess of half a billion dollars a year, Michael Davis⁵ found a tremendous disparity in the standards of care and in the availability of services to dependent and nondependent persons in their homes, in hospitals, clinics, public health, educational, and other agencies. In my own state, New York, although some \$4.00-\$6.00 per capita or \$50-\$70,000,000 are spent annually for medical care of one kind or another, by several different public agencies, it has been demonstrated that far more efficient service, with no increase in expense, can be provided by close co-operation between departments.

Let me review briefly the recent history of medical care as part of public assistance in New York State. Our law adopted in 1929 reads:

The public welfare district shall be responsible for providing necessary medical care to persons under its care, *and for such persons otherwise able to*

⁴ Social Security Bulletin, I, No. 5 (May, 1938), 11.

⁵ *Public Medical Services*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

maintain themselves, who are unable to secure necessary medical care. Such care may be given in dispensaries, hospitals, the person's home or other suitable place.⁶

Yet a law, no matter how liberal, is not effective until it becomes part of the daily thinking of those who administer it. When our Emergency Relief Administration was established in the fall of 1931 to meet the emergency needs of those in need through no fault of their own, medicine and medical care were very simply included among these needs, together with food, clothing, fuel, and shelter. I was assigned to make a survey, and found in seventeen representative cities and four counties that there were twenty-two different programs; one city had two for medical care for those on relief, ranging from those limited to strictly emergency calls and serious illness and injuries to comprehensive plans including prevention. So, on December 8, 1931, we prepared our first "Regulations Governing Medical Care in the Home to Recipients of Home Relief," under which a uniform plan of state aid to localities was established. These basic regulations have continued unchanged with minor amendments suggested by the state medical and dental societies and the principles were incorporated in F.E.R.A. Rules and Regulations, No. 7, which I drafted in July, 1933, at the request of Mr. Harry Hopkins, and which were issued without change on September 8 of that year, after approval by Dr. W. C. Woodward, legislative representative of the American Medical Association, and by Dr. Hugh S. Cummings, surgeon general of the United States Public Health Service. Since the federal aid under No. 7 was restricted to supplementation of existing facilities for home care and excluded hospitalization, we were all conscious of the limitations of the program. Nevertheless some progress was made during the two and one-half years of the F.E.R.A. in the stimulation of co-operative thinking of physicians and welfare officials with respect to public responsibility for medical care for those unable to provide it for themselves.

⁶ Public Welfare Law, Art. X, sec. 83.

Several other states and localities had adopted medical-relief programs before the F.E.R.A. plan of federal aid gave added impetus; I recall the carefully worked out plan⁷ for Grant County, Indiana, as an excellent example.

On January 19, 1934, the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, in consultation with the Illinois State Medical Society, adopted a state-wide medical program⁸ which contained extended and effective provisions for almost all types of medical care, including care in dispensaries and hospitals. Many other states adopted elaborate programs, a few under whole-time medical supervision.

With the withdrawal of federal funds in December, 1935, many of these programs collapsed of their own weight, or because sufficient funds were not available. Our experience in New York state was more heartening, however, for with an increase from 25 to 60 per cent in local participation, there was no significant decrease in per capita medical expenditures when 1936 is compared with 1935.

Since July 1, 1937, when the Emergency Relief Administration activities were taken over into a permanent program by the State Department of Social Welfare, the increase has continued, and our program now covers medical care on the same basis for all categories of public assistance.

Significant of our attempts to restore individuals to a state of self-support is the fact that it is estimated that a daily average of 930,000 persons in New York State received public assistance of all types in 1937, and that in the course of the year, 1,744,000 different individuals received such relief for briefer or longer periods. In all these types of relief the primary administration is local, with the state acting in a supervisory capacity only, giving reimbursement according to law on approved local expenditures.

⁷ E. D. Harrold *et al.*, "Medical Poor Relief in Grant County," *Jour. Indiana State Med. Assoc.*, May 1, 1933, pp. 221-23; also *N.Y. State Jour. Med.*, June 15, 1933, p. 789.

⁸ *Official Bulletin No. 165*, Illinois Emergency Relief Commission.

I was particularly interested to hear Dr. R. G. Leland⁹ state the objectives of the Council of the American Medical Association in encouraging state and county medical societies to make surveys of existing facilities for providing medical care. It is of interest that an anonymous British group for P.E.P., or Political and Economic Planning, in its recent report¹⁰ on the British Health Services has arrived at very similar conclusions and objectives. They, too, emphasize the key function of the general practitioner and point out that he should be recognized as a specialist in diagnosis, to consider the medical needs of the whole patient. Particularly pertinent was Dr. Leland's plea for the co-operation of all of us—physicians, medical social workers, and others, "to keep the demand and supply for medical services in constant balance."

Recognition of medical care as a basic component in a public assistance program makes medical social workers out of us all, in a joint appraisal of all medical, health, and social resources in a community, and the practical application of this appraisal to the end that there is a minimum of duplication of activities and services.

In New York state, for example, medical policies have long recognized the traditional relationships existing between the patient and the physician or other professional attendant, subject of course, to legal and economic limitations. Although during the five and one-half years ending December 31, 1937, \$11,368,508.47 have been spent from public relief funds for medical care of home relief cases, more than 80 per cent, or nine million dollars of the total eleven and one-third millions was spent in districts where ample recognition was given to the patient-physician relationship. Four and one-third millions of dollars were spent in New York City alone, where there are

⁹ "Relations of Social Work and Medical Care, from the Point of View of the Medical Profession." (Conference paper, Seattle.)

¹⁰ *Report on the British Health Services: A Survey of the Existing Health Services in Great Britain with Proposals for Future Development* ("Political and Economic Planning"). London, December, 1937.

about 4,500 physicians participating in the program, and four and two-thirds millions of dollars were spent in the rural areas covered by county welfare districts with about one-sixth of the total case load. Elsewhere the participation of local communities in state aid for medical relief has been in inverse proportion both to the size of the municipality and to the availability of established outpatient and salaried medical, dental, and nursing service already established in the community. Monthly expenditures for medical care in the home have ranged from less than \$25,000 during June, 1932, to about \$350,000 in March, 1935, a 1,400 per cent increase for the state as a whole. These figures include only general relief grants and not federal-aided categories.

It might well be asked, What are the desiderata of a balanced medical-assistance program? Let me quote from a publication of the Health Organization of the League of Nations:

In the largest sense, effective medical assistance may be considered as indicating a medical service organized in such a way as to place at the disposal of the population all the facilities of modern medicine in order to promote health and to detect and treat illnesses from their incipency. Medical assistance must be concerned with the promotion and preservation of health as well as with the treatment and cure of disease.¹¹

Full-time medical supervision by a competent expert given full responsibility in professional matters is most desirable on the state level, and the medical-assistance program should be under comparable professional supervision in all municipal subdivisions with a case load sufficient to warrant it. At all levels there should be full-time medical social workers and a free use of medical and other professional advisory committees to devise and maintain professional standards, both of personnel and of services. Careful medical-social case work should be followed and records kept for future guidance. There is need for standards of institutional care and other auxilliary services such as visiting housekeepers, boarding-homes for invalid and chroni-

¹¹ *Health* ("Series of League of Nation Publications") (1931), III, II, 15. Official No: C.473.M.202. 1931 III.

cally ill persons, etc. Curative programs should be closely coordinated with the preventive and specialized treatment programs of the health department. Recognition should be given to the fact that such an intimate and personal service as medical care is in a constant state of flux, and that as new problems arise, new solutions must be devised.

In the development of a permanent program of medical care as part of public assistance, consideration should be given to the varying needs of different localities and persons. For in matters of health and social growth, the individual is everything. We must not forget the words of that eminent statesman, Lord Morley, who said: "Progress depends on the room left by the state for the enterprise, energy and initiative of the individual." Yet, we must always remember that one of the prime aims of organization and co-ordination is the attainment of continuity of care.

For example, in the development of a program of medical assistance for this state of Washington, due notice has been taken of these considerations. Although ample recognition is given to the principle of maintaining the patient-physician relationship, the feasibility of providing the services of a salaried physician for the treatment of chronic and ambulatory patients is not ignored. The new and permanent programs of medical assistance in the states of West Virginia¹² and Kansas¹³ have taken into account many of these considerations. The Kansas report which I have cited gives a careful evaluation of several types of medical-assistance programs, such as, lump-sum, paid organized group, or all fee-paid county physicians; and organized group, or all physicians paid on a fee basis. It is pertinent that after due consideration the committee decided that

... the most feasible and desirable county plan for supplying medical care to public assistance recipients is by means of a contract between the county board

¹² *Manual of Procedure: Medical Relief; Relief Hospitalization.*

¹³ *Medical Assistance in Kansas: A Report to the State Advisory Committee on Medical Care* (May, 1938) ("Research Study No. 4"). Topeka, Kan.: State Board of Social Welfare, March 1, 1938.

of social welfare and the members of the county medical society organization, collectively or individually; the physicians included in the contract to be compensated for their services on a lump-sum or controlled fee schedule basis by the county board of social welfare.¹⁴

In large cities the advantages and disadvantages of a fee-for-service panel system are difficult to evaluate; supervision and adequate record keeping is costly—e.g., New York City, on a panel system for home medical care, spends about a million dollars a year for care and 20 per cent additional for full-time medical and medical-social-work supervision. On the other hand, such widely separated cities as Boston, Rochester, Detroit, and San Francisco maintain excellent salaried systems of medical assistance under competent professional supervision.

The social worker and the public health nurse visit many of the same families. Working under careful supervision, a graduate nurse can be invaluable both in giving bedside care to patients suffering from prolonged or chronic illnesses and in health education. In a sickness census¹⁵ conducted among a random sample of 1,600 families on relief in New York state in December, 1932, it was found that although illnesses were not more numerous among these unemployed families, they were much more prolonged. "More than 40 per cent of those disabled by illness on the day of the survey had been ill for more than a year. Among those who had been ill for less than a year, the average illness lasted more than 25 days. More than half (54 per cent) of these disabling illnesses reported by the families had received no medical attention whatever. . . . In only two communities was nursing service provided for public welfare clients." This was the basis for starting a state-wide work-relief nursing project to employ needy nurses to care for needy persons.

Since February 15, 1933, this project has been in continuous operation, sponsored and supervised by the New York State Department of Health, and financed successively by the F.E.R.A., C.W.A., T.E.R.A., and W.P.A.¹⁶ Up to January 1

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ H. Jackson Davis, "Where Relief Includes Medical Care," *Survey*, April, 1933.

¹⁶ H. Jackson Davis, *Community Nursing: A Supplementary Statewide Program of Public Health Nursing with Special Emphasis on Bedside Care*. Albany, N.Y.: W.P.A., 1936.

of this year, these nurses had made more than 2,600,000 home visits, of which about 1,200,000 were for the purpose of giving bedside nursing care to the needy sick and 1,400,000 were to give specific health instruction in the home—all at a cost of about 65 cents per visit. An average of 15,000 to 20,000 families were given community nursing service each month during this period; 56 per cent of the families served were on relief and 44 per cent not on relief, but unable to provide nursing service for themselves.

I could elaborate on other related services which have a bearing on good medical care and the scope of existing programs, but, instead, in closing, I want briefly to call your attention to some guideposts that are being set for us to steer our future course: (1) to a comprehensive report of the Technical Committee on Medical Care on *The Need for a National Health Program* (1938); (2) to the report of the American Public Welfare Association, Committee on Medical Care, issued June 1, 1938; and (3) to the three memoranda prepared by the Joint Committee of the American Public Welfare Association and the American Hospital Association on: *Hospital Care for the Needy*: I. *Relations between Public Welfare Authorities and Hospitals*; II. *Hospital Standards for Public Charges*; III. *Determination of Financial Eligibility for Hospital Care*.

And last but not least to that splendid challenge made to us all by the late Edgar Sydenstricker, when he said:

The time has come when we must recognize a fundamental change in the objectives of public health. We cannot discard any element of the older concept—the protection of one person against the hazards created or presented by the disease or acts of another. But we must enlarge the objectives to make them include the safeguarding of the individual and collective health of all persons.

This broad concept is not an appeal for “public medicine” or “state medicine” or “socialized medicine” or any other particular scheme of furnishing medical care through public provision. It is an appeal that society shall face the economic difficulties which prevent the public from actually receiving the full benefits that can be derived from adequate health and medical service. New procedures doubtless will be needed, but there is no reason why they shall not be as fair to those who render service as to those who are served.¹⁷

¹⁷ *Annals of Political Science*.

ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES FOR PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS

*Audrey M. Hayden, Director, Illinois Society for the
Prevention of Blindness, Chicago*

SOMEONE has said that no one can hear that two-thirds of all blindness is preventable without experiencing some sort of an emotion. Either it takes the form of astonishment that so little is being done about it, or it assumes the opposite extreme of a burning indignation or divine pity-inspiring action, vigorous, persistent, and effective. Perhaps the reason why there is more astonishment and less of burning indignation is because blindness with all of its fearful implications isn't borne in on our consciousness very often.

Two years ago last fall I was in Jacksonville at the Illinois School for the Blind. As I came out of my room to go down to dinner, I suddenly heard strains of the most beautiful organ music coming from the auditorium. I went down the hall to see who was at the organ. I opened the auditorium door only to be met by blank darkness, but as my eyes became accustomed to the dark I saw that two little boys about twelve and fourteen were at the organ. My first impulse was to turn on the light. And then I realized with a sinking of the heart that it was too late to turn on the light for those two boys. In that moment, as I realized the dreadful loneliness of the dark, I felt that no work could be too hard, no detail too tedious, no effort too great, if as a result we could head off this frightful calamity for other children in our state.

In that little story is the heartbeat which keeps Prevention of Blindness alive, and I am of the firm opinion that it takes just such a strong emotional drive to motivate a program of

this kind. No social forces will be mobilized without it—better and more lasting results will be obtained with it and because of it. It will lend urgency to any plan because it will make us feel that the time is short and the task is great.

In mobilizing public opinion for Prevention of Blindness, just what is our goal? We cannot rest on our oars until the day dawns when our whole social fabric is permeated with information as to the symptoms of impending eye disasters; how much blindness is preventable; how it is prevented and where to go to get the best advice. How do we set the wheels in motion for such an educational program?

Well, if I were asked what was the quickest and most effective manner in which to educate the public on this issue, I should say, without a minute's hesitation, "A strong legislative program." This program, if ably and simply interpreted, first to the legislators, and through them to their constituents (or in case of trouble—through the constituents back to the legislators) would, it seems to me, be the best way to dramatize the issue and give it vitality. What bills should such a program contain? Possibly four basic pieces of legislation:

1. An enabling act for sight-saving classes which would provide
 - a) An adequate state subsidy
 - b) Requirements for teachers' training
 - c) Provisions for transportation so that rural communities could have consolidated classes
 - d) Provision for adequate supervision by the State Department of Public Instruction so that standards could be inaugurated and maintained
2. A mandatory silver nitrate bill, and by that I mean a statute, not Board of Health regulation, with *no* exempting clauses, yet so carefully worded that it does not run counter to medical practice acts which specify that a physician cannot be dictated to in regard to the use of drugs
3. A law to provide for the control of trachoma in states where it presents a real public health problem
4. A law to limit the sale of fireworks to pyrotechnical experts

All I know about how such a program is translated from impulse into reality is what I have learned in the school of hard knocks, by actually trying to put sight-saving legislation on the statute-books of Illinois; and in the hope that our experience may help other states, I have tried to analyze our failures and successes in such a way that they may be of service.

In placing such a legislative program before a state Legislature, I think the least controversial measure should be taken first so that a pleasant acquaintance can be cultivated with the members of the house and senate. Our school bill was put through the 1929 session of the legislature with a vote of 135-0 in the house and 41-0 in the senate. This bill went through on a straight lobby with no community organization and no pressure. Every one of the 135 men in the house and the 41 men in the senate who voted for the measure received a personal letter of thanks from the president of the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness. Every time a new sight-saving class was opened in the state they were informed and thanked again. Every time a member of the staff of the Illinois Society went to a town where a legislator lived he was visited and made to feel that he had been responsible for some mighty nice work. In other words, gratitude is a powerful weapon in the mobilization of social forces.

So when two years later, in 1931, we took a bill to the legislature to prevent blindness in newborn babies, even though the bill was controversial, in that it was opposed by a powerful antimedical lobby, we were in the midst of friends who felt that they were our partners in prevention of blindness.

The bill provided:

Every doctor, midwife or nurse attending at the birth of a child in the State of Illinois instill or have instilled into the eyes of the baby, within an hour after birth, a one per cent solution of Silver Nitrate, or some equally effective prophylactic for prevention of blindness from Ophthalmia Neonatorum, approved by the State Department of Public Health.

This bill was drafted by a constitutional expert. It was flexible in its wording so that it did not run counter to the Medical

Practice Act. It named the approved treatment but gave a choice, always providing for approval by the Department of Health. If a better cleanser than 1 per cent silver nitrate is discovered, our law will not have to be changed. Almost immediately antimetrical opposition to the bill crystallized.

The legislature in 1931 was literally snowed under with letters from our opponents, asking the members of both houses to vote against the bill on the ground that it was an invasion of personal liberty (a very sinister argument to fight, by the way). But with a ten-year record of 1,294 babies in the city of Chicago alone, who had been hospitalized by our society, all suffering from an infection which they need never have incurred, and with a memory of 77 other babies who would never see as long as they lived because their eyes had not been properly treated at birth, we lobbied the bill through the legislature with a vote of 105-6 in the house and 36-6 in the senate.

After holding the bill to within twelve hours of the dead line for signature, the attorney-general returned the bill to the governor with the opinion that it was unconstitutional, and the governor vetoed it. Because the men in the house had been so thoroughly convinced of the good the bill would have done, they shattered a precedent of forty-years standing and passed the bill over the governor's veto by a vote of 116-9.

It was necessary to get 34 votes to override the veto in the senate, and all we could muster was 28. One of the senators, a man who was returned by the churches of his district, got to his feet and said: "You gentlemen have been listening to the kind of lobbying in this bill that doesn't get you very far politically."

As I sat in the gallery and listened, I thought how stupid we had been to believe that just because a bill was good, that just because a bill would save human suffering and the taxpayers' money, its passage was assured. I saw, in that moment, that straight lobbying was not enough on a controversial measure, that educating the legislators was not enough, that the whole state had to be educated so that no representative of the people

would dare to make a statement like that again. I saw that we had to demonstrate that a bill which saved helpless babies from a lifetime of darkness was loaded with political dynamite.

In the midst of our despair we had a gift from heaven. Mr. James Weber Linn of the *Chicago Daily Times* heard of the veto and took his pen in hand and wrote a column called "The Pen Sword," which said:

The governor vetoed the bill to make the treatment of the eyes of new-born babies compulsory. He said the Attorney General was not sure that the bill was constitutional, and the fear of any unconstitutional legislation makes the Governor shudder.

Blindness is a sad affliction. The blind cannot rejoice in the changing colors of the sunset or the infinite yet intimate glory of the stars; they cannot perceive the blueness of the sky, though they can feel the chill of rain; they cannot perceive the faces of those they love, and who love them, they must wander always in blackness. But to the Governor, no doubt, they suffer under an affliction even worse than any of these; they cannot read the constitution of the state of Illinois.

It is a wonderful thing to be born without imagination; a wonderful and a comforting thing. No man born without imagination ever loses any sleep thinking of the preventable misery of others. No man born without imagination, even if he is a governor, ever wakes in the dark and wonders what it would be like to know darkness only, darkness to the end, starless darkness stretching universal. No man born without imagination, even if he is a governor, ever thinks of his pen as a poisoned sword with which he may put out thousands of eyes at a stroke. No man born without imagination, even if he is a governor, ever sees himself eclipsing the sun in a thousand skies, building a narrow wall around the hopes of youth, fashioning a nightmare for a child's dream.

As I read those words I thought, if a man who had never seen a case of baby sore eyes, who had never been near Springfield during all the fight for the bill, could write like that about it, we weren't defeated yet; and we decided that we would not drop the fight—only next time we would have community organizations behind us and an informed electorate.

Illinois has 51 legislative districts, and we decided that we would organize standing committees in each one of those districts, made up of key people who would represent the Legion, the P.-T.A.'s, the women's clubs, the churches, the men's service

clubs, nursing and medical societies, besides prominent individuals influential with members of the legislature and state officials. We planned through these key people to educate the groups they represented.

We planned to make the silver nitrate bill a political issue. I am always annoyed by people who say superciliously, "Oh—don't you hate to get mixed up in politics?" My answer is always, "If politics are the tools with which blindness will be prevented, then we mustn't scorn to use them."

What material did we use for educational purposes? 1. We went to the League of Women Voters and asked them to include the vote on our bill in their *Digest* on the ten most important bills of the 1931 session. They did this, and we bought up 25,000 copies and marked them for the 51 legislative districts for circularization throughout the state. 2. We ordered 25,000 copies of the James Weber Linn editorial. 3. We ordered 25,000 copies of two other editorials that had come out in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* and the *Survey*.

In the fall of 1931 three of us started out and did not stop until December of 1932, when we had completed the organization of a committee of 3,114 members who in turn represented about one and a half million votes. This was slow, painful work. We had from half an hour to one hour's conference with every one of these 3,114 committee members. We made them feel that they were enlisting on a crusade. We made them feel responsibility in their own group. And, believe me, those hours were not wasted.

In the summer of 1931 we took the adverse opinion of the attorney-general to the Constitutional Law Department of the University of Chicago and asked them to give it intensive study. If they considered the opinion sound, we proposed to redraft our bill; if they considered it clearly a prejudiced opinion, we proposed to take the very same bill back to the legislature in 1933.

The attorney-general who had rendered the opinion in 1931 was running for governor on the Republican ticket in the pri-

maries of 1932. In January of 1932, Professor Puttkammer from the University of Chicago called us up and told us that after exhaustive study the Constitutional Law Department had decided that the opinion did not hold water and that they had decided to publish a two-page editorial in the *Illinois Law Review* for February, analyzing the opinion and showing up its legal weaknesses. Since the attorney-general was opening up his Chicago campaign headquarters on March first, we prevailed upon the University of Chicago to hold up the editorial until the March issue. Then we called in all the metropolitan dailies and gave them the story. The story was so good that it made the front page of all the papers. We wrote and thanked the papers for the news items and asked if they could find it in their hearts to give us an editorial. Three of them did. We immediately circularized all three editorials to our 3,114 committee members. Needless to say, this publicity at primary time cooked several political geese, among them that of the attorney-general who was running for governor. The *Chicago Tribune* ran an editorial called, "Little Drops of Silver Nitrate," which pointed out that the former governor and attorney-general had thought that the silver nitrate bill had no political significance and now, too late, they had awakened to the fact that the bill was full of political gunpowder.

The use of news items and editorials in arousing public opinion is effective only if the stories are dramatic, the interpretation is accurate, and they are circularized intelligently.

Along with our campaign to organize the standing committees, we ran a public-speaking campaign all over the state. In that year and a half over four hundred talks were given, telling just what happened in 1931. At each talk the speaker would give the vote in the particular district in which she was speaking and make a plea for those present to write letters to their legislators, either thanking them for a positive vote or asking why they had voted against the bill. I believe that the ordinary voter has no idea what a power he wields, and in mobilizing social forces that power can well be made clearer to the electorate.

No detail should be overlooked in mobilizing public opinion. You will remember the senator who said: "You gentlemen have been listening to the kind of lobbying on this bill that doesn't get you very far politically." In the light of that remark it seemed to us that special attention should be paid to his district, since it was clear that a good deal of interpretation to the public was needed there.

We analyzed the political setup in that district and found that that particular senator boasted that he was returned to the state legislature by the churches of his district. That was a starting-point. If the church people voted for him, they were the ones to inform. We found that there were eighty-seven churches in that district. We made an engagement to speak at all those churches, and we told our audiences exactly what that senator had said. We put it to them squarely that if they did not want their senator to make such remarks about a humanitarian measure, they should write to him and protest. Literally thousands of people did that very thing, and that senator was the most surprised and puzzled and annoyed man in the state. The Republican Women's Club, which had always indorsed his candidacy as a matter of course, withheld their indorsement in 1932, and he complained bitterly to them that the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness was crucifying him.

I am convinced that legislators respect an enemy who fights fairly, because a year later, after the governor had signed our bill, that senator came to me and asked to bury the hatchet. He asked me to get a reader's allowance for a blind boy in his district. I took the necessary steps and reported back to him. The next week I got a letter from him signed, "Enthusiastically your co-worker and friend."

I saw him in Springfield some time later and I said: "Senator Blank, I never thought the day would dawn when you would sign yourself, 'Enthusiastically *my* co-worker and friend'—I'm going to frame your letter," and he replied, "Well, frame the letter, but for Heaven's sake don't frame me again. I never spent such an uncomfortable year and a half as I did when

your organization was going around my district and telling the voters what a big bad wolf I was."

Before the elections, campaign promises were obtained from those who were running for governor. The men who were running for attorney-general were visited by prominent individuals and were told the whole story of the silver nitrate bill. The editorial in the *Illinois Law Review* was brought to the attention of the men who were running for the latter office.

And so we went back to the legislature of 1933 with the same bill, but behind it this time was the weight of newspaper publicity which had been intelligently directed and circularized; a standing committee of 3,114 people, all excited about the issue and anxious to do their bit in molding public opinion. All these committee members had been furnished with facts in simple form so that their work would be a potent factor and not just a waste of breath.

And it paid. One member of the legislature asked me one day if I had the country roads patrolled at nights to get votes for the bill, and when I asked her what she meant, she said that the previous week the lights on her car had gone out on a lonesome county road at 10:30 at night. The friend who was with her stopped a passing car and asked the driver to tow them in to Downers Grove, ten miles away. The man said: "Oh, so that's Mrs. O'Neill, is it? Well, I want to talk to her." He came over to Mrs. O'Neill's car and said: "Mrs. O'Neill, I'm Dr. Jones from Naperville. I'm the head of the Dupage County Medical Society, and before I tow you into Downers Grove, I want to know what you are going to do about the silver nitrate bill." We hear a lot these days about community organization. There is a museum example of it.

The bill passed the house by a vote of 109-6 and the senate, 38-2. The attorney-general ruled that it was constitutional, and the governor, who was subjected to heavy pressure against the bill, signed it on the eighteenth day of April, 1933, and it became the law of Illinois on July first of that year.

There is no gainsaying the practical results of mobilizing pub-

lic opinion for a legislative program of this kind. Before our school bill became a law there were ten sight-saving classes, poorly equipped and manned with untrained teachers, limited to the city of Chicago.

Since the law became effective in 1929, we have opened sixty-six sight-saving classes in twenty-five cities, and the appropriations have grown from \$26,000 to \$283,600.

Before the silver nitrate bill became effective in 1933, we used to have from eight to twelve babies a year blinded from ophthalmia. Since the law became effective five years ago this July, we have had two blind babies.

Before the Trachoma Law was passed in 1935, we had no diagnosis and no treatment except at the Illinois Eye and Ear Infirmary in Chicago, situated four hundred miles away from the trachoma district in southern Illinois. We now have three thousand positive trachoma cases under treatment and one thousand suspects under observation in five trachoma clinics in southern Illinois.

A long-time program like this yields mounting dividends. The members of the legislature respect the efforts of an organization which keeps at it until the last bell rings. The imagination and sympathy of the general public is stirred into action which, as was said in the beginning, is vigorous, persistent, and effective.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, UNITED STATES
OFFICE OF EDUCATION, DIVISION FOR
THE BLIND

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THERE are many people today developing the idea that special agencies or departments for the blind, either public or private, should be eliminated and blind persons treated by the ordinary social agencies along with the regular case load. Wherever this has been attempted experience indicates that blind persons receive the minimum amount of service and the ordinary social workers are indifferent to the special problems involved. Such a development would, in the opinion of most of us, be a step backward rather than forward. This attitude is probably due to lack of standards and achievement by many workers and agencies for the blind.

Most workers for the blind are agreed as to what constitutes a well-rounded program of services to the blind and that services to the blind should be headed in each state by a state commission for the blind or a division for the blind in the Department of Welfare; at least, that there should be the closest coordination between the state agency responsible for the constructive services for the blind and the state agency administering aid to the blind. A straight relief program which has in it no other thought but payment of money destroys the initiative and morale of many persons and further emphasizes in the public mind the idea that blindness and cash relief or charity are absolutely synonymous. Constructive services may not contact even the majority of those on the relief list, but these serv-

ices are necessary to rebuild the lives of the small group whose needs can never be met by any relief program regardless of how generous it may be.

Various agencies estimate that some 15 to 25 per cent of the blind population are susceptible to treatment by constructive services and can be made either partially or wholly self-supporting; there is, in addition, an enrichment of their lives which comes as a result of wholesome activity and the making of a contribution to family needs for the individual whom society attempts to condemn to a life of helplessness. Because of the sometimes intangible and frequently scattered results, it seems almost impossible for the public constructive agency to secure a sufficiently large appropriation to carry on the intensive services required. Properly done, the public agency should have branches or district offices in every large center of population, and its workers radiating from these centers would cover prescribed adjacent areas into the country and thus leave no part of the state untouched. These workers would contact every blind person at least once a year and would be able to find and contact newly blind persons very quickly after the loss of sight. Naturally these workers become a clearing house for the problems of the individual and refer those in need of financial aid to the public assistance division, and, after securing all possible other services from social agencies, fill in the gaps with their own program. The staff so engaged by the public agency in both its head and its district offices should have all the qualifications for the various special fields as are required by any social or business organization. On this basis, the agency will secure and hold the respect and the co-operation of all other organizations—social, business, etc.—interested in the welfare of humanity.

However, since most public agencies find it impossible to secure sufficient appropriation to properly cover their territory, private agencies have been developed in principal cities to meet this need. Sometimes these agencies have preceded the public organization, and, because of their antiquity, assume that they

are doing the right kind of a job, that their immediate territory is sacred, and the public agency should not attempt to supplement their services except as the private agency may request. Sometimes the private agency is developed as a monument to the individual effort of some well-meaning citizen who conceived the idea of helping the poor blind and, as a result, carved out a job and is rather jealous of the privileges and prerogatives which go with the local applause. These agencies resent the intrusion of the public agency and, while they do not meet the entire need, they prevent anyone else from bridging the gap.

The private agency can do many things for the individual which the public agency might find difficult because of regulations and governmental procedure. For this reason there should be the closest kind of co-ordination between the two. However, since public opinion also considers all blind persons and agencies for the blind as being alike, there should be a consistent uniform policy and procedure throughout the entire state. This cannot be secured unless there is adequate leadership and a recognition by all interested parties of that leadership. In order to secure this, the state public agency should have the authority to establish district offices or, by agreement, make the private agency its representative and insure satisfactory work by providing a sufficiently large contribution to the expense of the district office. The private agency can raise only a limited amount of money, and very few of them are sufficiently well financed to carry on a complete program. Supplemented by state funds and by staff experts in special fields in the state department, the private agency can still maintain its identity, and the blind persons in its area will not pay the penalty for the conflict between administrative executives.

For example, the private agency desires to operate a broom-shop or other sheltered industry. Manufacturing and operating administrative problems arise and the sheltered shop becomes a subsidized shop, and the subsidy spent on a few choice people destroys the agency's ability to render service to the larger mass. The state organization can afford to employ an expert

on the various problems and can give to the private agency the necessary ability to make the sheltered shop operate properly and to free the subsidy for service to those outside the shop. The public agency can employ specialists in placement, home teaching, prevention of blindness, home industries, can develop a central sales organization for products of all kinds, and can provide the training for staff executives to fill vacancies in the district or private-agency offices.

Many organizations have become stagnant and are simply administering a fund given them by the community. Huge sums are spent in the special workshops, and the organization directors lament their inability to expand because of the lack of money. The difficulty is not the lack of money, but the way in which it is spent. We have many examples of large industries in which the subsidies go as high as \$500 per year per blind employee. In some places, merchandise is sold at the cost of materials; in others, at the cost of labor; and the ordinary manufacturer is rightfully resentful of this type of competition. A few individuals who are permitted to work under the roof of the shop receive public assistance, some wages, and, in addition, these exaggerated shares of public money which is given to the entire group and yet is absorbed by a very small number. There is a place for sheltered industries, and there is a need for them; but work for the blind will not improve until the subsidy is removed and these shops operate on a commercial basis without so much apology and excuse. In some states, workers in the shop, through subsidy, receive so much in alleged wages that they are not eligible for public assistance. If these workers were paid on a strictly business basis for the actual work performed, their earnings would be so small that they would be eligible for public assistance. As it is, they actually receive relief, but the legislature or Community Chest calls it a manufacturing subsidy. If the administrators would face this problem honestly, and each of the workers were given public assistance and paid for the actual work done as wages, the subsidy earmarked for the shop could be cleared and used for construc-

tive services, and yet the employees in the shop would have just as much, or more, cash in their pockets each month.

This illustrates again the need and the possibilities of results with a close tieup between the constructive and the aid programs. There has been much talk and publicity about shops for the blind employing only blind persons. One shop recently surveyed has nine blind workers including the foreman. The shop is losing \$6,000 a year on a total wholesale business of \$9,000. We believe that the time has never existed when the public would insist upon a particular product being made in all its phases by blind workers. A well-managed successful business in which blind persons are employed secures far more respect from the public than does that subsidized shop which is overloaded with blind labor and to which the public must contribute in large sums to maintain a theoretical ideal. In addition, a better product and a greater variety of articles provide more continuous wage income to the blind persons concerned.

However, the sheltered shop, regardless of how perfectly it is operated, should be saved for service to those individuals who must be segregated, or to whom segregation is no detriment. It is not the first place for employment, but the last.

Various workers estimate that anywhere from 10 to 20 per cent of all blind persons can be readjusted in a normal environment and can be self-supporting in their own community. After all, blindness does not destroy the personality, the initiative, the imagination, and the resourcefulness of the individual. Certainly it does not reduce his cost of living. Every industry and every business has within it at least one job or place which can be occupied by a blind person who has the same qualifications for success as would be required with sight. In other words, there are places in which physical sight is not necessary for success and achievement. In this nation it is estimated that we have approximately 130,000 blind persons, and that approximately 1,000 persons lose sight every month. If our estimates are correct, there should be about 20,000 employable blind persons in this nation; and of this number, it is likely that

15,000 could be placed outside of sheltered industry. In the entire nation we have a woefully small number of placement agents concentrating on this problem. Very few placement agents consistently make more than fifteen placements per year. This is due not only to the difficulty of selling blind labor to normal business, but also to the need of maintaining perpetual contact with each employer and employee during the entire life of the placement. It is easy to understand that for a blind population of 1,000, with a turnover of 10 per cent per year, there will be approximately ten to fifteen new employable blind persons come to the register each year, and on a basis of past experience, there is ample need for the energy of a good placement officer.

Placement work has been somewhat discredited because of the way in which it is done. The blind person has been placed because he needs a job and not because of qualifications. The agency director rejoices in the fact that a gullible employer has taken on this difficult individual, and the organization is now free of that worry. The employer is permitted to mix charity with business, and after the first wave of enthusiasm and emotion has passed, he finds himself burdened with a problem beyond his ability to solve. At the first opportunity the blind employee is sent home to wait until orders come in or until some remodeling has been done or some other fancy condition is met. The actual fact is that the employer is finally freed from the blind worker and makes a resolution never to take on another. The fault is with the worker for the blind. If this person had selected the blind employee on a basis of fitness for the job, had seen to it that the product of his energy as delivered to the employer was equal to that of the average-sighted employee, that the costs to the employer were not increased in any way, and the employer's good will is developed and maintained on a basis of respect and fair trade, then the doors of industry would have opened for him and his placement problems would become easier instead of more difficult.

Operating refreshment stands has had a lot of publicity in

the past few years, and many workers for the blind have hailed it as the universal remedy for their problems. Here again mistakes are made by permitting blind persons to dissipate business opportunities and to ruin public good will. Individuals are placed on stands who have no more business in such jobs than they would have being placed as deep-sea divers or marathon runners. They have been permitted to accumulate large indebtedness and to ruin the credit of blind persons as a group, to come to their stands in a dirty, filthy condition, and, in a few rare cases, when they have been individually successful, they have been permitted to sell their businesses to sighted persons and thus to destroy the opportunities which other blind people should have.

The Randolph-Sheppard Act was passed in June, 1936, and was hailed by some as ranking in importance next to the invention of Braille. The governmental department did not start to function until June, 1937. Already various agencies for the blind had made placements in federal buildings. They are so poor in quality and so badly managed that one would think they were deliberate in their effort to destroy the privilege. Various federal departments controlling buildings were receiving complaints from citizens and were convinced that they had opened the doors to a lot of trouble and very little satisfaction. The Division for the Blind in the United States Office of Education had to immediately impose certain restrictions which would centralize responsibility and develop a higher standard, both in installation and in operation of the stands.

Properly operated stands in federal buildings give the agency an opportunity to demonstrate the ability of blind persons to the community. Poorly operated stands only serve to emphasize the helplessness of blind persons. Many of these operators could do a fine job if they had properly designed equipment and if they were given capable sighted supervision at all times. The individual operator should be selected on the same basis as you would choose an individual for work in our own business. Good personality, personal appearance, ethics, and dependabil-

ity are all primarily important, and need of employment is secondary. We must remember that each blind person so placed is an educational institution in the community, and the opinion of the public will be determined by the operator's performance. The welfare of all other blind persons is in his care. The co-operation of the public in the development of other opportunities will be expanded or restricted in direct proportion to the quality of the demonstration conducted by each stand-operator.

An agency should not attempt to place stands unless it is prepared to meet all the responsibilities that go with the program. The Office of Education has prepared material on stand-operating that is available to any agency, and the office is more than glad to co-operate with any organization in the training of placement officers and in the development of an adequate employment service.

USE OF A SMALL INSTITUTION IN TREATMENT OF PERSONALITY PROBLEMS

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FOR years social workers have recognized that the emotional problems of many children were not being adequately met through the typical community resources of care in their own homes or the homes of relatives; placement in free, adoptive, or boarding-homes; or care in institutions set up for the normal child, on the one hand, or for the delinquent child, on the other. The development of the Child Guidance Clinic seemed rather to intensify than to solve the problem, for the findings of the psychiatrist brought out even more clearly the fact that children often needed a form of treatment not available through any existing medium. Social workers who had originally hailed the advent of the clinic with enthusiasm frequently turned from it in disillusionment, feeling that the psychiatrist projected plans of procedure which were visionary and impractical. What the psychiatrist frequently said was that if the child could be given acceptance and adequate direction he could be stabilized, but neither he nor the social worker knew where to turn to obtain such care; and since he was seldom able to place the child in a situation where his recommendations could be followed with any degree of certainty, he did have alarmingly little opportunity to test the validity of his findings.

Likewise, both social workers and psychiatrists became increasingly aware that plans often failed because they had been based upon limited clinic and office contact or the unperceptive and frequently prejudiced observations of lay persons. The in-

tensive therapy which could overcome these handicaps was not possible for every child, and the clinic remained largely dependent upon source material. It is strange, therefore, that both professional groups should have been so slow to recognize that what was needed from the standpoint of both observation and treatment was a medium in which the child could live intimately with professional staff trained to observe and able to recognize the significance of behavior; possessing, because of understanding of the underlying causes of personality conflict, great capacity for acceptance; and competent to carry out consistent psychiatric treatment.

In the fall of 1935 the Seattle Council of Social Agencies, following the recommendations of a recent survey, requested that the reorganization plan of one of the old children's institutions should include resources for the maladjusted child who did not fit into other phases of community service. The original decision to use an institutional unit as an observation and treatment center was based as much upon the fact that a building was available as because of any real conviction that an institutional unit had anything to contribute to problems of maladjustment. At the time the new organization was undertaken, the building was looked upon more as a handicap than as an asset in the general child-care program being set up. Today, after two and a half years of functioning, the Ryther Child Center is convinced that the major contribution of the agency has been the development of its institutional unit on a treatment basis, although, of course, its value is largely contingent upon its use as one of many tools of treatment in a general child-care program.

It is impossible to draw any general conclusions from one such project or to base recommendations upon so brief a period of performance, but a description and analysis of the treatment unit's functioning will be attempted in order that it may be added to that body of information which will ultimately accumulate, from which conclusions and recommendations can be drawn.

Although it would probably be ideal to have such a center located where some degree of isolation was combined with resources for easy interaction in community life, the building available was about five miles from downtown in a middle-class district, accessible to schools and parks, but only one block from a small business center; across the street from the city's largest high school, and directly on a main thoroughfare with a bus stop on either corner of the lot. Such close proximity to community activity has largely destroyed isolation, has given rise to many problems, and has limited somewhat the type of child that could be admitted; but no attempt has been made in any phase of the program to withdraw the child from the realities of life, but rather to have him encounter them under circumstances which would permit him opportunities for understanding and interpretation.

The building itself had been constructed some twenty years before to house about a hundred children, sleeping primarily in two large dormitories. Great complexity of floor plan, which included a labyrinth of halls and cubbyholes, adjusted itself poorly to the problem of supervision. Limited finance made it possible to do little more than segregate certain quarters for office space and to put up small partitions in the dormitories in order to obtain some degree of privacy. Recently it has been possible to convert three small rooms into one large living-room, creating a more adequate nucleus for family life and greatly conserving staff energy. Ideal, of course, would be a compact structure providing private sleeping-rooms, with living and recreation rooms so arranged that all sections were easily accessible to supervision, built with materials as indestructible as was consistent with livableness. But the experience of the center has shown that no agency need hesitate to undertake a treatment program because its available buildings are inadequate. Although proper resources would facilitate the job, they are certainly not the determining factor in adequate functioning.

No effort was made to develop anything but a household

setup, a place where a child could live and share normal family functions under the supervision of a professional staff. There was, probably, too much zeal in the effort to avoid those rules and regulations which creep so easily into administrative setups, in omitting that kind of an activity program which can so easily be made the tool of regimentation. A child was permitted almost any form of behavior which did not bring him into too great conflict with others. He was allowed to wander at will through the buildings or grounds, to read in a comfortable corner, roller-skate in the yard, make airplanes in the basement, or just lie on his back in the sun. The chief weakness in program probably lies in the lack of any highly individualized or consciously constructive recreation program. No school resources were established, the child being sent out to public school or, when incapable of this, being provided with a visiting teacher from the school system. An unusual amount of understanding and co-operation on the part of local school principals has made the continuance of this plan possible.

Throughout the period of functioning the plan has been to carry twenty children, the group being almost evenly divided between boys and girls, with an age range of from two to eighteen years. More than twenty was found to be impractical from the standpoint of noise, confusion, supervision, and the clash of personality with personality. A group of ten or fifteen would be preferable, but cost mounts alarmingly with decreasing numbers. There are many who feel that to combine emotionally disturbed boys and girls in a family setup is hazardous. That has not been our experience. We have found the danger of homosexual activity to be far greater than that of heterosexual activity, and the exposure to the opposite sex in normal life-activities to be most wholesome. Crushes do occur, but in work with children distinguished more by lack of capacity for relationship than by any other common factor, such attachments, if met skilfully, can be made the opportunity for constructive therapy. The wide age range makes it possible to develop family interresponsibilities, provides a varied companionship, and

affords an opportunity to determine a child's compatibilities or lack of them. From the standpoint of future foster-home selection this is invaluable.

As pointed out in the *Annual Report*, the center has served three purposes: (1) It has been used as a receiving home pending the working out of other plans. (2) It has given opportunity for observation of the child who was too little known or about whom there were reports too conflicting to indicate a wise plan. (3) Perhaps most important, it has been a treatment unit for the child who required special care. Among the latter was the child who had become so suspicious and disorganized by repeated foster-home placements that he required a period of reassurance and stabilization before he could again face placement; the child who had had years of institutional care against which he had begun to rebel, and who needed a transition from the confinement and routine of the institution to the demands of community life; the child who was too much of a disturbance for the ordinary institution and who was unable to accept a parental relationship such as was offered by the foster-home; and the child who presented such subtle and deep-lying personality difficulties that he needed the constant attention of professional staff. In addition there was the occasional child whose community activity had been such that the public demanded the kind of protection that it thought an institution offered, but who did not require the restraint of a correctional school.

In attempting to select from the many children with personality difficulties referred for care that limited number who could be given assistance, the agency has tried to determine those most likely to respond to treatment, those most likely to benefit by the particular services the agency had to offer, and those where co-operation could be obtained from the child and from those responsible for him. For this reason the agency has avoided children with too limited intelligence, although it has been alert to the fact that much apparent retardation is simply emotional repression. It has avoided chronic conditions such

as those resulting from spastic paralysis, and those emotional disturbances which approached the definitely psychotic. Although recognizing that the older the child the less likely he was to respond, it has been necessary to accept an increasingly large number of children over fifteen years of age. Likewise, the agency has tried to avoid those children who had had long or repeated periods in correctional schools. In admitting any child to the institution the question of whether or not he required forceful restraint was considered, because the program setup had deliberately avoided locked doors or community isolation, believing that the only way to know a child was to observe him in a medium which permitted normal freedom and association, and that the test of his readjustment was the degree to which he could assume a normal place in life-relationships.

Probably nothing has contributed so much to the success of the plan as the frankness which is assumed with each child from the beginning. It is pointed out that the agency has no resources for restraint; and that if he intends to leave when something goes wrong it is useless to enter. It is recognized that there will be occasions when he will be unhappy and in conflict and that this must be anticipated. A practical, objective attitude is taken toward his problem, but the fact that he has a problem is always verbalized and an effort is made to bring him to recognize it. If he is able or willing to discuss it, this is done; but it is conceded that it is natural that he may want to be sure that he can trust the staff before confiding in them, but that the staff's ability to help him will be limited by the degree to which he shares his problem. There will be rules, just as there are rules in life, and there will be some penalty and punishment for mistakes, because that is the only way in which he can learn to accept life and not because the staff wishes to control him or to get even with him. Since he has been admitted, although his mistakes are known, he can be sure that he will not be disliked or rejected if he makes another mistake. He knows that the other children have been admitted because they have made mistakes, but just as his confidence will not be betrayed, the

staff cannot discuss with him the other children's problems. In so far as it is possible, the decision as to whether or not he will enter is left up to him. There have been instances when the need for immediate placement was so urgent that an adequate explanation has had to be waived, and in these situations the child's adjustment has always been delayed. Occasionally a child is so inhibited and withdrawn that it is impossible to determine what it is he wants and the decision must be made for him.

During the entire period of residence this realistic facing of problems is stressed, and the child is kept constantly aware of his commitment to efforts at personality growth. Children develop also an awareness of the progress of one another and can be brought to share responsibility. On one occasion when a child had stolen from her associates in the dormitory, they came quickly to understand that this was due to a feeling that she was not accepted by them and substituted great kindness and generosity for the natural impulse to retaliate. A boy who occasionally had a form of seizure was ignored by children when having an attack and later was treated with touching consideration. Another child's mutilation of a family canary bird was accepted after interpretation as proof of her unhappiness. Old-timers looked at newcomers, sharing with the staff an amused remembrance of when they had acted that badly.

Children came gradually to trust the fundamental acceptance of the staff and to have confidence that, although some act of theirs might make the staff unable to protect them further from an avenging public, it would not mean emotional rejection of them. It was, of course, conceded that if a child could not and would not accept treatment that he should not remain in the center indefinitely.

Apart from these general policies, individual problems were treated by applying whatever skills could be borrowed from medicine, psychology, psychiatry, and social case work, with eternal commitment to the need for individualization and flexibility. It would be naïve to pretend that in a field so new and

undeveloped as the treatment of personality difficulties the trial-and-error method was not frequently applied. In practically every situation no marked improvement occurred until the child established a close emotional tie with some staff person and through that relationship developed for himself a new directive image. Obviously, therefore, the question of personnel is all important. Persons with training in psychiatric case work were available through professional schools but trained institutional staff were not, so it was necessary to obtain people with sound educational background and train them on the job. However, in addition to educational requirements, efforts were made to select people who from the standpoint of personal appearance, manner and attitude, interests and enthusiasms, vitality and stability, and capacity for relationships, would be able to reach children and to hold their loyalty. An adequate number of staff persons was also considered essential. Apart from the case-work staff, the center functions with a house supervisor, a nurse, two part-time boys' supervisors, a cook, a cleaning woman, and a caretaker.

The agency has a staff pediatrician, uses the psychological resources of the public schools and the university, and volunteer psychiatric assistance. The budget request to the Community Fund for next year includes an allowance for paid psychiatric service. The question naturally arises as to the cost of such a program. Obviously, per capita cost per day is high. Cost in terms of results, however, is the real test. No agency could afford to attempt it, however, without a board with courage to support so experimental and potentially explosive a program, to insist upon the personnel standards so essential to functioning, and to interpret these values to the community.

No effort will be made to give any statistical analysis of results obtained, persons interested being referred to the *Annual Report*, copies of which are available. But two and a half years of functioning have completely convinced the agency (and we believe the community) of the value of such a unit. It has made it possible to plan for the child upon the basis of known

facts regarding his personality makeup and the factors to which he reacts positively or negatively. It has largely eliminated the hazardous process of trial-and-error foster-home placement. It has permitted an interval of readjustment in those situations when plans did miscarry. It has made possible the establishing of relationships which permit the case worker to be a continuing stabilizing force in the child's life, after discharge to his own home or a foster-home. It has provided a medium in which the child could be protected during that hazardous period of released hostility which so frequently comes in the early stages of psychiatric treatment. It has made feasible service for that child too frequently committed to the state hospital or to a school for the delinquent because no one competent to deal with him could assume his cares. It has provided that medium in which the child could live intimately with a professional staff trained to observe and able to recognize the significance of behavior; possessing, because of understanding of the underlying causes of personality conflict, great capacity for acceptance of the emotionally disturbed child; and competent to carry out consistent psychiatric treatment.

If we knew or were able to define that subtle and elusive quality which makes some human relationships vital and dynamic, we would be able to describe that component which must come into the functioning of such a unit if it is to succeed. There must be respect for the individual's right to charter his own course with a deep sense of responsibility that he be provided with reliable charts and guides, a constant awareness of the natural ego need to control or direct others, freedom from the apprehensive attitude that the child dare not fail because the agency dare not. There must be delight and pleasure in the varied and complex manifestations of human personality, a saving sense of humor and of the ridiculous, as an escape from the grimness of days when everything goes wrong. There must be spontaneous play impulse, a gregarious-animal vigor which draws the group together into unity and cohesion. There must be deep sensitivity for hurt and limitless capacity for accept-

ance. But most important, perhaps, there must be a conviction that personality can grow, that the productive capacity of man is not limited.

Just how such vitality is created or such dynamic functioning maintained is equally difficult to describe. It is made up of the sum total of staff reaction and interreaction to the children and to each other and is therefore a problem in staff selection. If it isn't present, so combustible a group cannot be held together. If it is there, every child who enters the door will know it. For what such a program has to give, it gives through relationships—relationships which develop for the child a new directive image, relationships which release his creative energy to pursue that image.

PROBLEMS FACING CHILDREN WITH RELATIVELY LONG PERIOD OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE

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THE very fact that institutional people will admit publicly that the children for whom they have cared do face special problems when they leave the sheltering arms of the "home" shows as nothing else could that institutions are growing up—that institutional people can lay at least some claim to the much desired trait "maturity." Institutions are no longer on the defensive about their place in the scheme of things. There are plenty of specialists now who agree that the institution does "have a place." Just what that place is, is still undefined. The advantages of the institution for certain kinds of temporary care, for convalescent care of some children, for the "treatment" of other children with behavior or personality problems, are admitted and have been listed specifically in a variety of different terms. The opportunity for group experience offered by institution life, the relatively impersonal atmosphere so healing to children torn by parental conflict, the ease of habit-training where "we all eat spinach," are but a few of the good things which institutions can offer dependent and neglected children who need those specific experiences.

Might it not be a good thing for us to do some hard thinking about a few of the experiences institutions are not giving children, and so further clarify our minds as to where we can best be of service and where we should call in the assistance of other agencies? Many institutions are still called upon by the communities in which they are located to give long periods of care, not to special types of children, but rather to the nice, garden

variety of homeless youngsters. What are institutions actually doing for these children? Are they doing a good job? If not, could they do a better job by trying or would they really serve better by getting out of the way and thus forcing the community to provide for these children, not in institutions but in some other fashion. Questions such as these still have reality for the majority of institutional people who do a rather long-time job of foster-care without having specialized resources.

Three little case stories, or really anecdotes, first aroused my interest in the more detailed aspects of the general problem of what happens to institutional children when they are discharged. The first was really gossip, for I have never been able to verify it to the point of making it a quotable fact. It was told me by a case worker attached to the Boys' Court of a big city, that the boys discharged from a certain suburban institution noted for its "good institutional program" for older boys congregated in cheap rooming-houses in undesirable neighborhoods in a near-by city and re-created on a very poor level the institutional life to which they were accustomed, rather than maintaining the re-established family contacts made for them by the institution at the time of their discharge. I am sure that some boys do so congregate, unable to re-establish for themselves any semblance of family life. Why? Does their failure indicate a problem that other boys have struggled with as well but have met in other ways, perhaps less satisfactorily to themselves?

The second anecdote was told me by the superintendent of a children's home. She was telling it to show how much her children loved the institution. It was about a girl who after years in the home was placed, in late adolescence, in a family home. The girl found a hundred and one reasons for not getting along in the first one, then another foster-home; good enough reasons for that matter. At last she settled down, after a series of moves, in a girls' club where she was again happy and doing well when the story was told me. But should we be satisfied with a girl who can be happy only in an institution or a girls'

club, who cannot adjust to the ordinary imperfections of family life? The third little story was told me by the father of two girls. He had placed his daughters at the ages of five and seven, at the time of their mother's death, in an orphanage. Though he was an old, handicapped man with no reasonable chance of rehabilitating his home and no near relatives to share with him the responsibility of bringing up two little children, he resisted firmly all effort to get him to accept a foster-home for them. He knew he could visit; he was told that the little girls would continue to be his children. At last he told his real objection to foster-homes. He had a friend whose two daughters had been brought up for over ten years in an orphanage. Then they were returned to live with their father. "They were so sweet, so nice, so good" when they came back from the big institution, and inside of a year they were "bad" girls. To him the lesson was clear. Institutions make girls sweet and good, home life makes them bad.

Well, stories like these indicate what we all know, namely, that for some children who have had a long period of institutional care, the readjustment of their lives to gear into life in family homes is a problem. But what kind of problem is it, and why do children find readjustment so trying? To how many of the hundreds of children who leave orphanages yearly is readjustment a major problem?

After considerable informal searching I am convinced that no one really knows the answer. There have been a few studies of "How Institutional Children Turn Out," but for the most part superficially done. Can we measure a child's success by absence of a criminal record or even by his fairly steady employment? When do we know how our children have turned out? Recent studies of the effect of the depression on family life seem to indicate that economic stress strengthens some families if the right stuff is there and breaks others where the weaknesses have stayed hidden in easier times. So it seems to me that we must be very wary of easy answers to the hard question of what we are actually helping our institutional children to make of them-

selves. Nothing short of searching studies of numbers of children over a period of years would reveal whether there are common weaknesses of character development that we could fairly attribute to life in an institution.

I believe that we are about to have made available to us the material from which a truly revealing study can be made. This is the detailed placement records of children placed out by the newly developed foster-home departments of many of our large institutions and supervised over extended periods by case workers. I think especially of the records that will be available of the children boarded out from the state schools for dependent children in Illinois and Indiana and Michigan and Wisconsin. Do these children placed out from large institutions present each his own individual problem with little or no similarity, or do common types of difficulties appear? If so, what are these common difficulties? I wish that I could have made such a study as a basis for this paper, but since I have not had the leisure or resources to do so, I at least confess that until a paper is written based on some such research, the things I shall say about the subject must be accepted merely as hunches, clues, suggestions, which I have gathered informally in talking to friends engaged in child-placing from institutions, from talking to other friends who have worked with discharged institutional children in group-work agencies, and from my own experience in supervising children brought up in the Chicago Orphan Asylum.

Children who have had a relatively long period of institutional care are usually older children. At least it is the older children whose adjustment back into the community gives us the most active concern. Let us ask then what are the problems that any older child has to meet, and let us see what special difficulties the institutional child may perhaps be expected to encounter in meeting these problems. I have listed the types of adjustments in four main groups for the purposes of discussion, though they do overlap some. First, the problem of economic adjustment or getting money and spending money. Sec-

ond, the problem of living with our own relatives, not necessarily in the same house, but at least in the same world. We must all adjust to fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters, and to our own family group. Third, the problem of creating for ourselves a satisfying social and recreational life, of living somewhere, of having friends, of going places, and of being somebody; and fourth, the problem of marriage and parenthood and making our own home.

Do children brought up in institutions have a harder time getting jobs than other young people? Just now it would be difficult to find any group of young people who can get jobs easily. As far as giving a child the education that would fit him to hold a job, I see no reason why the institution cannot do as well as anybody else, though I must admit that much of the so-called vocational work that I have seen in some institutions has struck me as maintenance work under another name. I cannot think it good preparation even for a house-work job for a girl to work for hours each week for years in an institution laundry, ironing institution garments with a mangle or peeling bushels of potatoes in a huge kitchen. But the real difficulty in the institution as a place where children are prepared to go to work seems to me to lie in the limited amount of information that the children get about the work experiences of others. In a home, the father's job, the older children's jobs, the relatives' jobs, are constant topics of conversation. So the children grow up in close, informal, and realistic contact with the experiences of people working on a job. But in the institution the adults with whom the child is in daily contact do not talk to him about their job, their boss, the conditions of their labor. Neither are visiting parents likely to talk much about the trivialities of their jobs to the children, let alone the details of the work of neighbors, relatives, and friends. So to the institution children the experience of working is likely to remain a vague and academic thing about which teacher, parent, and cottage mother give good advice in general terms which the child is often at a loss to interpret concretely.

In the realm of preparing children to spend money wisely, it seems to me the institution is even more handicapped. Systems of institution money seem to me very artificial, and I have yet to see evidence that their use is worth, in training value for the children, the cost in terms of the time and energy of the staff members who operate them. A real allowance and a chance to spend it and make mistakes in so doing is far better. But even then that goes only a little way. The essence of good spending seems to me to lie in making wise choices for ourselves. We learn to choose by making choices or seeing others make them for us. The important choices are those about real needs. In most households the children do share, if not by actual participation, at least as listeners-in in the family planning; how to make the wages cover the things the family has to have and the things they want; how to choose between needs and wants is part of the child's daily experience. But in an institution the shoes or necessities are provided because they are needed, the other things because they are nice to have. Unfortunately, most of the human race has to get along somehow without many of the things they really need, at least according to standard budgets. But they do get along. It is interesting to me that recent studies show that families in the lower-income groups do actually spend for clothing, for example, a good deal less than the standard-budget figures indicate as necessary. But in institutions we accustom children to having a "nice, adequate standard of living." Their needs are met from an impersonal source of supply, and it is to be expected that they will not know all at once how to choose wisely among their needs and desires when they are on their own.

The second group of problems that confront the child who has had a long period of institutional care face not only older but younger children as well—the task of becoming reacquainted with the families who have tended to become strangers to them during the separation. It seems to be important for people to come to terms with their own families. I think we often find ourselves judging others by standards we have worked

out through the intimate understanding and acceptance of our own kin. But children who know their parents only as occasional visitors over a period of years cannot be expected to see them as clearly as the child who lives intimately with them. It is only natural that the parents put on their best behavior for the short visits with their children. In an effort to protect the children from any feeling of inferiority about their parents' shortcomings, institution workers are likely to speak of parents only in kind and general terms. In fact, it would be very bad for them to do otherwise in most cases. The children naturally idealize their own people. Then when they leave the institution they must go through the painful process of first really getting acquainted with and then accepting, understanding if possible, and adjusting to their parents' shortcomings. I remember a family of Greek girls who spent twelve years in the Chicago Orphan Asylum and then returned to live with their devoted father. Their difficulties in accepting him as he really was, a man who ate dinner in his undershirt, who occasionally gave way to violent temper, who was not the best manager in the world, were quite tragic to observe and brought out clearly the fact that these children were unacquainted not only with their own father but in a very fundamental way unacquainted with people. They had grown up with people in the quite controlled, conventional environment of an institution. They knew adults for the most part only when they were "on duty" and so presumably behaving in a disciplined and rather routine manner.

The third group of problems which face institutional children upon their discharge from the institution are those concerned with making for themselves an adequate personal, social life. The problems of where to live and how to make arrangements for one's self and how to find friends are real for all young people when they leave the family group, but with institutional children they are problems of peculiar difficulty. Not only has the institutional child been asked to make very few arrangements for himself, but in addition to this, his life has been planned for him according to such artificial patterns that it is very hard for

him to find his way about in the community at large. Even his friends have probably been found for him by the constant enforced association with a large group in the institution. If he lost the friendship of one, the group was always at hand for company. He is unfamiliar with many of the ordinary social usages in the community. I have often wondered just what institution children do find which is satisfying to them in their alumnae associations. One friend of mine insists that the alumnae associations of orphanage children are simply ways to prevent the children from recognizing the fact that they are really unable to make friends in normal ways. By congregating together with those who have similar backgrounds, they find at least in this association some re-creation of the familiar aspects of their institution experience. Just such simple matters as being careful to keep appointments with friends, being careful to arrange future recreation together, is often overlooked by institution children who are used to having their friendships managed for them by the cottage mother and by the general routine planning for the institution group.

That this picture of a very insecure and frightened young person, unfamiliar with the give and take of friendship and unable to establish for himself an equal and interesting relationship with his peers, does not apply to all institution children, I realize. However, there is admittedly enough truth in the picture to make us aware of the fact that institutional children present special difficulties in making social adjustments. Institutions that have broken down their traditional isolation and have made it possible for their children, through attendance at public schools, through taking part in normal community recreation, through utilization of the public library, and through playing with other children on the playground, are making it much more possible for their children to learn how to behave socially, even though they spend years away from family life.

The last group of problems which I wish to mention is one about which we really know almost nothing and about which

we would most like to know what difficulties our institutional children encounter. Those are the problems connected with the making of a satisfactory marriage and the establishment of a new home. Do institutional children make good husbands or wives and good parents? One case worker in discussing this problem with me, out of her experience in supervising a large number of older girls and boys placed out from an institution in which they had had a long and somewhat meager experience, said that she felt that her institution children in looking for their future marriage partners were always really looking for a substitute father- or mother-person, someone who would take care of them; that they were little inclined to the partnership arrangement in marriage. If they were fortunate enough to find a competent partner who could really assume a parental role, then the marriage, at least at that particular level, might be stable and a success. But if their marriage demanded of them the taking of much responsibility or the assumption of a general give-and-take relationship, these insecure young people, who had never learned how to establish such a relationship, were at a loss to make a success out of their marriage.

One day when I was discussing the general subject of this paper with a friend, she laughingly said that the Parent-Teachers Association in her home town had had a debate on whether children brought up in homes were as well brought up as those in institutions. The conclusion of that Parent-Teachers Association was that the institutional children came out ahead "as children," were better behaved, more docile, better trained, but that children brought up in normal families made the best parents, especially mothers. The reason which this group gave was that institutional girls expected everything to run along on schedule and had much too rigid a standard for their homes, while girls brought up in a real home know that things don't always go the way you would like to have them, and therefore they are much more accepting and tolerant mothers than the institutional girls. Just what facts this conclusion was based on it is hard to say, but the thought is certainly interesting.

I admit that I have made a rather dark picture of what long periods of institutional care do to children. I have done so not because I am against institutions as such, but because it seems to me that we should analyze the fundamental experiences which we are giving these large groups of children for whom we are attempting to be substitute parents. Institution programs have improved in many ways. Some of the superficial difficulties which I have indicated have already been eliminated in some, even many, institutions, but I believe that there are basic factors inherent in the very situation of institutional care, no matter how good the institution is, which must be recognized if we are to control them. There are difficulties which continue to operate against the building of good character in children even in the most modern and well-equipped institutions when institutional care continues over an extended period.

The first of these dangers is that of seriously overprotecting children. Institutions overprotect children from the results of their own mistakes. The very fact that cottage mothers are paid to be exceptionally understanding, selected to deal with children with great tolerance and acceptance, means that children are not subjected in the institution to the same natural reactions from people that they ordinarily arouse in the untrained, normal, family group. It is undoubtedly true that, for the child who is mentally sick, it may be necessary to provide a peculiarly accepting environment for a time. But the normal child who is getting ready to live in the rough-and-tumble world as it is learns a good deal by taking life as it comes. Institutions protect children from their own parents, too, making it easy for children to overlook parents' faults and idealize their weaknesses. The parent who pays nothing for his child's board can still appear a marvelous provider because he buys an expensive bicycle at Christmas time. Is this a healthy attitude toward reality for a child to develop? The more modern, the more thoughtfully run the institution, the more likely it is to overprotect children from the unreasonableness, the cruelty, and the inconsistencies of real life. An excerpt from a paper re-

cently read dealt with some of the difficulties which young people have in adjusting to other individuals in their work experiences. The writer of this paper, a personnel director in a large retail store, said: "Previous experiences have not prepared them to adapt to a wide variety of personalities. They expect people and situations to be reasonable and are unable to understand when they are not. They are not prepared for the multitude of circumstances which arise." By overprotecting their children, institutions develop young people who have difficulty in adjusting to others.

The second basic danger in institutional care is, I believe, the danger of overentertaining children, at least of giving them too much attention, either favorable or unfavorable. The children in institutions are almost all the time everybody's job. They are the center of interest for the whole situation. In a family home, there are adult interests equal to the children in importance. But the more conscientious the institution staff, the more likely they are to supervise, to direct, however subtly, the lives of the children under their care. Whether the "entertainment" take the form of frequent movies, excellently directed recreational programs, or constant nagging, and even when the adults in the institution do conscientiously leave the children alone as much as possible, the situation of living in a large group where something is always happening, where one never needs to use one's initiative to escape the dreadful situation of being bored, tends to develop children who have no initiative but are completely dependent upon their environment for direction and satisfaction and who expect a lot of attention.

The third fundamental weakness is one which institutions are almost helpless to change and one which, it seems to me, increases almost in proportion as the institution is "improved"; that is the tendency of the institutional situation to overwhelm children. The institution is so big to a child, the machinery, of necessity, so complicated, that the children must feel completely impotent most of the time; what difference does any thing they or even their parents do or say make in the total

smooth running of this huge machine? In good institutions the child cannot even be critical, for his equipment is perfect from dining-room to bedroom, play space and garden. The staff is strong and good and kind. When the cottage mother is sick or nervous or worn out her place is taken by another calm, strong, relief matron. I cannot but believe that any child must be strongly tempted to sink back into a kind of infantile dependence when he is brought up in the presence of such an overwhelmingly adequate substitute parent. At some periods in his life a child may well need to be overprotected, to be very carefully watched and entertained and may need to feel the sustaining strength of just such a kind parent as a good institution can be. But a long period in such an environment certainly contrasts sharply with the reality that our children must live with when they leave us. Children who have had a long period of such care, who have grown up in such a situation, can be expected to have "problems in adjustment."

THE BASIS IN LAW FOR THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF THE ADULT OFFENDER

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ONE of the major devices for social treatment of the adult offender is probation. The Wickersham Report defines probation as "a form of treatment for persons considered capable of being restored to well-ordered, law-abiding lives without the extremity of shutting them up . . . in institutions." It recognizes that many offenders who come before the courts present behavior problems for which incarceration may be both unnecessary and destructive. Although the circumstances of the offender may obviously show that, in his case, society will be protected and benefited if probation is granted, actually the court may have no choice in the matter. The statutory provisions in many states do not permit courts to choose freely between probation and incarceration in all cases. Nearly all the states which permit courts to use probation in the treatment of adult offenders provide that those convicted of certain crimes cannot be so treated.

PUNISHING THE OFFENSE *v.* TREATMENT OF OFFENDER

Long ago someone paraphrased the old Gilbert and Sullivan refrain about the punishment and the crime and converted it to the uses of the criminologists and the social workers. Ever since, we have been expostulating that the punishment should fit the offender and not the crime. It is beginning to sound a little trite and threadbare even to us, but apparently all our dinning has fallen on deaf legislative ears. Statutes still exist which exclude specified crimes, and our probation laws themselves direct attention to the offense rather than the offender.

FUTILITY OF CLASSIFYING OFFENDERS ACCORDING
TO LEGAL DEFINITIONS OF OFFENSE

Actually, are burglars as a class so different from persons convicted of breaking and entering that the former must be denied probation categorically? That is the inevitable result of many statutes which define burglary and house-breaking as separate and distinct offenses, restricting the application of probation treatment to one and excluding the other.

The legal difference between petit and grand larceny is frequently no more than a penny, but there are states in which only the petit larcenist may be released on probation. There is little realism in such arbitrary lines of demarcation. In many instances they produce positive harm. The facts may show that certain acts committed fall within a statutory prohibition. In such cases there is little to prevent the court and prosecutor from accepting a plea of guilty to a lesser and unrestricted offense, so that probation may be possible. Such subterfuges are resorted to, and, although they may achieve desirable ends in particular cases, they do so only by circumventing the intent of the prohibitory statute.

The *Attorney-General's Survey of Release Procedures*, covering over 19,000 probation cases selected from the records of twenty-five probation departments in sixteen states, reveals that the offense for which conviction was had has little significant bearing upon conduct during probation. In other words, the crime itself is not indicative of what behavior on probation will be. It would be fortunate indeed if we could rely upon the legal name of the offense committed to predict future behavior.

PREVIOUS OFFENDERS DENIED PROBATION

Additional statutory restrictions upon the use of probation are those laws which bar persons who have been previously convicted or imprisoned for crime. Generally, the statutes exclude only prior felony offenders. No doubt such provisions were intended to prevent the release of persons who had previously demonstrated a tendency toward continued criminality.

However, if that was the purpose, the laws do not go far enough. Only in a few instances do exclusions apply to persons with long records of prior misdemeanor offenses. In view of the artificial distinction between felonies and misdemeanors, legislatures will achieve their purpose only by imposing equally rigid restrictions upon confirmed petty offenders. As a matter of fact, a second felony offender is far more likely to respond to probationary treatment than a misdemeanant with a criminal history of fifteen or twenty minor crimes.

I believe you will agree with me that the defect in the statutory provisions which prevents the use of probation as to persons convicted of named offenses or possessing records of prior criminality lies in their rigidity. The theory of probation demands that courts and probation administrators be vested with a wide range of discretion. Both are denied the opportunity to exercise their soundest judgment and most enlightened discretion when the field of choice is limited by inflexible statutory restrictions.

STATUTORY PROVISIONS MAY OBSTRUCT SOCIAL TREATMENT

If probation is to accomplish anything constructive for the offender, he must remain under supervision long enough to allow treatment. In most of the states the courts are free to fix a period sufficiently long to meet the needs of each case, but in far too many others the supervisory period is drastically limited. In at least eleven states the probationer cannot be kept under the control of the probation officer beyond the maximum period for which he could have been imprisoned. This limitation seriously hampers the work with misdemeanants. A probation period of thirty, sixty, or ninety days is too short to permit the probation officer time for any effective work.

PROBATION IS NOT CLEMENCY

One of the early tasks of the advocate of probation was that of persuading the courts that the device did not infringe upon the executive prerogatives of clemency. Almost without excep-

tion, attacks upon the constitutionality of probation legislation have been based on the contention that the power to suspend sentence and grant probation amounts to an exercise of the pardoning power. Generally, the courts have sustained probation statutes as within the legislative power to define and prescribe punishments. However, as late as 1935, the Supreme Court of Alabama ruled that the probation law of that state encroached upon the governor's power to grant paroles and pardons and was, therefore, unconstitutional.

To us it seems inconceivable that the processes of probation should be identified with the clemency powers of the executive. To us probation goes far beyond mere leniency. But the idea that it is nothing more than leniency is not confined to the minds of judges and lawyers. Many members of the general public also share the belief that any device for dealing with convicted criminals which does not involve actual imprisonment is necessarily clemency.

We do not regard imprisonment as a guaranty that the offender will not revert to antisocial conduct upon release; we must recognize, however, that the possibility of incarceration is, in many cases, the ultimate sanction of the probation process.

LEGAL PROCEDURES APPLYING TO PROBATION VIOLATOR

When a probationer persists in violating the terms of his release, it becomes necessary, both for the protection of society and for the well-being of the probation system, to secure revocation of the probationary release. The courts in some states have so encumbered the revocation proceedings with the familiar trappings of a regular criminal trial, however, that the probationer is, in effect, placed in a position hardly compatible with the discretionary and conditional character of his release.

I do not wish to convey the impression that no hearing should be accorded the probationer in the matter of revocation. As Justice Cardozo of the United States Supreme Court stated in a recent decision¹ the probationer should have a chance to

¹ *Escog v. Zerbst*, 295 U. S. 490.

explain the accusations to the court. It is conceivable that the charges may have been inspired by rumor or mistake or even downright malice. But the Supreme Court has clearly stated that the right to a hearing does not mean that the probationer may insist upon a trial in the strict formal sense. All that is necessary is that the inquiry be so fitted in its range to the needs of the occasion as to justify the conclusion that discretion has not been abused by the failure of the inquisitor to carry the probe deeper. In other words, the probationer should have a chance to say his say before the word of his pursuers is received to his undoing.

An informal and summary appearance before the court should be sufficient to establish the validity of the charges brought against the probationer. The rudiments of fair play do not demand a formal trial. Indeed, the discretionary nature of the probationary release is opposed to involved and legalistic revocation proceedings.

THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF THE PAROLEE

Legal restrictions in the social treatment of the adult offender are by no means confined to the probation method. The device of parole is also hedged in by many technicalities that hamper effective treatment. Of the persons now in our state and federal institutions, over 95 per cent must eventually be released. Consequently, society must choose the safest method by which this vast army of known social misfits can be assimilated into the normal life of the community. The method of parole, which permits the state to exercise supervision over the released offender, seems best calculated to achieve this end. Granted that the administration of parole needs a thorough overhauling in many states, no one acquainted with the facts seriously questions that parole, in theory and purpose, is the safest device for releasing prisoners.

THE INDETERMINATE SENTENCE

The indeterminate sentence is an essential concomitant of parole. The indeterminate sentence is based upon the theory

that a definite period of confinement cannot be fixed at the time of sentence; that the time when any prisoner can be safely released cannot be predicted in advance by the court. Although the theory of the indeterminate sentence, in some form or other, has been accepted by the majority of our states, in actual practice it has received a decidedly limited application. In some states its use is so restricted that in effect these states can be said to operate under a system of definite sentencing.

As to many offenders the courts are required by law to mete out definite sentences, there are, generally, statutory exclusions of the more serious crimes from the operations of the indeterminate-sentence laws. Apparently the legislatures believed that, because under the indeterminate sentence, release on parole is possible at the expiration of a prescribed minimum term, the indeterminate sentence itself was a form of leniency and hence not to be applied to the major crimes. Not only is such a belief founded upon a misconception of the purpose and function of the indeterminate sentence, but careful studies have shown that definite-sentence prisoners, on the average, serve less time in penal institutions than do indeterminate-sentence prisoners.

DENYING PAROLE CONSIDERATION AND POST-RELEASE SUPERVISION

If parole is the best modern device for releasing prison inmates, it should follow that all those prisoners who will inevitably be released should be subject to the paroling authority. In practice it does not follow at all. The laws regulating parole in the various states make many offenders altogether ineligible for parole consideration. In Louisiana offenders convicted of specified crimes must be given definite sentences, and no one serving a definite sentence in Louisiana is eligible for parole. As a result, in 1936, 48 per cent of the inmates of the Louisiana prison were barred from receiving parole. When their terms expire they will be entitled to absolute and unsupervised release.

Many other states deny parole consideration to persons convicted of specified offenses. The same criticisms made of similar exclusions in the probation statutes are applicable here; namely,

that emphasis is placed upon the crime and not upon the offender, and that the restrictions are based upon the fallacious assumption that the legal name of the offense is an index to future conduct. An additional objection can be leveled at restrictions upon parole eligibility. These restrictions bring about an unconditional release of the very prisoners who, from considerations of social protection, most need control and supervision.

INTERFERENCE OF "GOOD CONDUCT TIME"
WITH SOCIAL TREATMENT

Another statutory obstacle to parole is found in the laws regulating deductions for good prison conduct. In most cases the good-time statutes were enacted before the advent of parole. In only a few states has there been an attempt to bring them into harmony with the parole laws. As a practical matter, some system of tangible rewards for good behavior may be necessary if prison discipline and order are to be maintained. It is unfortunate, however, that a mechanical device intended for a totally different purpose has been allowed to prevent or impede parole treatment.

There are innumerable instances in which the operation of good-time deductions has resulted in the absolute and unconditional release of a prisoner long before he was eligible for parole consideration. And where good-time deductions do not prevent parole entirely, they may so curtail the period of supervision by the application of credits to the maximum sentence that no effective treatment can possibly be initiated.

Sentences imposed by many judges reflect an unsympathetic attitude toward the theory of parole. At times they go even farther and evince a downright hostility toward the paroling authority. Where prisoners are eligible for parole after having served some portion of their definite sentence, the judge who regards parole as a lamentable exercise of leniency does what he can to postpone it by imposing a much heavier sentence than he would fix were parole not a possibility. It must be kept in

mind that even in definite-sentence jurisdictions the judge possesses wide latitude to determine punishment.

In states where the indeterminate sentence is mandatory for most offenders, the court purposely or inadvertently may obstruct the efficient functioning of the parole system. There is particular danger of this where the court is free to fix both the maximum and the minimum terms of the sentence. The imposition of sentences of from twenty-three months to two years or ten months to ten years has been known and constituted a notorious abuse of judicial discretion in one state a few years ago. Since parole is seldom possible before expiration of the minimum term, such sentences effectively thwart all possibility of supervision after release.

IS FUNCTION OF COURT MORE THAN TO DETERMINE GUILT?

The conviction long held by criminologists and practical penologists that the function of the court should not go beyond determination of guilt or innocence is gradually finding expression in legislation. Perhaps the most advanced example of the incorporation of that belief into the law is to be found in the sentencing provisions recently enacted here in the state of Washington. With few exceptions, the only sentence which a Washington court may pronounce is the maximum provided by law. The Board of Prison Terms and Paroles is then required to determine the minimum period of incarceration. In practically all cases the Board is free to fix the confinement period within the range of six months and the maximum statutory penalty. The significant feature of this system is that the Board has both the duty and the opportunity to correlate confinement and parole as the circumstances of each case warrant.

In addition to the statutory limitations on probation and parole already suggested, we are occasionally troubled by the failure of judges to make as wide use of the services of probation officers as they are empowered to do. I am particularly concerned over the fact that, notwithstanding the availability of social investigative machinery contemplated in probation statutes and

made available by administrative officials, some judges continue to sentence defendants without troubling to read preliminary reports made after careful and painstaking effort on the part of the probation staff. The taking of a man's liberty for a month or a year is a grave responsibility, and it would seem that the judges would desire all the social information available and could well afford the few minutes necessary to study the presentence reports. A judge should not be expected to mold a sentence that will vitally affect the life, not only of the defendant, but perhaps also succeeding generations, without such information.

LEGAL AND SOCIAL-WORK PROFESSIONS
SHOULD CO-OPERATE

Probation and parole, as instruments for the social treatment of adult offenders, have become firmly established in our system of criminal justice. The efficacy of each device depends upon the extent to which the techniques of social case work are allowed to function within the necessary legal framework. If that framework does not allow free play to the machinery of social treatment, probation and parole are materially handicapped. To my mind, therefore, it is essential that a spirit of mutual understanding and friendship be fostered between social workers and those more closely connected with the formulation and administration of the law. Neither group acting independently can attain the best results in dealing with the adult offender. Social workers must realize that the efficacy of their procedures is, in the main, dependent upon the authority of the law. Legislators, judges, and lawyers, on the other hand, need to understand more clearly the techniques and objectives of social treatment, and, in the light of this understanding, so adjust the legal framework as to facilitate the attainment of the ends.

THE BASIS IN MEDICINE FOR THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF THE ADULT OFFENDER

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TO ME has fallen the task of presenting the medical and psychiatric viewpoint of our adult offenders' problems. We all agree that, in the case of some delinquents and criminals, physical and mental disease have their part in creating delinquent tendencies and criminal acts.

There is no agreement at all as to what proportion of all criminals are physically or mentally sick. Nor is there a general agreement as to how much of the cause of crime, as it expresses itself in the act of any one individual, rests in his or her mental or physical health. The modern physician, with his better knowledge of the relations of the mind and the body to each other and with his better understanding of the functioning of mind and body in their relations to their environment of the past and present, is coming more and more to believe that in no case whatever is bodily disease or mental disease the sole cause of crime. But we also believe that no criminal, or anyone else for that matter, does the things he does entirely of his own conscious volition, but that mental and physical functioning, entirely out of the individual's awareness and control, always have something to do with all of living as it expresses itself by behavior, whether this behavior be good or bad.

There is great interest but no agreement as to how much medicine and psychiatry can do toward the prevention and cure of crime by treating the mental or physical diseases of the criminal or potential criminal.

This lack of agreement is natural, since there is little understanding of the relative importance of the various positive factors that, in the individual case, enter into the formation of the criminal personality or of the negative personality factors which, being absent, permit the incidental or isolated criminal act to be committed by the physically healthy, apparently mentally well-organized and socialized individual.

Instead of discussing generalizations regarding the medical and psychiatric factors in crime and its treatment, I should like to talk about some of the social psychiatrists' ideas and theories which, if there be verity in them, are or will be of great usefulness to you in the understanding of adult offenders and in your plans for treatment of them.

Individual members of the medical profession have, in the past, often erred either in declining any responsibility for understanding and treating the criminal or, conversely, insisting that they alone could understand or treat him. We now humbly say that we have been wrong when we have said this. We do have a responsibility in the understanding and the treatment of every criminal, but it is never ours alone (and I mean *never*, even in the case of the deteriorated homicidal epileptic), and in no criminal does our medical or psychiatric cures, striking as they seem to be sometimes, represent a complete cure. And this statement is true even for children, though it is infinitely more true of the adult offender.

The modern physican, especially the modern physican who is interested in hygiene, both physical and mental, not only feels that he has a place in the study and cure of crime, but he feels that he has the duty to your profession, to the judicial profession, and to the educational profession of teaching the principles of mental and physical hygiene and, in the mental field, at least, of teaching you therapy of a kind that you yourself can carry out.

Now this mental treatment of psychotherapy, practiced in a planful way and described in psychological terms, is perhaps new, but in terms of the essence of psychotherapy, which is the

meaning to or influence on, that one individual has in his relation with someone else, is not new and always has and always will account for a major part of a probation or parole officer's successes.

It seems to me that the first step for two groups working together toward a common goal, especially if their approaches are from greatly different angles, is not so much to establish principles of working relations but rather to understand one another's thinking and methods. We, as psychiatrists, have one way of understanding human behavior of the present and in predicting how an individual is most likely to behave in the future. You have another way. The difference is, doubtless, more in our ways of expressing our thoughts than in the thoughts themselves.

In order that I may best talk my shop with you, I am going to take that most puzzling case you, each one of you, have in your list.

I have forgotten his name, so I shall call him John Uncertainiski. You remember John committed that rather serious offense, but it was his first, and there was some mitigating circumstance, so he was put on probation. Now I, working in my shop, have come to know him well; and, equally important, you have furnished me with a family history that has given me detailed information about all his life, and I have learned from your history much about his parents and the people who knew him and who were important to him as he was growing up.

The most important thing about John is that somewhere within or surrounding him is a great and mysterious thing we call life, ego, soul, or conscious awareness of himself as an individual. This is very much more real to him than anything else, even more real than the probation officer. This unknown something charges John with a strong force, a desire to live, a desire for bodily satisfactions, so strong that nothing but death will destroy the force, though its direction and manifestations may be much changed. When these desires are not satisfied or there is a threat to him that they will not be satisfied, the instinctual

drives, which is another name for these great and little understood forces, do not find outlets in thoughts, feelings, or acts that are satisfying. They then leave him in a state of tension or stress, which tension or stress must be released in one way or another. The longer it is dammed up, the greater force there is back of it and the more powerful the explosion that results when it does find outlet.

So far, John is no different than you or me or the president, the poet, the murderer, the saint, or the lifelong inmate of the state hospital. But if we forget this obvious fact, that something within John will make him continue to struggle for the expressing of this force throughout his life, then when we try to understand or help John, we will fail miserably in our attempts.

The next thing I know about John is that he is different in many ways from every other human being. There is a little difference in the way his body functions. There is a little difference in the degree of intelligence he has. There is a little difference in the things he has learned. But I have discovered that there are other ways in which he is much more different from everyone else than these mentioned. Because he was born into a civilized group we must compare him to others so born. I find that his ways of relieving his life-response, another way of saying his way of being happy, is very different from most other people's.

This outer world has imposed a set of rules which largely concern ways in which he is allowed to relieve his life's drives. These rules are very many and very confusing, but most of the people who know John, instead of killing people who are for any reason unpleasant to them, instead of taking for their own use anything they desire, instead of satisfying their sexual instincts at once and with anyone they see and are attracted to, have, in some way, acquired the knack of finding satisfactions in such ways as being able to do things that other people approve of, and thus get what we may call a feeling of self-expression and self-importance and success that is very satisfying to

them and helps them successfully and happily "blow off the steam" of their deep life-drives. Not so John. He does not have much of this useful knack. I learned that perhaps he did not have many opportunities to feel successful and important and that he was not too intelligent; but more significant, I learned that he never trusted anybody who could bring him this feeling in relation to the little successes he did make when he was younger and before he got into trouble. So now the job you got for John, though it is not such a bad one for these hard times, is not helping John very much with his big problem of living his life in terms of handling his great life-drives satisfactorily.

Now another way that the judges and the probation officers and John's friends had of being happy was to be brave. They were able to look at life with courage, to think about it bravely, and to feel that they were not unworthy or guilty. Fear and courage, together, do not exist in our minds peaceably. One or the other must hide away. Very many well-meaning people were very busy civilizing John when he was a boy. In fact, a lot of people are still busy at the same job. We all had to be made to feel afraid of many things, or we never could be good in the ordinary meaning of the word. The trouble is that fear is a great dammer-back of nature's way of finding relief for life's drives. John doesn't know how to be really courageous, but he acts as though he were. We will have to think about that later and clear up that point before we can really understand our friend John.

There are two other ways many of John's fellow-townsmen had of being both civilized and happy. One is a sense of belonging—an acceptance of others in an unselfish give instead of take kind of love. This in all its various forms is the essential thing on which civilization has been built. Without it, few people deal successfully with their strongest of all natural drives, their sex desires. And I know a great deal about John's parents and their part in this most tragic of all John's deficiencies. The other one is a philosophy of life in its entirety, that works

successfully. A lot of people John has known did not have a very good one. And those who did, did not agree very well with one another, and no one took time to explain these differences to John or to help him find a religion, a faith, or a philosophy of his own.

So in talking about your case I will be obliged to speak of some things I think I know about John that I did not learn from the study of him alone. His personality, that is the real "he," can best be thought of as an activity rather than as a thing. The true "he" is made up not only of all his thought life, all his perceptive powers, that part of him that makes him aware of the outer world, all his feeling life, or all his total mind; but it is also made up of his body and all its activities, and also just as truly and almost as unchangeably is it made up of his present and past experiences and environment. It is these things that are the man, and when he meets an experience, a temptation, for example, it is all these various parts of him that give the response.

I have discovered that John is different. Right and wrong are not the same; love is not the same experience; going straight is not so important as it is to a lot of people who are not on probation and who are passing laws for John to live by.

But still this does not explain John very well or give us much hope of helping him. What John says, when he says it, and what he really means, are so different from what he actually does! It is so illogical for him to take so little satisfaction in making good; so unwise for him to do things he knows will get him into trouble! He says the races are fixed and the bookies crooked, but he *will* spend his hard-earned money for tickets on the horses just the same. We think in our shop that this apparent paradox must be explained if we are to understand John. And we must understand him if we are to help him.

So I have found this about John. We can't change him very much by taking his mind off in one corner and changing it while we disregard his body with its pains and aches, leaving its shortcomings and deformities untreated and his environment

unchanged. Nor can we change him very much if we alone change his body by correcting physical conditions or training it to serve him better, if this is all we do. Neither can we change him very much by altering his environment alone.

Now finally, I am nearly ready to talk about John as a case to be treated. I want to mention another discovery, a most important one we think, that has come from the study and treatment of many thousands of unhappy, neurotic, delinquent, and insane folk. In seeking in our shop for explanations of why treatment of crime in the past has always met with only small success, we have found that the treatment of the different parts of John, such as the use of arguments, threats, and promises to treat his mind, the use of medical techniques or punishment to treat his body, or altering and correcting faults in his environment, often fails to correct him as we would wish. We have therefore concluded John has another part of him; something that is very different to learn about because he himself has no personal knowledge of it, nor will he ever have except through an intellectual acceptance of its existence, through an understanding of the effect this unknown part has on his emotional life and in his behavior.

We have given it a name—the unconscious mind. We believe it is an absolutely necessary part of him if he is to be both happy and civilized. We believe that it is also the most dangerous part of him, seeking always to gain more and more control of him when it should be only controlling him enough to help him find happiness and joy in living through self-expression, through courage, the feeling of belonging, and through a faith in life itself.

In this other hidden but powerful part of John are many things that he can never accept as part of himself and remain out of the mental hospitals. There are fears and feelings of guilt from his childhood; feelings of discouragement, confusion, and lonesomeness that he has, in the past, had to get rid of by trying to forget, by lying to himself and saying he did not feel that way or that he did not care if he did. He was obliged to

do this because he, like every other human being, wanted to be happy. He has never really gotten rid of them, however, and now that they are in his unconscious mind, they have a power to make him unhappy, afraid, and guilty without his knowing why he has these feelings. I have, in these few sentences, tried to suggest to you something of what I think is the most important part of John as an individual who is failing to make a good adjustment to life. It is not the only part of John that must be dealt with, but it is the most important for John particularly because he is your most puzzling case. In many of your simpler cases, the other parts of the problem, the more easily understood ones, would be the most important.

Please listen carefully now. Although we know that the things that have gone into the unconscious mind are important and do explain many of the criminal careers, most of the serious personality disorders, and all the mental diseases not accounted for by organic diseases of the brain, nevertheless, one should never think it is always essential to understand the unconscious material that is in the criminal's mind if one is to treat him successfully. In some cases this material alone furnishes the key, and in every case we should remember that it is an important factor in an individual's adjustment to life, be he saint or sinner. Furthermore, this material must always be considered if one wishes to understand fully the reasons why one man is a saint and another a sinner.

And this brings me finally to the place where we are to talk about John, who needs help so badly, that we both must do all we can for him. If we are to work together, we must understand each other. What will we do? We will work together. I will try to give him insight into himself. Perhaps I will try to get some of the unknown emotions of fear and lonesomeness into his awareness. It will make him unhappy at first. He will resent them when they come, and I may fail. You will be trying to bring to him, in the present, the emotional responses that he needs and has needed so long. If he can or will accept it, it will

become no longer so necessary for him to behave as he has been behaving.

Some things I know. Unless we who are approaching the problem of crime from the psychiatric angle can be practical and not do such things as think that understanding the deeper mental reasons for crime excuse the crime, or feel that we alone can cure all the cases or even any of the cases, we will never really be of any real help to the institution official, probation or parole officer, or have a part in mitigating the problem of crime. These things we must learn from you, for you have proven them in your shop.

The most complicated, changeable, unpredictable thing of all nature is the human being as he expresses himself in life. We must know how he behaves, but unless we can know in part, at least, why he behaves as he does, we cannot hope to change him. Medicine and psychiatry have their part in the diagnosis and treatment of the adult offender. Probation, incarceration, and parole have their parts in medicine and psychiatry. We must work together.

THE BASIS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES FOR THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF THE ADULT OFFENDER

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THE fundamental objective of all science is truth. Professor H. Levy, of the Imperial College of Science and Technology of London, defines truth as

the summation of man's experience at any given moment, truth is a lantern that illuminates his next few steps, past truth becomes incomplete as a greater truth replaces it, truth is an instrument for the creation and working out of a human purpose, becoming sharper and more effective as that purpose becomes itself clearer and as man's reading of natural process becomes more and more accurate.¹

With this definition modern, forward-looking scientists are in complete accord. The basis of the social sciences in their approach to the problem of criminal behavior is then the search for truth and social utility.

That division of the social sciences which addresses itself to the study of criminal behavior is then attempting to achieve the objective of securing a fund of knowledge which may be used for purposes of social utility. This means the utilization of that knowledge for either the prevention of crime or the treatment of crime.

In the field of study of human behavior, the problem is duofold in character. First, the etiology of that behavior must be determined. Second, effective and successful prevention and treatment procedures must be discovered. The body of secured knowledge of the etiology of crime would then serve as the

¹ *A Philosophy for a Modern Man* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), p. 309.

necessary foundation for the formulation of successful prevention or treatment projects.

The first stage, that of diagnosis, or of determining the etiology of crime, has primarily concerned the social sciences to date. The various attempted treatment programs have been mainly significant in so far as they have shed light on the causative factors in crime and delinquency.

To the social sciences the problem presented is briefly this: What are the social processes involved in the formation and development of crime? In order to determine this, crime must be studied with reference to the cultural framework from which it emerges.

In the past, practically all thinking on the causes of crime have been predicated upon one of two theses or both. First, that criminality was a problem of the individual criminal, namely, individual determinism. Second, that there was one cause for criminal behavior. A brief review of the past procedures reveals these theses as the hubs about which all thinking has revolved.

Both psychology and psychiatry, in the field of criminal behavior, are based upon the assumption that the criminal group is differentiated from the general population by virtue of certain abnormal personality traits peculiar to them. This myth of abnormality has been exploded by modern research.

Conspicuous in the individualistic approach is a segmental static conception of the dynamics of behavior. This has been reflected in the conclusive refutation of their findings and has definitely demonstrated the sterility of those procedures which are based upon individual determinism.

Today we find that out of the mass of research materials accumulated by the social sciences in their studies of the causes of crime, one thesis has constantly presented itself, clearly and unmistakably. This thesis is that the character and amount of crime reflects the character of the society which engenders and sustains it. The findings and conclusions of modern research in criminology all flow back into the well of the social organization.

This is by no means a recent or new discovery. It is recent and new in terms of receiving common acceptance.

In 1913, Enrico Ferri declared that "every society has the criminality which it deserves, and which produces by means of its geographical and social conditions such quantities and qualities of crime as correspond to the development of each collective human group."²

It then becomes of primary importance that we inquire into the character of the type of society we live in with reference to its relationship to crime. For this purpose, it is most illuminating to peruse briefly the recent findings of the admittedly outstanding students of criminal behavior.

E. H. Sutherland, in the closing pages of his *Principles of Criminology*, states:

Finally, the ambition for luxury standards of life and for easy money became effective for all social classes, since the fixed barriers which previously restricted these privileges to the nobility had been removed. After the disappearance of the nobility, businessmen constituted the élite, and wealth became respected above all other attainments; necessarily, poverty became a disgrace. Wealth was therefore identified with worth, and worth was made known to the public by conspicuous consumption.³

Dr. Wm. Healy, in an article, "The Close of Another Chapter in Criminology" comments as follows:

A forthcoming book, by the present writers, embodying the results of a study undertaken under the auspices of the Yale Institute of Human Relations, will deal with this problem. We are not ready at this time to state the results of careful work with the juvenile delinquent and his family. But we may anticipate sufficiently to state that this research, as well as our other studies, shows that it is at the door of our whole society that we must finally lay the blame for our present criminal situation.⁴

At the National Conference of Social Work meeting in 1932, the late Frankwood E. Williams delivered the following statement:

² *The Positive School of Criminology* (Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 1913), pp. 92-93.

³ *Op. cit.* (Chicago, 1934), pp. 67-68.

⁴ Healy, Bronner, Shimberg, *Mental Hygiene* (April, 1935), pp. 220-21.

Consider more carefully the president of any one of these organizations, the chairman of the executive board, the various members of the board, the bishop, the college president, the physician, the lawyer, the prominent contributors. They are on the whole cultured, educated, soft-spoken, emotionally controlled, not given to open quarreling, good-willed, sympathetic, co-operative. But what are their real interests? Have you worked with them long enough to note the aggression in them? In defense of what and in protection from what do they become "practical," begin to quibble, split hairs?

As between them and the gangster there will be this difference. The gangster is open and aboveboard with his aggression. He is out to get all he can, is proud of his prowess and has little sense of guilt. He is not morally confused, he is confused only when he finds that we consider him bad. . . . Openly, or more often subtly, but just as surely, he [referring to the board member, the lawyer, the prominent contributor, etc.] exploits others and under the skin there is no difference between him and the gangster except that his moral confusion sometimes robs him of his courage.⁵

Frank Tannenbaum, in his penetrating study *Crime and the Community*, stressed the fact:

It does not require great perception to see that the very emphasis upon success as a personal accomplishment has colored individual conduct to such an extent that criminals' as well as bankers' careers may be expected to be profoundly influenced by the desire to succeed in monetary terms. So, too, our emphasis upon freedom and the rights of the individual has been a factor in this process of developing the virtue of "rugged individualism" on one hand and of facilitating certain criminal careers on the other.⁶

and again quoting from Tannenbaum:

A discussion of the causation of crime in the United States must therefore take this general setting as its point of departure. Our very crime is typical of the community, an exposition of its internal strains and conflicts; but the strains and conflicts are evidence of the possible deeper mergence of diversity into a greater United States. We may decry our extensive criminal activities, but we must accept them as indigenous rather than foreign or extraneous to the body politic; and we must recognize that a change in the amount and character of our crime awaits a change in the community which has given rise to that crime.⁷

Robert M. Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago, in a recent article, "Ideals in Education," after making the

⁵ "Out from Confusion," *Survey Graphic*, June, 1932.

⁶ *Op. cit.* (Chicago: Ginn & Co., 1937), p. 48.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

point that the character of our educational systems reflects the character of our society, follows it up with the following statement:

A further consequence of American ideals in American education is that moral questions are omitted from it. The end given is money. The issue is how to obtain it as rapidly as possible and stay out of jail.⁸

Let us glance at the *Report on the Causes of Crime* of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. Morris Ploscowe, in his penetrating critical review of the literature in criminology, reports:

Very little has been done except by way of declamation to show the influences on the production of crime of the underlying philosophy of the present social and economic system and of such manifestations of the present social order as the existence of inequality of fortune, the existence of a leisure class, the constant stimulation of needs.⁹

In the same report Judge Henry W. Anderson projects the following observation:

Despite the differences in character of these cities, their delinquency areas display similar characteristics—poor housing conditions; shifting and decreasing populations; great poverty and dependence; a marked absence of the house-owning class; a largely foreign population of inferior social status; unwholesome types of recreation; inadequate open-air play through the operation of fundamental processes of economic growth, and social and industrial change. The responsibility of social organization for the existence of these conditions is manifest.¹⁰

And so one can go on and on through the most recent literature finding constant reiteration of the same thesis: That we live in a social organization characterized by individualistic aggression, wide disparity of wealth, privilege and opportunity, and a rather confused and demoralized ideology.

This, then, is the basis of the social sciences in the field of the causes of crime—that crime emerges as a function of this total social disorganization, and as MacIver succinctly states, “. . . the amount, and character, and the direction of crime are precipitates of the entire life of the community.”¹¹

⁸ *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1937, p. 8.

⁹ Pp. 117-18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹¹ Tannenbaum, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

These concepts clearly reveal that the roots of crime are lodged in a social basis rather than in the individual. Therefore, those treatment programs which focus their attention upon the community rather than upon the individual are operating in the direction pointed out by our research findings and conclusions.

It would be of pertinence at this point to evaluate briefly the modern treatment procedures in the field of crime as a rough pragmatic test of these concepts. It would appear, on a rational basis, that those procedures which would deny these premises of the social basis of crime and their implications would be doomed to general failures. On the other hand, success of such procedures would provide a significant argument against the validity of these concepts.

For this purpose let us turn our attention to the field of juvenile delinquency. This is advisable for a number of reasons. First, research has adequately demonstrated that a majority of juvenile delinquents continue their criminal careers on into adult years, and that a preponderant number of adult offenders have records of juvenile delinquency. Crime and juvenile delinquency are so interrelated that they become almost synonymous. Second, far more work, more programs, and more agencies are to be found in this field, thus providing us with a more adequate base for evaluation.

In making this brief critical survey we can roughly divide the approach to juvenile delinquency into three parts. First, the child-guidance clinics; second, the character-building agencies, such as boys' clubs, young men's Christian associations, etc.; third, the various community organization movements. It should be remembered that while there is general agreement that all three of these procedures do provide many valuable services, that we are here engaged in a critical evaluation of them only with reference to their effectiveness in coping with the problem of juvenile delinquency.

First the child-guidance clinics. Dr. Wm. Healy, the pioneer in this field and one of its mainstays, has this to say:

As matters now stand, it should be generally recognized that neither court nor clinic can be held completely responsible for the failure of the treatment. The clinic must state its recommendations in terms of discovered needs; the court cannot possibly meet the recommendations since it can do no more than social conditions and resources permit.

From a dozen different sources come the influences that pull down faster than any single social agency can build up. New recruits to crime are being created steadily. There is, therefore, doubt as to how much of a wedge can be made by any case methods as long as social conditions stack the cards so heavily against success. With feeble-minded, psychotic, or delinquent parents, crowded and dirty homes in a congested, criminalistic neighborhood, poor recreations, few substitutive outlets, and a current rather demoralized ideology—indeed a lack of all that enriches life—how many children can be expected to emerge into the light to take their place with their more fortunate brothers? If we are willing to let millions of our young citizens subsist at these low levels, how can we wonder if they turn against us to wrest from their environment what they can by fair means or foul?¹²

Frankwood E. Williams comments on the child-guidance clinics as follows:

We have a right to be appreciative of such organizations as child-guidance clinics. They are a partial salvation for individuals, but they are not even the beginning of a social salvation. Individual clinical methods as a method of social prophylaxis will go with its civilization. Only a hygiene of society itself will meet the situation.¹³

The Gluecks'¹⁴ study and many others can be cited to support the finding that the child-guidance clinic has failed to significantly affect the problem of juvenile delinquency. The child-guidance clinic, it should be remembered, directs its efforts toward the individual rather than the community.

Let us now look into the results of the character-building agencies—boys' clubs, young men's Christian associations, etc. These agencies, despite many of their claims, have failed to cope effectively with the problem of juvenile delinquency. Frederick M. Thrasher recently completed a detailed study of a boys' club located in a slum community in New York City.

¹² Healy, Bronner, Shimberg, *loc. cit.*

¹³ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁴ Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934).

In his attempt to determine the significance of the club with reference to juvenile delinquency, Thrasher came to this conclusion:

As one would naturally expect after reviewing the statistical conclusions of the Study and the methods employed with problem cases, the case-studies made by the Study revealed that the Club had a negligible influence upon its problem members during the Study period. The acute behavior problems in these cases precipitated by various combinations of family disorganization, dire poverty, school maladjustments, gang activities, association with older hoodlums and underworld characters, demoralizing experiences on the streets and in institutions of commercialized amusement and neighborhood hang-outs—these influences for the most part were beyond the power of the Boys' Club to neutralize, particularly in the limited time each week which the average Boys' Club member spent in club activities involving, as they did, little real guidance from the Club personnel.

It would seem that the proponents of this Club as an agency of crime prevention not only had been claiming too much for the Boys' Club per se, but that its friends had been expecting far too much of it.¹⁵

Clifford R. Shaw and the writer have recently completed a study of a notorious delinquent gang in Chicago.¹⁶ The ramifications of this gang extended to hundreds of other delinquent boys in the city. The failure of the court, the clinic, the school, the social agency, the settlement house, and character-building organizations to alter the delinquent behavior of these hundreds of boys to any appreciable degree is one of the most conspicuous conclusions presented by the study. The complete failure of these conventional procedures, which are based upon working with the individual offender, is dramatically revealed by the research materials on the members of the gang and the hundreds of criminal careers related to them. The research findings clearly point in the direction of experimental community programs or area projects.

It is common knowledge that the high rates of delinquency in certain deteriorated areas in the city of Chicago have re-

¹⁵ "The Boys' Club and Juvenile Delinquency," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1936, p. 78.

¹⁶ Clifford R. Shaw and Saul D. Alinsky, *Companions in Crime* (being prepared for publication).

mained relatively constant for the last thirty years despite the great increase in the number of character-building agencies in those areas. This coupled with the fact that the volume of delinquency has been constantly increasing,¹⁷ despite the enormous multiplication of character-building agencies and program, provides a sorry commentary on the latter's effectiveness in the field of prevention and treatment of delinquency.

The failure of these approaches provides significant corroborative evidence for the validity of the thesis that crime and delinquency is a function of social disorganization. It is also a powerful sustaining argument for those approaches which recognize the significance of the social processes in the etiology of crime and therefore address themselves to the social rather than to the individual picture.

In turning to the field of community organization, we find that comparatively little organizational work has taken place. Much of what is referred to as community organization is only paper organization. This includes many of those organizations that clamor most loudly for favorable recognition. However, in those approaches where the character and role of the community are understood, where the organization has been able to participate effectively in the life of the community, where it has identified the natural leaders of the community, recognized their important roles and worked with them, where it has recognized that community organization is organization of and by the people in the community rather than the superimposed programs of an outside agency, there we have a program which may be properly called community organization.

When these characteristics of real community organization are combined with constant measurement of the rate of delinquency in the area of operation in comparison to the rates of delinquency in control areas, plus the measurement of the degree to which the community is beginning to handle its own problems, then we find ourselves taking a long step from the

¹⁷ C. E. Gehlke, *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933), II, 1123-1935.

impressionistic emotional types of judgments that have hitherto characterized the field toward the securing of an objective concrete body of data.

The Chicago Area Project developed and guided by E. W. Burgess and C. R. Shaw is an outstanding example of an approach which embodies, among its other points, all the characteristics previously cited. The promising potentialities of this procedure are now well known. It is predicated upon the full recognition of the social basis of delinquency and crime.

However, it may well be that the roots of delinquency are too deeply imbedded in the general social organization to be even touched, let alone significantly manipulated. As we have witnessed, according to the analysis and judgment of many authorities in the field, we must, if we are to dig effectively for the roots of crime, forsake our technical trowels and turn to the steam-shovel of social action. Sutherland makes this point:

As long as the social organization is one of aggression, conflict, disregard for the welfare of others, we may expect all of the methods of reformation to fail in a large proportion of cases.¹⁸

Healy comes to this conclusion:

If the roots of crime lie far back in the foundations of our social order, it may be that only a radical change can bring any large measure of cure. Less unjust social and economic conditions may be the only way out, and until a better social order exists, crime will probably flourish and society continue to pay the price.¹⁹

It is a moot question whether a community can be successfully worked with by itself, despite all the disorganizing forces of the social organization of which it is a part, constantly impinging upon it. However, organizational work in the individual community is a step in the right direction. It definitely possesses certain valuable potentialities. Its procedure rests upon the recognition of a social basis of crime. The approach to crime as a problem of the individual is an approach which is in complete contradiction of our accepted research findings, whereas the community organizational procedure is consistent with

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 591.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 221.

our research findings and is operating in the direction they have pointed out.

We would be successful in community organization if we were to achieve only partial or limited results. Only a static, segmental conception of the nature of the community which would regard it as a social, political, and economic entity insulated from the general social organization could lead one to expect far-reaching results or eradication of delinquency or crime. The viewing of the community in its true position and functional role in the general social scene precludes the possibility of great achievements in the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency. A profound change in the nature, character, and amount of our crime can come only from a corresponding profound change in our social organization.

TOTAL COMMUNITY EXPENDITURES FOR HEALTH AND SOCIAL WORK

*Bradley Buell, Field Director, Community Chests
and Councils, Inc., New York City*

TWELVE years ago this spring at the National Conference in Cleveland, I attended a meeting of the then American Association for Community Organization at which Raymond Clapp was showing slides portraying exactly the same kind of charts that I shall show. And for an article in the *Survey* of March 15, 1926, by him, entitled, "Seeing Social Work Whole: An Experiment in Devising Community Measuring Sticks," the *Survey* wrote this introduction:

In the January (1926) *Midmonthly*, Dr. Haven Emerson and John Ihlder urged the use of measuring sticks in the more conscious guidance of social progress. Here is a bunch of such tools devised by the American Association for Community Organization, which is now trying them out. This preliminary report of an ingenious study merits careful reading by everybody who is interested in seeing a community whole.

I could not better phrase, today, the purpose of the project from which come these present data. But with it must go the unfortunate—but I hope commendably honest—admission that in the intervening years there has been practically no "trying of it out." These data are exactly as experimental, as far as any yardstick value is concerned, as were Mr. Clapp's in 1926. For although his pioneer work in 1924 and 1925 did result in the "Registration of Social Statistics Project," now and since 1930 administered by the United States Children's Bureau, including Form Z, which provides for the reporting of financial data for a variety of practical reasons, unnecessary to detail here, little was ever done with it, either in the local communities or at Washington.

But the notion that this was a good idea never completely died. The pressure to see social work whole has been accelerating. The public demand to be informed about costs has kept pace with the increase in those costs. This past year, therefore, the Children's Bureau and Community Chests and Councils, Inc., jointly agreed to use such reporting as there was on Form Z in the registration area cities, as the basis for reviving a project modeled after Mr. Clapp's plan of 1926. Sixteen cities agreed to secure complete data from all their agencies in all fields, instead of stopping with the agencies that were easy to get, and to adhere to carefully worked-out date lines. The Children's Bureau, under the direction of Mr. Robert J. Meyers, director of the Division of Statistical Research, and Mr. Louis J. Owen, supervisor, Current Reports Section, agreed to throw its field staff into the job of supervising on the ground, the local collection of data, and to do the preliminary checking and tabulation in Washington. Community Chests and Councils, under Miss Madeline Berry, the head of its statistical department, agreed to make the final tabulation, analyze the data, and prepare it for publication. All these concerned hope that this time the revived project will fall on more fallow ground, serve as basis for annual collections of comparable data from an increasing number of cities, and thus be the actual beginning of "an experiment in devising community measuring sticks."

In Table 1 are the cities, the areas covered, and their 1930 population. Four nonregistration cities were included for special reasons. The area used in the twelve registration cities has been established experimentally and practically over a period of years to cover what is colloquially referred to as the "metropolitan area."

Quite practical factors entered into the selection of the cities, the prime qualifications being their willingness and ability to do the work. Four of the five top group are representative middle-sized New England cities that had been participating in an experimental project of a similar nature for a couple of years under the New England Conference of Chests and Councils.

Buffalo goes in here for good measure. The number of southern cities is due in part to the fact that comparison of their data is to be the basis for the discussion at our Blue Ridge Institute this summer. The five cities at the bottom, while not comparable in character, do give a scattering representation from other important areas of the country.

TABLE 1
AREAS INCLUDED IN STUDY

City	1930 Population	Description of Area
Bridgeport, Conn.*	183,146	Bridgeport, Fairfield, Stratford
Buffalo, N.Y.*	762,408	Erie County
Hartford, Conn.*	229,759	East Hartford, West Hartford, Hartford, Bloomfield, Newington, Wethersfield, Windsor
Providence, R.I.*	252,981	City
Worcester, Mass.	195,311	City
Birmingham, Ala.*	431,493	Jefferson County
Galveston, Tex.	64,401	Galveston County
Greensboro, N.C.	65,000	City
Greenville, S.C.	63,774	City
New Orleans, La.*	498,343	Orleans Parish; 11 wards outside
Richmond, Va.*	182,989	City
Dayton, Ohio*	273,481	Montgomery County
Indianapolis, Ind.*	422,666	Marion County
Kansas City, Kan.	141,211	Wyandotte County
Minneapolis, Minn.*	467,494	City, Village of Edina
St. Paul, Minn.*	286,721	Ramsey County

* Registration of Social Statistics cities.

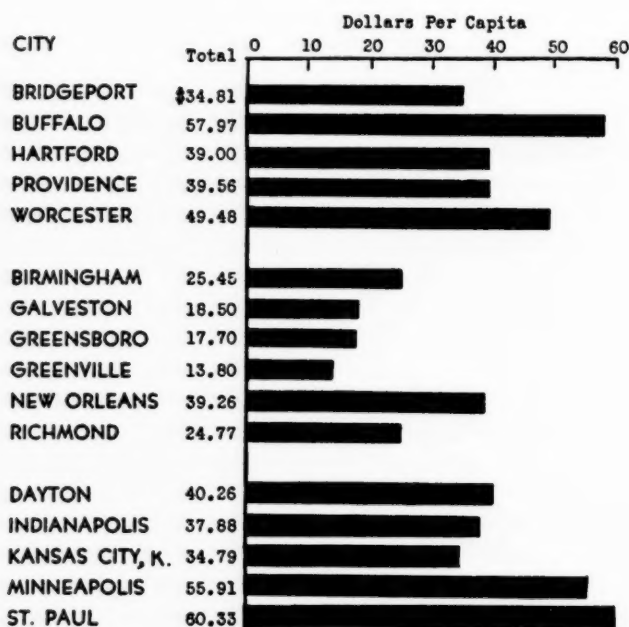
Chart I shows the total these cities spend expressed in per capita figures. St. Paul is the highest with \$60.33, which represents an actual figure of \$17,298,398. Buffalo is next with \$57.97. The lowest per capita is in Greenville, South Carolina, with \$13.80, representing an actual figure of \$879,946. Next to this is Greensboro, North Carolina, with \$17.70.

The greatest uniformity is in the four New England cities, but even here there's a spread of \$15 between Bridgeport and Worcester. There's a spread of \$25 between Greenville and New Orleans and of \$25 between Kansas City, Kansas, and

St. Paul. The southern level is, in general, the lowest, but New Orleans provides an exception with a ranking of seventh in the whole list and compares favorably with the New England group.

Where does the money go? For general dependency, in amounts ranging from \$8.38 per capita in Greenville to \$45.68

CHART I
Total Per Capita



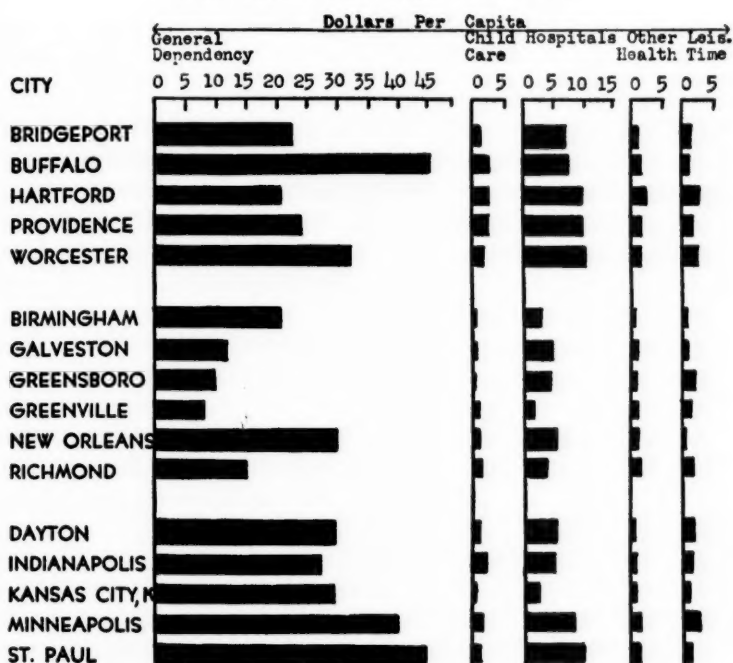
in St. Paul; for child care (Chart II), in amounts ranging from 27 cents per capita in Kansas City, Kansas, to \$2.67 in Hartford; for hospitals, in amounts from \$2.16 in Greenville to \$10.34 in Worcester; for other health service, from 58 cents in Birmingham to \$2.20 in Hartford; for leisure time, from 48 cents in New Orleans to \$3.07 in Hartford.

Where does the money come from? From beneficiaries, i.e., direct payment for service by the people who use it, in amounts

of \$1.12 from Richmond to \$6.54 in Worcester. From private contributions, including community chests and all other funds, ranging from 93 cents in Birmingham to \$4.00 in Providence. From other miscellaneous income, such as endowments in varying amounts, and, of course, principally from public tax

CHART II

Per Capita, By Type of Service

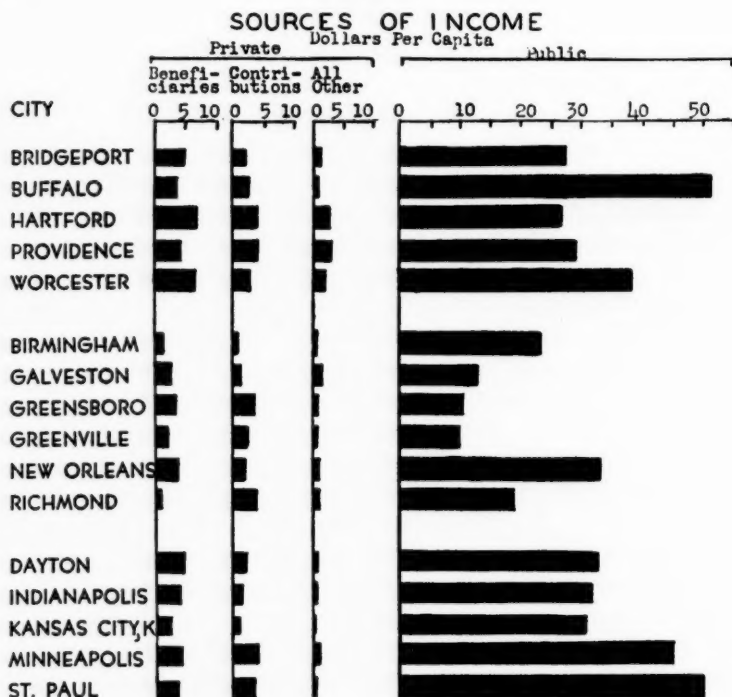


funds, federal, state, county, and city, in amounts ranging from \$9.67 in Greenville to \$51.39 in Buffalo.

Now I am not here as an accountant or statistician to discuss the many complicated technical problems involved in the collection of these basic data. My purpose is rather to inquire into the significance of the result, to suggest whether or not there is in them any indication that they may serve as a practical aid to better community planning.

On the face of it, such kaleidoscopic variations seem to defy orderly analysis or interpretation. One is inclined to stop with the conclusion that these communities are crazy, and that he who attempts to find meaning in what they are doing, or perhaps more accurately, in what is being done by organizations and agencies in them, will rapidly achieve insanity also.

CHART III



I would quite concur that the first point is well taken, and before I am through with this you are at perfect liberty to conclude that the second is also. We know that communities have not planned their total programs; that they represent a crazy quilt comprised of what individual local agencies, national agencies, municipalities, states, the federal government, specialists in this field and that, individual philanthropists, have decided at particular times to do about particular things. This

we have known for a long time. These figures merely contribute additional evidence of this fact.

I am inclined to think, however, that they constitute the best single device for keeping this basic fact persistently before our communities and before the whole field of social work. The size of these total figures, probably four, five, six times what they were in 1926, in themselves give dramatic impetus to the idea that plans should be made in terms of this total program. Such a concentration of attention is the first necessity to the development of a conviction that something should be done about it.

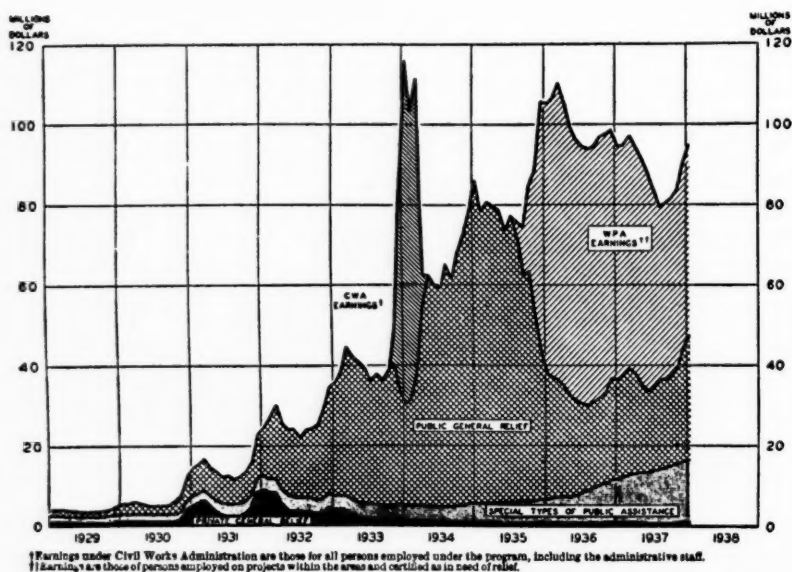
I think it is also clear that from such a limited number of cities there is very little we can deduce about the specific amount which a community should spend, either for a broad field of service or for any of its special subdivisions. There are too many unknown factors involved. But what we can get, I hope, is some contribution to the definition and clarification of the broad issues of community policy that are involved in planning and financing community programs on a more orderly and intelligent basis.

Chart IV is Exhibit A to that point. It is the principal survivor of Raymond Clapp's brain children, and its present foster-parents may have even forgotten its origin. But this collection of total community data about relief expenditures goes back to his beginnings, has been reported and analyzed continuously since then, and has indubitably played an important part in the local and national debate about relief policies. Here is the picture of what we've done, where we are today, and the basis for forecasting where we're going. I have time to make no other comment on it than the confident assertion that if we had had this same data for hospitals, for health, for leisure time, and the grand total, continuously for this same period, we would be much farther along the road to community planning than we are now.

Chart V from our data is an interesting supplement to the previous one. It shows that W.P.A., represented by the part

of the total bar on the left of the vertical line, is not only the dominant item in relief, but that it is the dominant factor in the total program. In exactly half of these sixteen cities the amount spent by W.P.A. is greater than for all the rest of the program combined. In every instance it is the principal item

CHART IV
Relief in 116 Urban Areas
In the United States



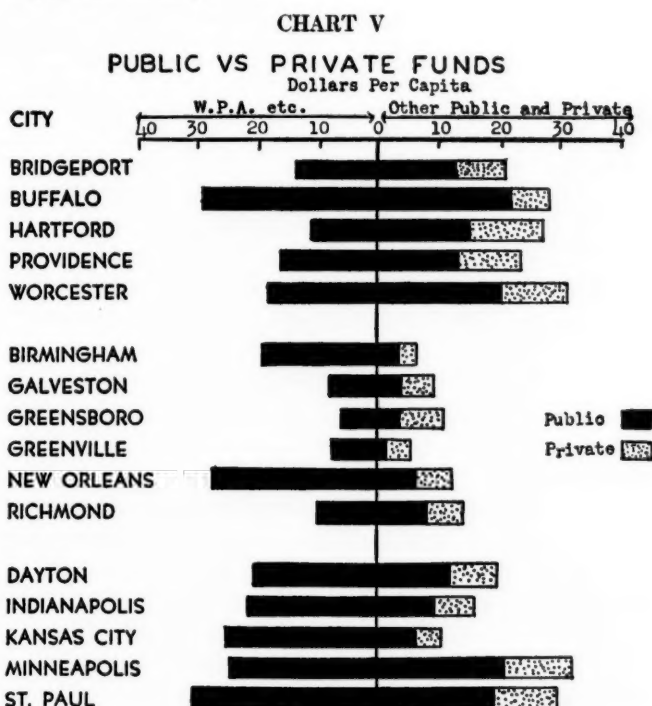
Reprinted from the Social Security Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 4, April 1938,
Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.

in the total per capita and the controlling factor in the city's ranking.

It may be gilding the lily to add this to the many other reasons why the future of W.P.A., as a means of meeting our relief needs, is a matter of extraordinary importance in local community planning. But the fact speaks for itself.

Chart VI illuminates another area of policy determination. It shows that tax funds support the program for family depend-

ency; that private funds carry a larger proportion of child care than any other main field except leisure time; that a large proportion of leisure time and hospital service is paid for directly by the people who receive it; that community planning is a private enterprise. In general, these facts can be rationalized into very good theory.

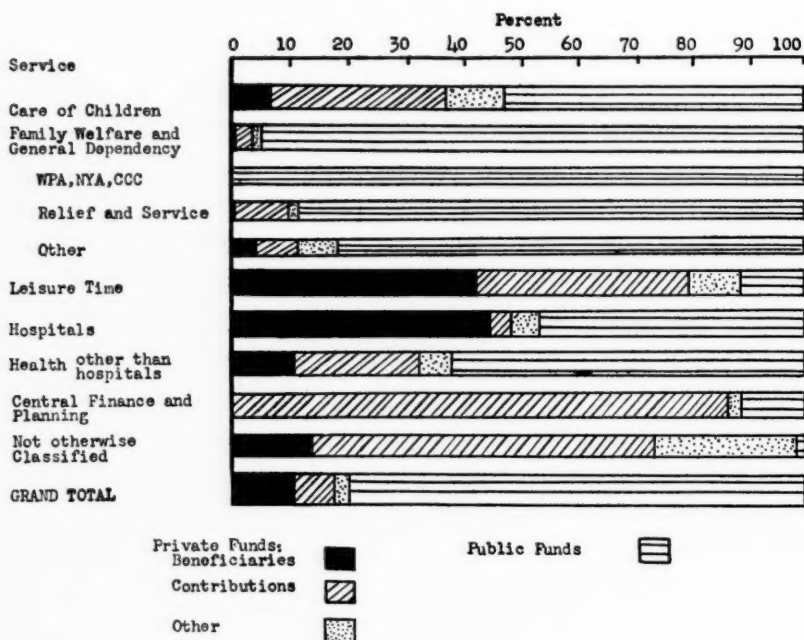


But some private money does go to family welfare. The importance of determining whether any should and, if so, for what purposes, is obvious. A little better than half the money spent on children is public money. Is the division of responsibility between it and private money a rational one?

Only a small proportion of the total spent for leisure time comes from public funds. The real issue here, which has never been adequately discussed or debated, is whether government has the same obligation to provide opportunity for participation

in organized leisure-time activities, as they have to provide opportunity for education. The Public Recreation movement makes this contention, but in terms of these total community figures it is obvious that it has not been generally accepted. If

CHART VI
PERCENT OF TOTAL EXPENDITURES FROM EACH SOURCE
BY TYPE OF SERVICE

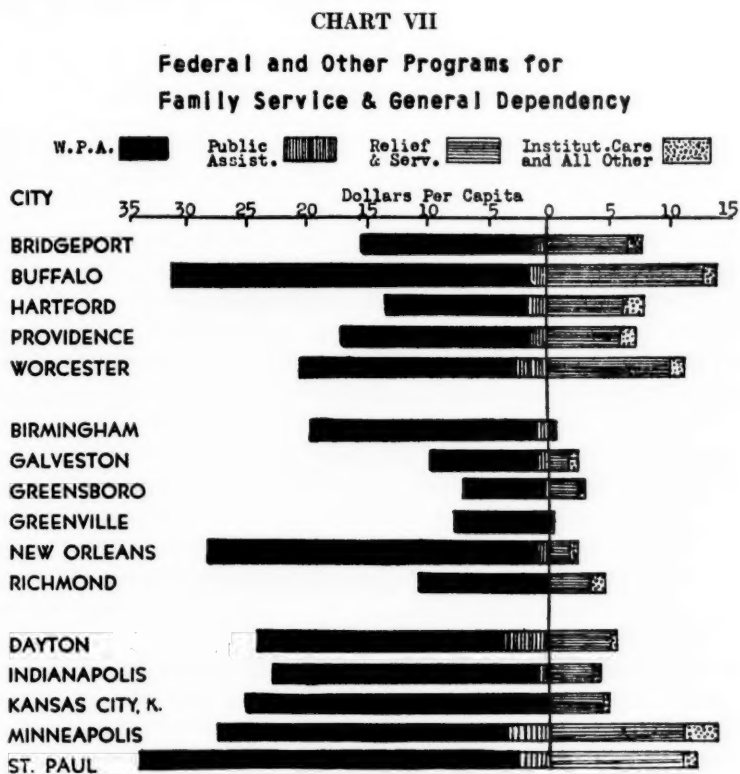


this is a sound community policy we should see a steady decrease in private funds going into this field and the transfer of many present private activities to public auspices.

The size of the black bar in the hospital field shows the income from pay patients. Private funds account for only a small proportion of the total expenditures. A main issue here is whether or not the government should take complete responsibility for the payment of hospital costs of the medically indi-

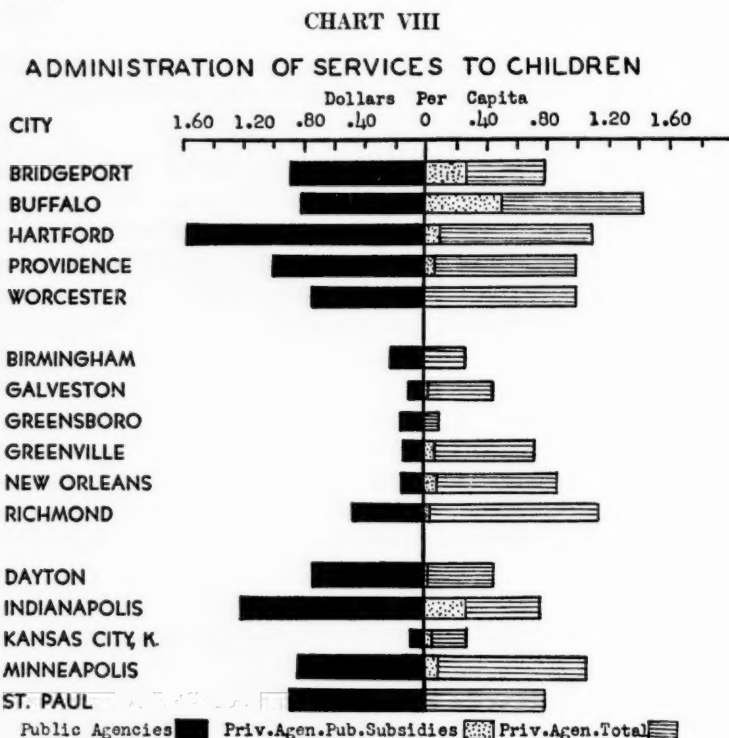
gent. Again, to the extent that this policy is sound, it must be reconciled with the traditional policy of using the profits from pay business to pay for free service.

Chart VII shows a further breakdown of the family welfare



and dependency field with the federally financed program, i.e., W.P.A. and Social Security at the left and the locally financed program at the right. The very limited or nonparticipation of South Carolina, Virginia, and Kansas in the security program is obviously indicated by the limited amounts spent on public assistance in Greenville, Richmond, and Kansas City, Kansas, although Kansas has rectified its position since these 1936 data. Buffalo and the New England cities show evidence of belief in

the principle of local responsibility in the larger amounts which they spend for local funds and in the larger proportion which this is of the grand total. The South is supported from Washington, although Richmond provides a measure of exception to this.



The controlling factor in the "all other" column is the provision for institutional care, i.e., poor farms and old folks' homes, and here again, with old age assistance, we are now confronted with obvious questions of future community policy.

Chart VIII shows the breakdown of expenditure for children by type of administration rather than source of funds, with the public again on the left and the private agencies on the right. The issue of most significance in it is the amount of tax money spent by private agencies. Notice, for example, that the

private agencies of Buffalo administer an amount that comes to \$1.40 per capita. But if the 48 cents per capita that they get from tax funds were transferred to public agencies, they would be doing the smaller end of the job.

The issue as to whether or not public funds should be spent by private agencies is a vital one and of long standing in this particular field. Personally, and broadly speaking, I believe that for any extended period of time it is an unwise policy. In three cities in this list, in the neighborhood of one-third of the money spent by their private agencies comes from public funds—Bridgeport, Buffalo, and Indianapolis. They are out of line in this respect with all the rest.

There are plenty of other issues implicit in these figures. The higher per capita expenditure from public funds in New England, for example, is in part due to the fact that these states have state public foster-care agencies, while in most of the others there is no public foster-care program under either state or local public auspices. In the South, at least, the state money is mainly available for the correctional institutions.

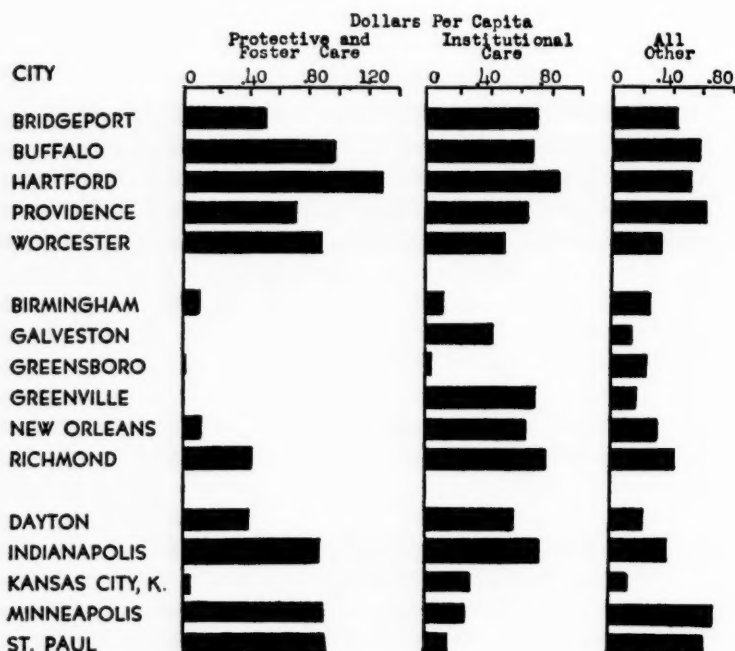
This detail for the sixteen cities of the proportion which comes from public and private funds answers a question raised by an earlier chart. There is no evidence of a national comparable policy, but complete confusion, as between public and private responsibility. Nearly three-fourths of Richmond's total is private, for example, and in most of the southern cities private funds carry the bulk of the load; whereas in the others, except for Kansas City, Kansas, public funds run toward half, or in the case of Hartford, 60 per cent of the load.

Chart IX gives the data about an issue in the children's field which has been long defined and debated, i.e., whether a community should spend its money for foster-care or for institutional care, and in what proportion. But the answers which these committees have given are still exceedingly various. As far as foster-care is concerned, Galveston and Greenville quite flatly aren't having any, and that is very nearly true for both Greensboro and Kansas City. Two of the five northern cities

spend more on foster-care than they do on institutional care, as does Indianapolis, but in the others the contrary is the case.

You will recall from Chart II that next to dependency these communities uniformly spend their second largest amounts for hospital care and that in this and the leisure-time field people

CHART IX
Types of Child Care

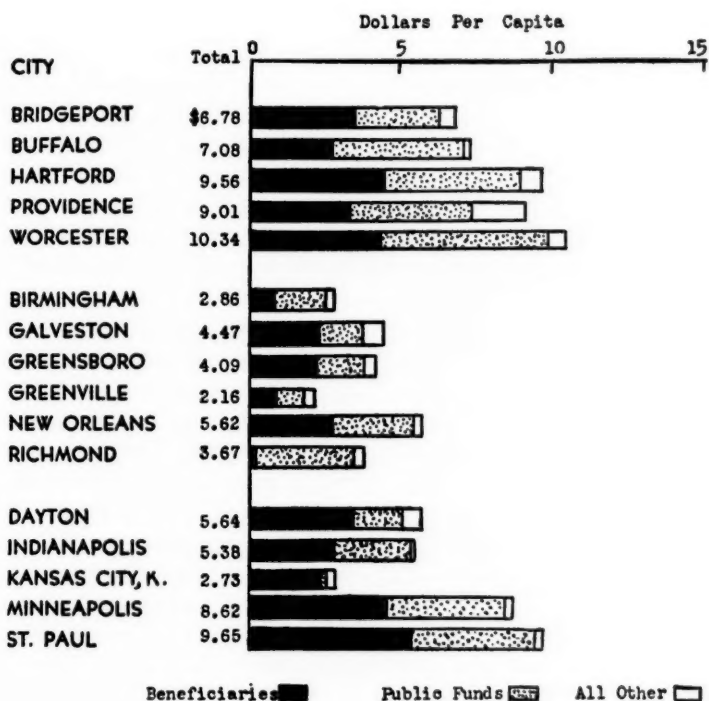


pay directly for this service in greater proportion than the others. Chart X shows that breakdown city by city.

One interesting point of community policy seems to be indicated by the Richmond figures. If we are right that the reason for the extremely low income from beneficiaries, 23 cents, is due to the fact that the bulk of the private or pay business goes to proprietary hospitals (which were not included in our study) instead of to nonprofit general hospitals, you here have a com-

munity in which the profits from this part of the program are going into the pockets of the owners of the hospitals rather than toward meeting the cost of necessary free care. It raises an interesting question about which there has been little or no debate within most of our communities.

CHART X
Sources of Hospital Income



With five exceptions, the proportion of the funds in these cities which comes from beneficiaries shows a good deal of uniformity, running usually between 40 and 60 per cent. I would have been inclined to think that the cities with low income from public and other funds would have shown a higher proportion of the gross income coming from pay service. People with

money obviously can buy all the hospital care they want, and one would think that the pinch would come on those who cannot pay it. But apparently hospital usage is much more a matter of facilities available and community attitudes than it is of mere ability to pay.

CHART XI
Types of Service Included in Health
Other than Hospitals

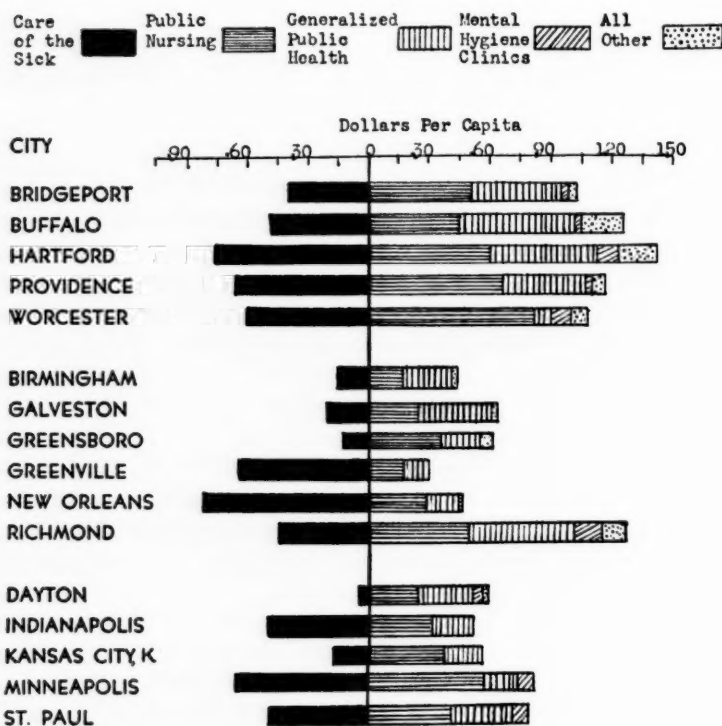


Chart XI shows a partial breakdown of expenditures under the general classification, "Health Other Than Hospitals." The subclassifications providing for care of the sick are lumped together at the left in order to show at the right the complete breakdown of the services that relate to the preventive health

program. These items are its main parts, generalized public health being in effect the expenditure of the health department, other than nursing. As you know, the standard community requirements for this program have been more carefully worked out over a longer period of years through the appraisal form of the American Public Health Association than for any other aspect of community service.

Yet six cities have no mental hygiene service, and six (although this is lumped in all others), but not the same six, have no school health program. The American Public Health Association sets \$2.50 per capita as a desirable standard for expenditure for the total preventive program, and, as you can see, none of the cities total anything like that. Here is a place, in other words, where the individual cities in this list can make a comparison of their own practices with a definite standard setup and one continuously revised by an authoritative body.

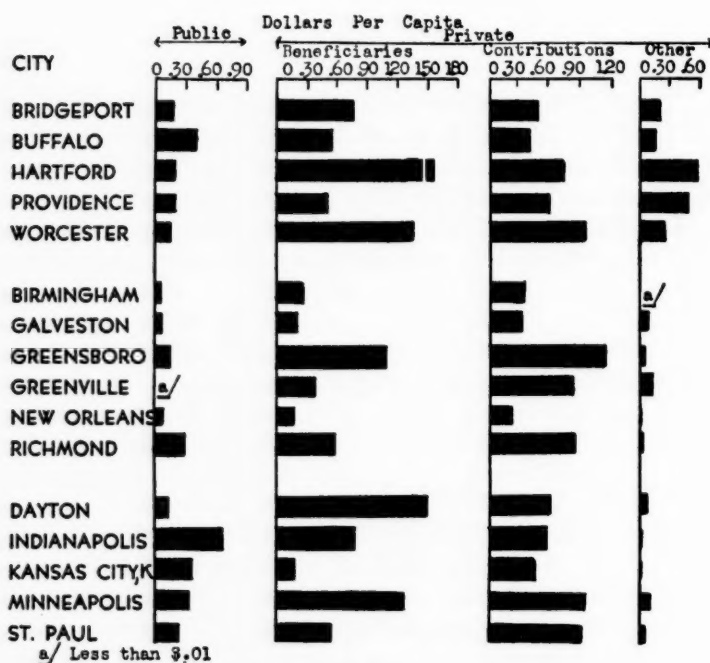
At first blush it may seem as if these standards had been of little practical effect and that the whole idea of standards to which Mr. Clapp dedicated this project might as well go out the window. But if you will examine the nursing bar and the generalized public health bar, the two most important services in the program, I think you will see that the spread between cities is less than has been the case in any of the other charts we have shown. Worcester, the highest in nursing, is four times greater than Greenville, the lowest; but the rest of the group are much more nearly together than for many other services. Much the same thing is true for the generalized program of the health department, although Worcester and Greenville are obviously out of line.

This is a small number of cities. Other factors quite probably enter in, but at least this does suggest that the establishment of definite standards may exercise influence toward uniformity in community planning.

Chart XII might very easily be used to make me eat my previous words, for the Public Recreation people also have a standard, and the spread between nothing in Greenville and

66 cents in Indianapolis stretches farther than the eye can see; and certainly the extremities are barely discernible between the two cents of Birmingham and Galveston, the five cents of New Orleans, and the maximum figure. But the nature of the Public Recreation standard itself brings into sharp focus a basic

CHART XII
Sources of Income



FOR LEISURE-TIME SERVICES

issue. That standard is not for a community recreation and group-work program, broken down by types of service and covering agencies under any type of auspices, as is the case with the public health standard. It is for a single unit, the Public Recreation Department, made without regard to other activities under other auspices. The Scouts have a standard made up equally independently for their own program; so do the "Y's." Such independent standards, unrelated to total community pro-

grams, undoubtedly serve a purpose for the particular agency; but it is not a community planning purpose, and it is legitimate from the data at least to suggest that communities will not take them as seriously.

Indeed, there is other evidence to this point in these tables. Just as in the case of hospital care, one might have anticipated that pay service would hold up when the public provision for free service was down. But that is not the case. Income from beneficiaries in the majority of these cities runs between 40 and 60 per cent of the total, regardless of the amount they spend. As a matter of fact, the proportion of the income from this source is actually lower in the cities with little or no public recreation, and this may be regarded, I think, as evidence that here also it is the community attitude toward recreation as such that is the controlling factor, not its attitude toward the provision of free facilities.

Table 2 shows that in respect to one broad issue of community planning these cities do evidence a marked degree of uniformity. For the broad fields of service, expressed in their division of a dollar spent, their judgment as to relative importance seems much the same. This table excludes W.P.A. and is, therefore, a rough approximation of the distribution of the funds which the community itself controls.

But, with W.P.A. out, hospitals get the most of the money in all but four instances; service and relief come second in ten instances; other dependency ranks third in ten; leisure time, care of children, health other than hospitals, are ranked, respectively, fourth, fifth, and sixth more often than any other.

Some of this uniformity is, of course, due to the extremely varied unit costs for each different type of service. Hospital care for one person costs a lot more than membership in a volleyball squad. But at least for the first time since Mr. Clapp gave it to us in 1926, we have collected evidence of the dollar ranking which cities give to the main types of community welfare and health services.

Now I suppose that more than anything else we would like

definite evidence from such data as these that communities were really getting something for the money they are spending; that it has some relation to needs; that greater well-being does result from greater expenditures. The Tables 3 and 4 represent a mild incursion into that area of community planning interest with, unfortunately, quite negative results.

TABLE 2
ORDER OF ALLOCATION OF FUNDS (EXCL. W.P.A.), AS INDICATED BY
PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPENDED BY EACH TYPE OF SERVICE

CITY	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Hospitals	Service and Relief	Other Dependency	Leisure Time	Care of Children	Health Services
Bridgeport.....	1	2	3	5	4	6
Buffalo.....	2	1	3	6	4	5
Hartford.....	1	2	3	4	5	6
Providence.....	1	2	3	4	5	6
Worcester.....	1	2	3	4	5	6
Birmingham.....	1	5	2	4	6	3
Galveston.....	1	2	3	5	6	4
Greensboro.....	1	2	5	3	6	4
Greenville.....	1	5	6	2	4	3
New Orleans.....	1	2	3	6	5	4
Richmond.....	1	2	6	3	5	4
Dayton.....	1	2	3	4	5	6
Indianapolis.....	1	2	5	3	4	6
Kansas City, Kan...	2	1	6	3	5	4
Minneapolis.....	2	1	3	4	5	6
St. Paul.....	2	1	3	5	4	6

Table 3 tests out the hypothesis that there should be some correlation between the per cent of unemployment in a community and either the per capita expenditure for W.P.A. or the total expenditure for general dependency or the proportion of the grand community total that goes to general dependency. Assuming that unemployment is the main cause of relief and dependency needs, it does seem reasonable that there should be some correlation between these factors.

This table merely ranks the cities on each of these four points

—as above or below the median. Certainly if there isn't any correlation on such a broad base, there isn't any correlation. And that seems to be the evidence. Only five cities—Buffalo, Indianapolis, St. Paul, New Orleans, and Kansas City—ranking above the median in per cent of unemployment show a

TABLE 3
UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF EXPENDITURES

● Upper Half

○ Lower Half

CITY	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION TOTALLY UNEMPLOYED	W.P.A. PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE	TOTAL FAMILY WELFARE AND GENERAL DEPENDENCY	
			Per Capita	Percentage of Total
Bridgeport.....	○	○	○	○
Buffalo.....	●	●	●	●
Hartford.....	○	○	○	○
Providence.....	●	○	○	○
Worcester.....	○	○	●	○
Birmingham.....	●	●	○	●
Galveston.....	○	○	○	○
Greensboro.....	○	○	○	○
Greenville.....	●	○	○	○
New Orleans.....	●	●	●	●
Richmond.....	○	○	○	○
Dayton.....	○	●	●	●
Indianapolis.....	●	●	●	●
Kansas City, Kan.....	●	●	●	●
Minneapolis.....	○	●	●	●
St. Paul.....	●	●	●	●

similar ranking at all three other points; only six of the eight cities above the unemployment median are also above the median in W.P.A. funds. Only five of the cities below the unemployment median are also below the median in all the other three points; while two cities—Worcester and Dayton—below the median in unemployment are above the median on all three counts.

I shall not belabor the point, except to insist that some rational explanation of the why and wherefore of our present re-

lief costs is of extraordinary importance to our entire welfare and health program.

Table 4 in the same way endeavors to relate the per capita expenditure for the five items in the public health program to the general death-rate and to the infant and maternal death-rate, on the assumption that money spent for these services should reduce these rates.

TABLE 4
PUBLIC HEALTH EXPENDITURES AND SELECTED
DEATH-RATES

● Upper Half ○ Lower Half

City	Per Capita for Public Health	General Death- Rate	Infant Mortality Rate	Maternal Mortality Rate
Bridgeport.....	●	●	●	●
Buffalo.....	●	●	●	○
Hartford.....	●	○	●	●
Providence.....	●	●	●	●
Worcester.....	●	○	●	●
Birmingham.....	○	●	○	○
Galveston.....	○	○	○	●
Greensboro.....	○	●	○	○
Greenville.....	○	●	○	○
New Orleans.....	○	○	○	○
Richmond.....	●	○	○	○
Dayton.....	○	○	●	●
Indianapolis.....	○	○	○	○
Kansas City, Kan.....	○	○	○	○
Minneapolis.....	●	●	●	●
St. Paul.....	●	●	●	●

As far as the general death-rate is concerned, the correlation gives no such evidence. Only five of the cities above the median in expenditures get a low death-rate ranking. But the correlation with infant and maternal deaths is a little more promising. Six cities above the median expenditure are in the lower death-rates for both infants and mothers.

And that has a rational explanation in terms of community planning. The causes of infant and maternal deaths have been

more definitely isolated, the community program more definitely planned to control them than the causes of the general death-rate. And the evidence is here that money spent for this purpose does produce results.

CONCLUSION

It is not enough to say that these figures are interesting. They must in the first instance give evidence that their continuous collection will at least set us along the yardstick road to which Mr. Clapp pointed twelve years ago. And they must also, as we travel along it, be concretely useful to the local communities that are spending time and effort in that collection.

My own conclusion is definitely that they will serve both purposes.

We need some symbol by which communities can visualize the comparability of their total program with others, and dollars are about the only units that are comparable. We need to keep attention concentrated on the fact that planning is necessary in terms of the total program, and it seems to me that these data serve that purpose well. We need to understand the relationship which W.P.A. has, if any, to our total program; to clarify the responsibility of public funds and private funds for family welfare, child care, hospital service, leisure time; equally to debate what services should be paid for directly by the people who use them; and to what income groups this should apply. We need to dispose of the problem of public subsidy to private agencies in child care and other fields; equally of the proper relationship between institutional and foster-home care of children, of the relationship between the responsibility of the state and the city or county, for the care of the child. And we need to relate community costs to community needs.

The regular collection of these data from a larger and more representative group of cities would, I believe, compel us to raise and face these and other issues. Of and by themselves they would not answer them, but in many instances they would help define the terms in which the answer has to be made.

And to the degree that local chest and council executives, local leaders, are interested in shaping the thinking and action of their communities in basic long-run terms, I do not see how they can help but be of value. They may not answer the question "How much money shall we appropriate to agency X—," but they are very likely to illuminate the setting in which the answer must be given. Only by such illumination, in terms of sound and understood community policies, can the answer be made with any assurance that it will be the right one

UNIT COSTS IN SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION

*Alexander Ropchan, Executive Secretary, Health Division
Council of Social Agencies, Chicago*

THE nation's welfare services involve annual expenditures of billions of dollars. We hear much about the economic aspects of these activities, as well as about their social and political aspects. But we do not yet provide a systematic description of the economic aspects.

Basic in any such description is the recording and classifying of financial and service transactions to represent clearly income and expense relationships to social welfare activities. The accounts must indicate how much was spent or received, and what it was spent or received for, on a consistent comparable basis. The refinements of classification depend upon the complexities of the agency organization and activities and the needs of the agency's management. But the basic definitions and classifications must be comparable with those used by other similar agencies if the accounting tool is to be used to the greatest advantage.

Unit cost.—Classification of expenses according to types of service is basic to unit cost computation. You cannot compute unit costs for child-care agencies where, as is sometimes the case, expenses are not distributed according to the type of care for which the funds were expended.

We must define the expenses applicable to the service for which a unit cost is to be computed. Should general overhead expenses, interest payments, donated food and clothing, be included or excluded? Where one agency operates several services—family relief, legal aid, employment and vocational guidance, or a children's agency with an institution, placement in

foster-homes, and a special service for motherless families, on what basis should expenses be allocated among the several departments?

Cost per patient-day is the most quoted cost unit of hospital activities. The cost considerations entering into this measure of hospital economic activities have been defined by the American Hospital Association. Similar considerations apply to unit costs in other fields of social welfare.

Accounting principles.—On the accounting side working principles have been established which, with little additional development, can be applied satisfactorily in the different fields of social welfare. Only operating expenses should be included in the calculations. Interest, depreciation, expenses for fund-raising, expenditures for building, equipment or payment of loans or other capital purposes should not be included.

When the service to be costed is not the only service rendered by the agency, direct costs should be classified in the accounting records by services. Indirect or joint costs should be allocated among the services on some reasonable basis. The basis for allocating should be determined in co-operation with the executives in charge of each service. Bases of allocation include such factors as personnel hours, space occupied, direct expenditures, units of auxiliary service.

Donated commodities and services or commodities manufactured or produced by the agency should be charged to service departments at fair market prices. For example, where a home for the aged, a children's institution or a convalescent home operates a farm, the produce of the farm should be included in the food costs at reasonable market prices.

Measures of service.—Service units must be defined—a "child-year" in a foster-care agency, a "relief-case-month" in a family agency, a "resident-year" in a home for the aged. In the family relief field, for example, should the "case" or the "individual" be used? What time period should be covered? Into what classifications should service be grouped in relation to such categories as family relief, old age assistance, mothers' pensions,

blind relief? Accurate records of service units must be kept. Definition of service units is the responsibility of statisticians.

It is not enough to define the cost unit for each general field of social service. The cost unit becomes infinitely more useful when it is reported according to logical subclassifications for each functional field. For example, in child care we should have unit costs for such subclassifications as (1) institutional, (2) foster-home placement, (3) age groups, (4) foster-home care to convalescents, and (5) care to other classes of handicapped children.

For purposeful unit-cost analysis two things are essential. We must have uniform definitions of service units and uniform application of these definitions. And we must have a consistent and uniform basis for determining the expenses to be included in unit-cost calculations.

Limitations.—What are the limitations of unit costs?

The unit-cost concept, as a tool of management, has received little recognition among social work executives. Indiscriminate and unjustified applications of unit costs are one reason. Unit costs do not provide final answers; they provide questions which must be investigated. The fact that one agency reports a lower or higher unit cost does not necessarily mean that it is more efficient or more extravagant, that its cost is too low or too high, or that its service is good, bad, or indifferent. The unit-cost procedure merely provides a method of analysis of certain economic aspects of activity and an evaluation of agency service.

Unit-cost comparisons with other agencies may be made, provided the limitations of the comparison are understood. Agencies provide service under different circumstances or of different standard or with different emphases. It is important to know what is "behind" the figures.

Unit costs are sometimes considered in budget preparation. Here unit-cost projections must take account of price changes, changes in standards or in policies affecting costs, changes in utilization of plant (as in the case of a hospital).

The case for unit costs does not rest upon uniform costs. Each welfare agency is different in some respect from any other agency. In a complicated society and in a developing civilization we require a wide range of freedom in type of services and methods of operation. Our social agencies must adjust themselves to the varying circumstances under which they operate. They must be free to experiment if they are to contribute to progressive development.

In a children's agency, for example, the amount and quality of service in relation to such factors as medical and dental care, social case work service, psychiatric service, recreational allowances, clothing furnished, will be reflected in the unit cost. One agency may conduct its own educational program, another may depend upon the public service. But peculiarity or difference implies a comparison or contrast with other agencies, situations, locations, periods of time. The unit-cost concept, representing a uniform procedure for analyzing costs, emphasizes differences in activities of welfare agencies. Skilful use of this tool by the administrator will improve the service rendered by the personnel and facilities under his direction and justify his stewardship of community resources.

Method.—Cost analysis is carried out independently of the system of double entry bookkeeping, although it draws its materials from that system. It is performed on working sheets periodically—monthly, quarterly, yearly—as the occasion may require. The procedure is not one involving a great deal of time. Hospital accountants have reported that the allocation of joint costs to revenue-producing departments and the computation of unit costs takes as little as half a day at the end of each period.

Problems.—What problems do we face in extending purposeful application of unit costs?

We must develop basic uniformity in expense and service classifications. We must develop the practice of periodic allocation of joint costs among the services to which they apply. Otherwise, our work will stop short of its greatest usefulness.

We must recognize the meaning of unit cost. It does not correspond to the cost of any particular unit of service. But it is representative, as any arithmetic average is representative. In making comparisons we must take account of differences in service, in policies, in circumstances, or in conditions.

Lastly we must avoid using unit costs to "level down" services. Of itself, a low unit cost does not mean a desirable level of efficiency. It does not necessarily represent efficient service or service of acceptable standard. No use of unit costs is more unjustified.

Values.—The unit-cost concept is of greatest value to the social agency executive. It is a tool which he can and must use to increase his control over agency activities. How does it extend administrative control? Let me illustrate.

If the cost of raw food per meal is increasing, the administrator can learn immediately in what items the increase is taking place. He can investigate to determine what the causes of the increase are—increasing prices, improvement in nutritive value, greater waste. If similar costs are available from other institutions he can check trends and determine whether differences are due to factors which can be controlled—prices, economic quality.

If the cost per "child-year" is increasing, he can learn in what items of expense—payments to foster-parents, case work service, supervision, health service—the increase is taking place. He can investigate the detailed increases to determine what the causes are. Is it that rates of payment to foster-parents are being increased? Is this because of difficulty in securing homes of accustomed standard or because of a trend toward securing better homes or because the type of child placed has altered and more exacting requirements must be observed?

Fortified with a complete analysis and understanding of the facts, the administrator is in a position to act or to recommend action to the board of directors. Perhaps it is that increased costs are not justified and controls are set up to reduce them,

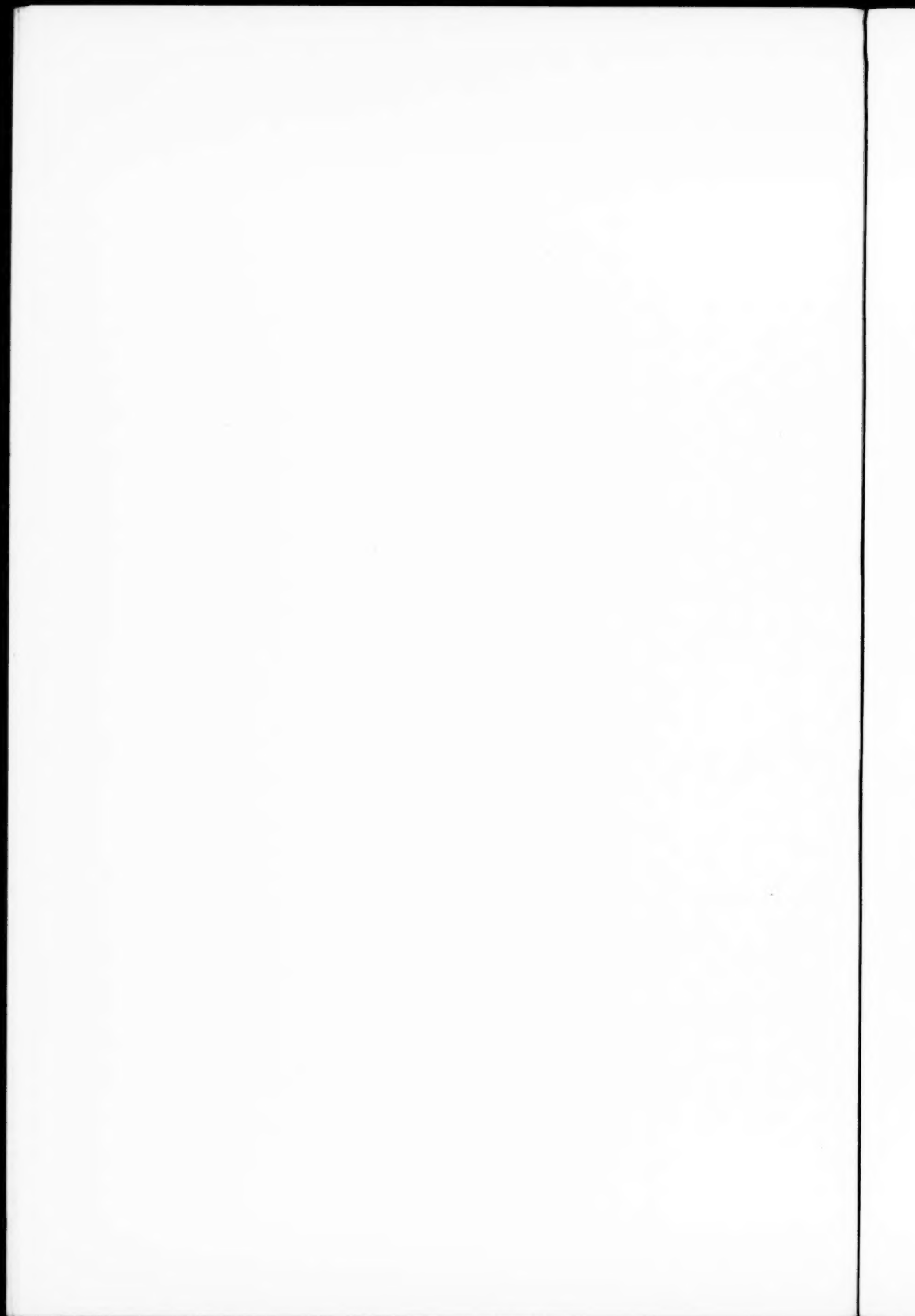
or perhaps they are in accord with the policies of the agency, and the board of directors must undertake to raise additional funds or to acquiesce in a reduction in volume of service.

The unit-cost method enables the administrator to see what is happening more clearly; it is valuable to the administrator who must analyze service programs and pass judgment on their relative merits. Unit costs have a value in budget-making. If plans are projected for increased or decreased services in the budget year, the unit-cost method of analysis provides a useful guide, with other measures, in estimating the effect on the budget.

Lastly, unit costs are helpful in public relations. They supply a convenient and understandable means for interpreting to the contributor or the taxpayer how the money is spent.

Conclusion.—The question is not whether unit costs are useful, but how long the social welfare field can do without such an indispensable tool for efficient administration. Can we afford, when needs are so great and funds are so short, to continue without this method of relating the economic and the social welfare aspects of our organizations?

PROGRAM



PROGRAM

GENERAL SESSIONS

- Sunday, June 26—President's Address: The Test of American Democracy. Solomon Lowenstein, Executive Vice-President, Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, New York City, and President, National Conference of Social Work. Page 3.
- Monday, June 27—New Forms of Power—Its Effect upon the Lives of the Workers. Margaret Bondfield, Former Minister of Labour of Great Britain, and Former President, British Trade Union Congress, London, England. Page 29.
- Tuesday, June 28—Prisons and Beyond. Sanford Bates, Executive Director, Boys' Clubs of America, New York City, and Former Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons. Page 44.
- Wednesday, June 29—Annual Follies. Produced by Social Work Publicity Council.
- Thursday, June 30—Annual Business Session. Reception to the President and the Conference.
- Friday, July 1—The Establishment and Maintenance of Standards of Social Work in Public Service. David C. Adie, Commissioner, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York. Page 67.
- Saturday, July 2—Behind the War in China. James M. Bertram, Author, First Act in China, Berkeley, California. Page 83.

SECTION MEETINGS

SOCIAL CASE WORK

Monday, June 27—Case-Work Content.

1. Evolution of Our Case-Work Concepts. Lucile Nickels Austin, District Secretary, Charity Organization Society, New York City. Page 99.
2. What Is Basic in Case-Work Practice? Marian M. Wyman, Case Consultant, Family Welfare Society, Boston, Massachusetts. Page 112.

Tuesday, June 28—

Group Meeting 1. Illustrations of Case-Work Practice.

1. Case Work in Rural Communities. Esther E. Twente, Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Page 122.
2. Case Work in Rural Counties. Alta C. Hoover, Supervisor of Field Unit, Child Welfare Services, Lane County Relief Committee, Portland, Oregon.

Group Meeting 2. Illustrations of Case-Work Practice.

1. With Marital Problems in Families, Legal Aspects. Sheldon D. Elliott, Professor, Legal Aid Department, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. Page 133.
2. With Marital Problems in Families, Case-Work Treatment. Mary A. Young, District Superintendent, Family Service Bureau, United Charities of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Group Meeting 3. Illustrations of Case-Work Practice.

1. Protection of Children from Neglect. Elizabeth Noyes, Supervisor, Cleveland Humane Society, Cleveland, Ohio.
2. Protection of Children in Adoption. Ruth Colby, Consultant in Social Service, U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C. Page 146.

Group Meeting 4. Illustrations of Case-Work Practice.

Under Various Eligibilities in Public Assistance. Bernice Scroggie, Supervisor, Child Welfare Services, State Department of Social Security, Olympia, Washington. Rosemary Reynolds, Great Lakes Secretary, Family Welfare Association of America, Cleveland, Ohio. Page 162.

Group Meeting 5. Illustrations of Case-Work Practice.

1. Families in Which There Are Health Problems. Ruth E. Lewis, Assistant Professor of Medical Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. Discussant: Grace B. Ferguson, Director, Division of Social Administration, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
2. Co-operative Case-Work Services to Sick People in Rural Areas. Elizabeth T. Mills, Director, Department of Social Service, University Hospital, Iowa City, Iowa. Page 177.

Discussant: Theodate Soule, Director, Social Service Department, Municipal Hospital, Hartford, Connecticut.

Group Meeting 6. Illustrations of Case-Work Practice.

With Use of Psychiatric Consultants. Madeline U. Moore, Secretary, Queens Family Service of the Charity Organizations Society of New York, Jackson Heights, New York. Samuel W. Hartwell, M.D., Professor of Psychiatry, University of Buffalo Medical School, Snyder, New York.

Wednesday, June 29—The Role of the Private Agency.

1. Contributions of a Private Family Agency in a Community Program. Freda Mohr, Executive Secretary. Jewish Social Service Bureau, Los Angeles, California.
 2. Children's Institutions and Agencies. Marjory Embry, Supervisor of Case Work, De Pelchin Faith Home and Children's Bureau, Houston, Texas. Page 187.
- Discussant: Joseph Bonapart, Vista Del Mar, Los Angeles, California.
Business Session.

*Thursday, June 30—**Group Meeting 1. Preparation and Direction of Case-Work Personnel.*

1. The Washington Training Plan. Ruth FitzSimons, Assistant Director, State Department of Public Welfare, Olympia, Washington. Page 196.
2. Changing Emphases in Professional Training. Leah Feder, Assistant Professor of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. Page 208.

Group Meeting 2. Preparation and Direction of Case-Work Personnel.

1. Supervision of Case-Work Staffs. Margaret Kauffman, Assistant Secretary of Family Service, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, New York. Page 222.
2. Supervision of Inexperienced and Scattered Staffs. Cordelia Trimble, Training Supervisor, Juvenile Department, Wisconsin State Board of Control, Madison, Wisconsin.

Group Meeting 3. Preparation and Direction of Case-Work Personnel.

Relation of Case-Work Staffs to Interpretation: To Officials, Governing Boards, Volunteers, and the Public. Mary L. Eggleston, Supervisor, Children's Department, Multnomah County Relief Committee, Portland, Oregon. Page 233.
Virginia Howlett, Welfare Secretary, Association of Junior Leagues of America, New York City. Page 242.

Discussant: Edith Baxter, Child Welfare Consultant, Division of Child Welfare Services, Oregon State Relief Committee, Eugene, Oregon.

Group Meeting 4. Preparation and Direction of Case-Work Personnel.

1. Development of Staff Following School Training: Integration of Theory with Practice. Lucia Clow, Case Supervisor, Family Welfare Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
2. Continued Stimulation of Staff Growth and Experience. Leon H. Richman, Superintendent, Foster Home Department, Jewish Children's Bureau, Chicago, Illinois. Page 251.

Group Meeting 5. Preparation and Direction of Case-Work Personnel.

Common Elements of Personnel Qualifications in Case Work and Group Work. Sarah M. Ivins, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Bessie A. McClenahan, Professor of Sociology and Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California.

Group Meeting 6. Housekeeper Service.

1. Housekeeper Service in a Child-Care Program. Jacob Kepecs, Executive Director, Jewish Children's Bureau, Chicago, Illinois. Page 266.
2. Housekeeper Service in Family Welfare. Marion Goodwin, Assistant Executive Secretary, Associated Charities, Family Consultation Service, Cincinnati, Ohio. Page 279.

Friday, July 1—Case Work in Difficult Behavior or Delinquency Situations.

1. An Agency Scrutinizes Its Work. John Slawson, Director, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City. Page 288.
2. Emphases and Differences in Recent Studies. Harrison A. Dobbs, Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Page 298.

Saturday, July 2—What We Learn from the Child's Own Psychology To Guide Treatment.

1. In a Small Institution. Lillian Johnson, Director, Ryther Child's Center, Seattle, Washington. Page 313.
2. In a Family Case-Work Agency. Eleanor Clifton, District Secretary, Riverside District, Charity Organization Society, New York City. Page 326.

SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Monday, June 27—Group Work and Case-Work Relationships.

1. The Group in Development and in Therapy. S. R. Slavson, Director of Group Therapy, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City. Page 339.
2. Relationship of Group Work and Case Work in the Interests of Individuals. Lilian W. Burns, Psychiatric Case Worker, Ryther Child Center, Seattle, Washington.

Tuesday, June 28—

Group Meeting 1. Adult Education in the Leisure-Time Agency.

1. Significance of Adult Education for Group Work. Gaynell Hawkins, Field Representative, American Association of Adult Education, New York City. Page 350.
2. What Kind of Adult Education in Group-Work Agencies?—A report and evaluation of adult education activities conducted by group-work agencies in San Francisco. Louis Blumenthal, Chairman of San Francisco Committee on Adult Education, San Francisco, California.

Group Meeting 2. Current Developments in Organized Camping.

1. Organized Camping Studies Itself.—Highlights of the Program of Studies and Research of the American Camping Association. Charles E. Hendry, Director, Program and Personnel Training, Boys' Clubs of America; Advisor on Studies and Research, American Camping Association, New York City.
2. Improvement of Group Work in Camping. Lucile E. Townsend, Member, National Field Staff, Girl Scouts, New York City.
3. The Camp Inspection Program of the Boy Scouts of America. Charles N. Miller, Assistant National Director, Division of Operations, Boy Scouts of America, Los Angeles, California.

Group Meeting 3. Group-Work Programs in Rural Communities.

1. Background Statement—Social Forces Affecting Youth in Rural Communities. F. L. Ballard, Director of Extension Service, Oregon State College, Corvallis, Oregon.
2. Descriptions of Group-Work Programs in Rural Communities.
 - a) Youth Character Groups in Rural Communities. J. F. Schenk, Superintendent of Schools, Ridgefield, Washington.
 - b) Junior Programs of Major Rural Organizations. J. R. Beck, Rural Extension Specialist, Oregon State College, Corvallis, Oregon.
 - c) 4-H Clubs. F. E. Balmer, Director of Extension Service, State College, Pullman, Washington.
 - d) N.Y.A. and Rural Communities. J. H. Binns, State Director of N.Y.A. for Washington, Tacoma, Washington.

Summarizer: John H. Binns, State Director of N.Y.A. for Washington, Tacoma, Washington.

Wednesday, June 29—Group Work in a Democracy.

1. The Democratic Ideal and Its Implications for Group Work. Howard Woolston, Professor of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.
2. Implementing Democratic Ideals in the National Agency Program. Grace Stuff, Girl Reserve Secretary, Leadership Division, National Board, Y.W.C.A.'s, New York City.
3. The Girl Scout Program as an Illustration of the Trends in Group-Work Philosophy and Program of a National Agency. Lucile E. Townsend, Member, National Field Staff, Girl Scouts, New York City.

Thursday, June 30—Sharpening Definitions of Social Group Work. Frank Skalak, Brashear Settlement, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Vera Harris, Industrial Secretary, Y.W.C.A., Seattle, Washington. Louis H. Blumenthal, Executive Director, Jewish

Community Center, San Francisco, California. Helen Hall, Henry Street Settlement, New York City. Margaret Svendsen, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, Illinois, and Leon Richman, Jewish Children's Bureau, Chicago, Illinois.

Summary and Critique: Lucy P. Carner, Secretary, Division on Education and Recreation, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago, Illinois.

Friday, July 1—

Group Meeting 1. Group Work in Relation to Community Organization for Social Planning.

1. How Group-Work Agencies Function Co-operatively in the Community. A committee inquiry into present practices and the problems revealed in effecting co-operation of group-work agencies through central planning. M. W. Beckelman, Director, Section on Group Work and Recreation, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City, and Chairman of the Committee. Page 356.
2. Gains through an Area Study. Edward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio. Page 371.

Group Meeting 2. Group-Work Record-Keeping and Reporting.

1. The Group-Work-Reporting Project of the United States Children's Bureau. Louis J. Owen, Supervisor of Current Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C. Page 381.
2. Use of Group Records of a Local Agency. Merrill B. Conover, Council of Social Agencies, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Page 392.

Group Discussion 3. (Joint Session with the Social Work Publicity Council.) Group-Work Interpretation.

Interpretation of Group-Work Values in a Community Program of Social Welfare.

Discussion Leader: Irving Weissman, Director, Department of Social Research, Social Planning Council, St. Louis, Missouri.

A Local Agency Interprets Its Work to the General Community.

Discussion Leader: Harold A. Wagner, Program Secretary, Pacific Southwest Area Council, Y.M.C.A., Los Angeles, California. Page 401.

Saturday, July 2—Can Youth Movements Make Themselves Effective in Democracy?

Thacher Winslow, Division of Public Relations, National Youth Administration, Washington, D.C. Ruth Swanberg Rohlfs, President, National Council of Business and Professional Girls of the Y.W.C.A., Seattle, Washington. K. A. Wells, Assistant Scout Executive, Portland, Oregon.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Monday, June 27—Relationship between Community Organization and Professional Leadership.

1. The Place and Influence of American Association of Social Work Chapters in Local Community Organization. Pierce Atwater, Executive Secretary, St. Paul Community Chest, St. Paul, Minnesota. Page 413.
2. The Place and Influence of Organized Social Workers Other Than American Association of Social Workers. Jacob Fisher, President, Social Service Employees Union, New York City.

Discussant: Stockton Raymond, School of Social Administration, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Tuesday, June 28—Relationship between Community Organization and Nonprofessional Leadership.

1. The Importance of the Layman in Community Organization. Wilmer Shields, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, New Orleans, Louisiana. Page 422.

2. Volunteer Activity in the State at Large. Helen H. Schreiner, State Department of Social Security, Olympia, Washington.

Discussant: Mrs. Arthur B. McGlothlan, St. Joseph, Missouri.

Wednesday, June 29—Community Organization and Organized Labor. Richard Francis, Regional Director, Committee on Industrial Organization, Seattle, Washington.

Business Session.

Thursday, June 30—Community Organization and Educational Processes.

1. The Influence of Publicity in Developing Community Organization. Louise Clevenger, Associate Secretary, Community Chest, St. Paul, Minnesota. Page 431.

2. Opportunities for Groups in Community Organization. Helen Rowe, Secretary, Washington State Conference of Social Work, Seattle, Washington.

Friday, July 1—Relation between Community Organization and Public Welfare Agencies.

1. Community Organization and Public Welfare Agencies on a State-Wide Basis. John Hall, Department of Social Security, Seattle, Washington. Page 443.

2. Place and Influence of County Organization. Mary Irene Atkinson, Federal Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Discussant: Irene Farnham Conrad, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Houston, Texas.

Saturday, July 2—Relationship between Community Organization and National Agencies.

1. From the National Point of View. David H. Holbrook, National Social Work Council, New York City.

2. From the Local Point of View. C. F. McNeil, Community Chest, Omaha, Nebraska. Page 453.

SOCIAL ACTION

Monday, June 27—The Organization of Labor and the Labor Relations Boards.

1. The National Labor Relations Act and Its Problems. Towne Nylander, Regional Director, National Labor Relations Board, Los Angeles, California.

2. A State Labor Relations Board and Its Problems. E. L. Oliver, Executive Vice-President, Labor's Nonpartisan League of America, Washington, D.C.

Discussant: Jacob Baker, President, United Federal Workers of America, Washington, D.C.

Tuesday, June 28—Political Parties and Social Action.

1. How Can We Use Political Action for Social Progress? Lewis B. Schwellenbach, U.S. Senator from the State of Washington, Washington, D.C.

2. The Responsibility of Political Parties for Social Action. E. L. Oliver, Executive Vice-President, Labor's Nonpartisan League, Washington, D.C.

Wednesday, June 29—Should Social Workers Organize?

1. The Importance of the Organization of White-Collar Workers to the Labor Movement as a Whole. Jacob Baker, President, United Federal Workers of America, Washington, D.C.
2. The Value of Labor Organization to the Objectives of Social-Work Agencies. T. J. Edmonds, Oregon Works Progress Administration, Portland, Oregon.

Discussant: Frank C. Bancroft, Managing Editor, *Social Work Today*, New York City.

Business Session.

Thursday, June 30—Where Is the Money Coming From?

1. The Tax Structure and Our Economic System. H. Jerry Voorhis, U.S. Congressman from California, Washington, D.C. Page 463.
2. Improvement of the Tax System. George Yantis, Chairman, Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, Olympia, Washington.

Discussant: Donald C. Stone, Director, Public Administration Service, Chicago, Illinois.

Friday, July 1—Progress in the Program for the Unemployed.

1. The Federal Employment Program. Aubrey C. Williams, Assistant Administrator, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C. Page 476.
2. The Role of the Employment Service. W. Frank Persons, Director, U.S. Employment Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. Page 488.

Discussant: I. M. Brandjord, Administrator, State Department of Public Welfare, Helena, Montana.

Saturday, July 2—A National Health Program.

1. Communicable Diseases Controllable through Social Action. F. A. Carmelia, M.D., Senior Surgeon, U.S. Public Health Service, San Francisco, California.
2. Providing Medical Care for Wage-Earners and Farmers. Andrew J. Biemiller, Member, Wisconsin State Legislature, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Page 497

Discussion Leader: Donald G. Evans, State Director of Health, Seattle, Washington.

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Monday, June 27—Professional and Lay Aspects of Public Welfare Administration.

1. The Job of a State Administrator. Charles F. Ernst, Director, State Department of Social Security, Olympia, Washington. Page 508.
2. Powers and Functions of Lay Boards in Relation to Public Welfare Administration. Pierce Atwater, Executive Secretary, Community Chest, St. Paul, Minnesota. Page 518.

Tuesday, June 28—The Job of the Case-Work Supervisor.

1. Practices and Techniques of Supervision. Charles Nison, Director, Bureau of Procedures and Systems, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York.
2. Principles, Content, and Objectives of Supervision. Josephine Brown, W.P.A., Washington, D.C. Page 528.

Wednesday, June 29—The Job of the Visitor.

What a Visitor in a Public Agency Should Know. Martha Chickering, University of California, Berkeley, California. Page 541.
Business Session.

Thursday, June 30—Federal Child Welfare Services Considered on Federal, State, and Local Levels of Operation.

1. From the Federal Level. Mary Irene Atkinson, Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C. Page 551.
2. From the State Level. Grace A. Reeder, Director, Bureau of Child Welfare, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York.
3. From the Local Level. Norris Class, Division of Child Welfare, State Relief Commission, Portland, Oregon. Page 559.

Friday, July 1—

1. Statistical Material as a Medium of Interpreting and Servicing the Administration of a Public Welfare Program. Ralph Hurlin, Director, Department of Statistics, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 565.
2. Provision for Research and Statistics in the Federal Welfare Programs. Ewan Clague, Director, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.

Discussion Leader: Philip D. Flanner, Director, Public Welfare Department of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

Saturday, July 2—Recruiting and Training of Personnel in Public Welfare.

Recruitment of Personnel. George Clarke, Regional Welfare Director, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York. Page 574.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES**ON CARE OF THE AGED****Thursday, June 30—Case-Work Needs of the Aged.**

1. What Are the Case-Work Needs of the Aged? Gertrude Smith, Medical Social Case Worker, Benjamin Rose Institute, Cleveland, Ohio. Page 587.
2. Recreational Needs of the Aged. Morris Chase, Administrative Assistant, Division of Old Age Assistance, Department of Public Welfare, New York City. Page 596.

Friday, July 1—Public and Private Provisions for the Aged.

1. Meeting the Needs of the Aged under a Public Assistance Program. Anne Denton, Field Supervisor, Washington State Department of Social Security, Olympia, Washington.
2. Meeting the Needs of the Aged through Institutional Care—Private. Florence W. Switton, Superintendent, Hebrew Home for Aged Disabled, San Francisco, California. Page 606.

**ON INTERRELATIONS OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION
PLACEMENT, AND ASSISTANCE****Thursday, June 30—Interplay of the New Services.**

1. From the Basic Approach of Employment Placement and Planning. W. Frank Persons, Chief, U.S. Employment Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

2. In the Light of the Broad Objectives of Social Security. Ewan Clague, Director of Research, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.
3. From the Ground Up in the Forest-Products Industries of the Pacific Coast. Alexander Heron, Director, Industrial Relations, Crown-Zellerbach Group of Companies, San Francisco, California. Page 617.

Friday, July 1—(Joint Session with the American Association for Labor Legislation.)
Practical Working Relationships.

1. From the Point of View of the Work's Program. John A. Kingsbury, Administrative Assistant, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C.
2. From the Point of View of Unemployment Compensation and Placement. Richard M. Neustadt, Regional Director, Social Security Board, San Francisco, California.
3. From the Point of View of Direct Relief and Public Assistance. Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Director of Public Assistance, Minnesota State Board of Control, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Saturday, July 2—Specific Problems in Practice and Co-operation.

Group Discussion 1. In the Field of Employment Placement.

Discussion Leader: Albert F. Hardy, Supervisor, Washington State Employment Service, Seattle, Washington.

Group Discussion 2. In the Field of Unemployment Compensation.

Discussion Leader: T. Morris Dunne, Chairman, State Unemployment Compensation Commission, Portland, Oregon.

Group Discussion 3. In the Field of Public Welfare.

Discussion Leader: Elmer R. Goudy, Administrator, State Relief Committee of Oregon, Portland, Oregon.

ON MEDICAL CARE

Monday, June 27—Relations of Social Work and Medical Care.

1. From the Point of View of Social Workers. Alexander Ropchan, Executive Secretary, Health Division, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago, Illinois.
2. From the Point of View of the Medical Profession. R. G. Leland, M.D., Director, Bureau of Medical Economics, American Medical Association, Chicago, Illinois. Page 625.

Discussant: The Reverend William J. Walsh, Director, Catholic Charities, Seattle, Washington.

Tuesday, June 28—How To Meet the Medical Needs of Persons Receiving Public Support.

1. Medical Needs Revealed by the National Health Survey. George St. John Perrott, Director, National Health Survey, United States Public Health Service, National Institute of Health, Washington, D.C. Page 636.
2. Medical Care as a Basic Component in a Public Assistance Program. H. Jackson Davis, M.D., Chief Medical Officer, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York. Page 646.

Discussants: Dorothy Deming, General Director, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, New York City; Edith Baker, Medical Social Consultant, United States Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C.

ON PREVENTION AND SOCIAL TREATMENT OF BLINDNESS

Monday, June 27—Prevention of Blindness.

1. What Social Workers Should Know about the Preventable Causes of Blindness. Eleanor Lee Hearon, Medical Social Worker, University of Colorado Hospital, Denver, Colorado.
2. Organization of Social Forces for Prevention of Blindness. Audrey M. Hayden, Executive Secretary, Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness, Chicago, Illinois. Page 656.

Discussant: Helen V. Bary, Regional Representative, Social Security Board, San Francisco, California.

Tuesday, June 28—Organization of Activities for the Blind and Application of Techniques of Social Treatment.

Social Treatment of Blindness.

1. An Integrated Program of Special Services in Relation to Public and Private Resources. Grace Harper, Assistant Commissioner, New York State Department of Public Welfare, New York City.
2. The Use of Mental Hygiene as a Treatment Resource. H. E. Chamberlain, M.D., California State Department of Social Welfare, Sacramento, California.
3. Differentials in Case Work. Stockton Raymond, School of Social Administration, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Friday, July 1—Prevention and Social Treatment of Blindness.

Fitting Special Services into the Public Assistance Pattern. Jane Hoey, Director, Division of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.

Discussants:

- a) On Prevention. Eleanor Brown Merrill, Associate Director, National Society for Prevention of Blindness, New York City.
- b) On Rehabilitation. M. I. Tynan and Joseph F. Clunk, Special Agents for the Blind, Office of Education, Department of Interior, Washington, D.C. Page 666.
- c) On Public Relations. MacEnnis Moore, Field Representative, American Foundation for the Blind, New York City.

ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS

Monday, June 27—

1. Some of the Factors Hindering the Progress of Institutions. Mabel Marks, Director, Child Welfare Division, Department of Welfare, Frankfort, Kentucky.
2. The Use of a Small Institutional Unit in the Treatment of Personality Problems. Lillian Johnson, Executive Secretary, Ryther Child Center, Seattle, Washington. Page 674.

Discussants: D. Boyden Roseberry, Director, United Charities, Nashville, Tennessee; C. D. Lehman, Superintendent, State School for Dependent Children, Sparta, Wisconsin.

Tuesday, June 28—

1. Group Living as a Means of Developing Personality. S. R. Slavson, Group Work Consultant, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City.

2. Group Living as the Essential Contribution of the Institution. H. E. Chamberlain, M.D., Consultant Psychiatrist, State Department of Social Welfare, Sacramento, California.

Discussants: Howard W. Hopkirk, Superintendent, Albany Home for Children, Albany, New York; Dorothy F. Puttee, Executive Secretary, Children's Service League, Springfield, Illinois.

Wednesday, June 29—

1. Educational Aspects of the Program within the Institution and Their Relation to the Child's Adjustment Outside. H. Jerry Voorhis, Headmaster, Voorhis School for Underprivileged Boys, San Dimas, California, and Congressman from California.
2. Problems Facing Children Who Have Had a Relatively Long Period of Institutional Care. Ethel Verry, Executive Secretary, Chicago Orphan Asylum, Chicago, Illinois. Page 684.

Discussants: Mary Leete, Supervisor, Family Department, Juvenile Court, San Francisco, California; Mary H. Fowler, Superintendent, State Training School for Girls, Birmingham, Alabama; Joseph Bonapart, Superintendent, Jewish Orphans' Home of Southern California, Los Angeles, California.

ON THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF THE ADULT OFFENDER

Monday, June 27—Three Basic Papers.

1. Basis in Law for Social Treatment of the Adult Offender. Richard A. Chappell, Acting Supervisor, Probation System, U.S. Courts, and member of the Bar of the State of Georgia, Washington, D.C. Page 696.
2. Basis in Medicine for the Social Treatment of the Adult Offender. Samuel W. Hartwell, M.D., Professor of Psychiatry, University of Buffalo Medical School, Snyder, New York. Page 705.
3. Basis in the Social Sciences for the Social Treatment of the Adult Offender. Saul D. Alinsky, Sociologist, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, Illinois. Page 714.

Tuesday, June 28—

Group Discussion 1. The Alcoholic Offender.

Discussion Leader: Benjamin F. Williams, M.D., Psychiatrist, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Discussant: Harvey L. Long, Parole Officer, State Division of Supervision of Parolees, Chicago, Illinois.

Summarizer: Howell V. Williams, Executive Secretary, Advisory Committee on Social Security, Seattle, Washington.

Group Discussion 2. The Mentally Deficient Offender.

Discussion Leader: Nathan Sloate, Executive Secretary, Jewish Committee for Personal Service, Los Angeles, California.

Discussant: Herbert N. Rowell, M.D., Police Physician, Berkeley, California.

Summarizer: Inezetta Holt, Supervising Psychiatric Social Worker, Sonoma State Home, Eldridge, California.

Wednesday, June 29—

Group Discussion 1. The Drug Addict.

Discussion Leader: Florence O'Connor, President, White Cross Anti-Narcotic Society, Seattle, Washington.

Discussant: Everett G. Hoffman, Seattle, Washington.

Summarizer: The Reverend Seward Hiltner, Executive Secretary, Committee on Prison Chaplains, Federal Council of Churches, New York City.

Group Discussion 2. The Habitual Offender.

Discussion Leader: Sanford Bates, Executive Director, Boys' Clubs of America, New York City.

Discussants: Luke S. May, Consulting Criminologist, Seattle, Washington; Ewing D. Colvin, Former Prosecutor, King County, Seattle, Washington.

Summarizer: E. B. Swope, Warden, U.S. Penitentiary, McNeil Island, Washington.

Thursday, June 30—

Group Discussion 1. The Prostitute.

Discussion Leader: H. B. Woolston, Professor of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

Discussant: Frank M. Carroll, M.D., Commissioner of Health, Seattle, Washington.

Summarizer: Adrian B. Miller, Chief U.S. Probation Officer, Western District of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

Group Discussion 2. The Psychopathic Offender.

Discussion Leader: John Edward Bentley, Chairman Philosophy, Psychology, and Education, The American University, Washington, D.C.

Discussants: Herbert Williams, Superintendent, Warwick Training School, Warwick, New York; David Rotman, M.D., Director, Psychiatric Institute, Municipal Court, Chicago, Illinois.

Summarizer: John Slawson, Executive Director, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City.

Friday, July 1—Reports of Discussion Groups.

1. The Alcoholic Offender. Howell V. Williams, Executive Secretary, Advisory Committee on Social Security, Seattle, Washington.
2. The Mentally Deficient Offender. Nathan Sloate, Executive Secretary, Jewish Committee for Personal Service, Los Angeles, California.
3. The Drug Addict. Florence O'Connor, President, White Cross Anti-Narcotic Society, Seattle, Washington.
4. The Habitual Offender. E. B. Swope, Warden, U.S. Penitentiary, McNeil Island, Washington.
5. The Prostitute. H. B. Woolston, Professor of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.
6. The Psychopathic Offender. John Edward Bentley, Chairman Philosophy, Psychology, and Education, The American University, Washington, D.C.

Summarizer: Edgar M. Gerlach, Supervisor of Social Service, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C.

ON STATISTICS AND ACCOUNTING IN SOCIAL WORK

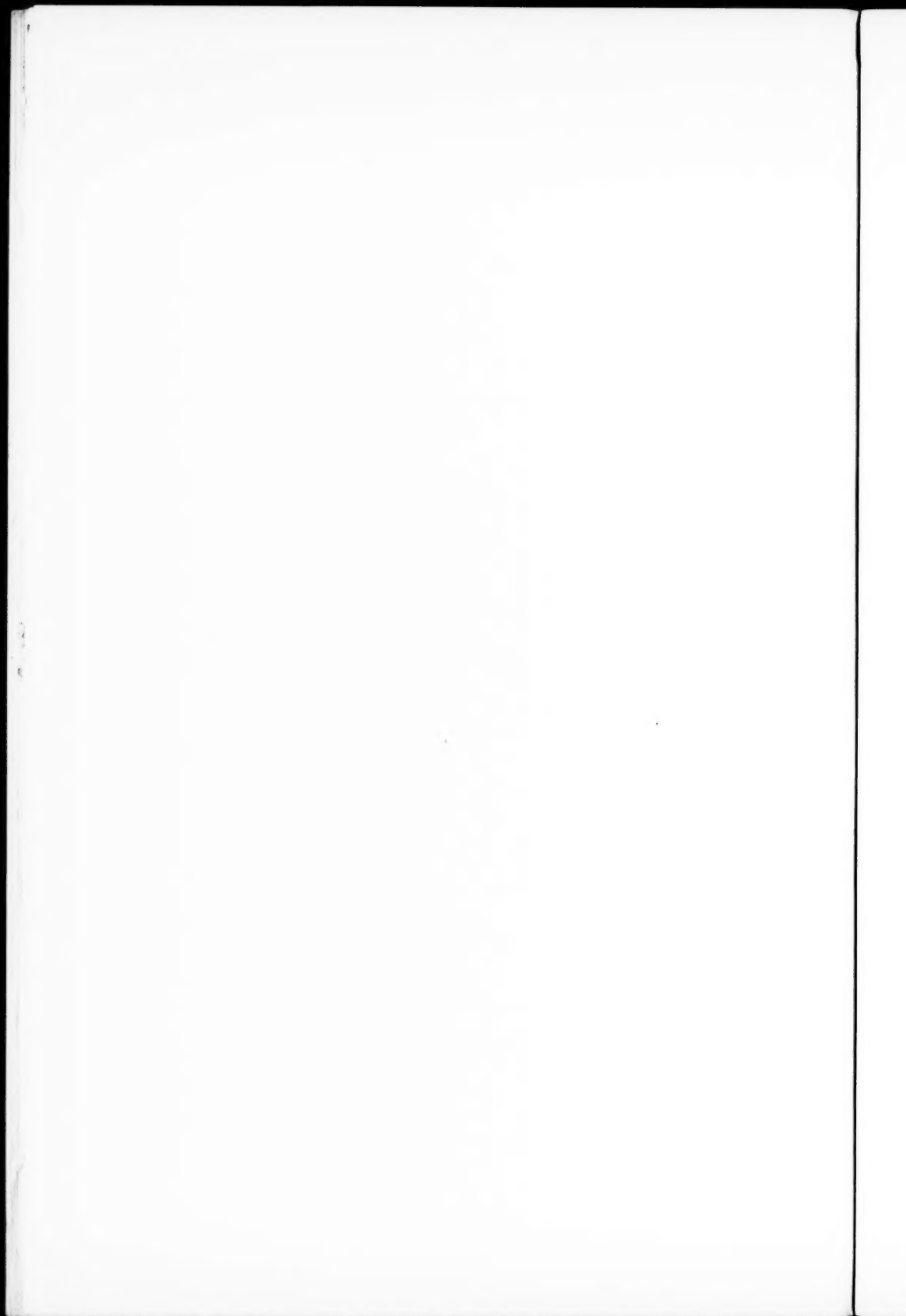
Monday, June 27—Measurement of Public Assistance Expenditures in the Various States. Joel Gordon, Field Representative, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.

Discussants: Helen Jeter, Director, Public Assistance Division, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.; Charles Ernst, Director, State Department of Social Security, Olympia, Washington; Emil Frankel, Director of Research, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey; Florence M. Warner, Lecturer and Research Associate, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

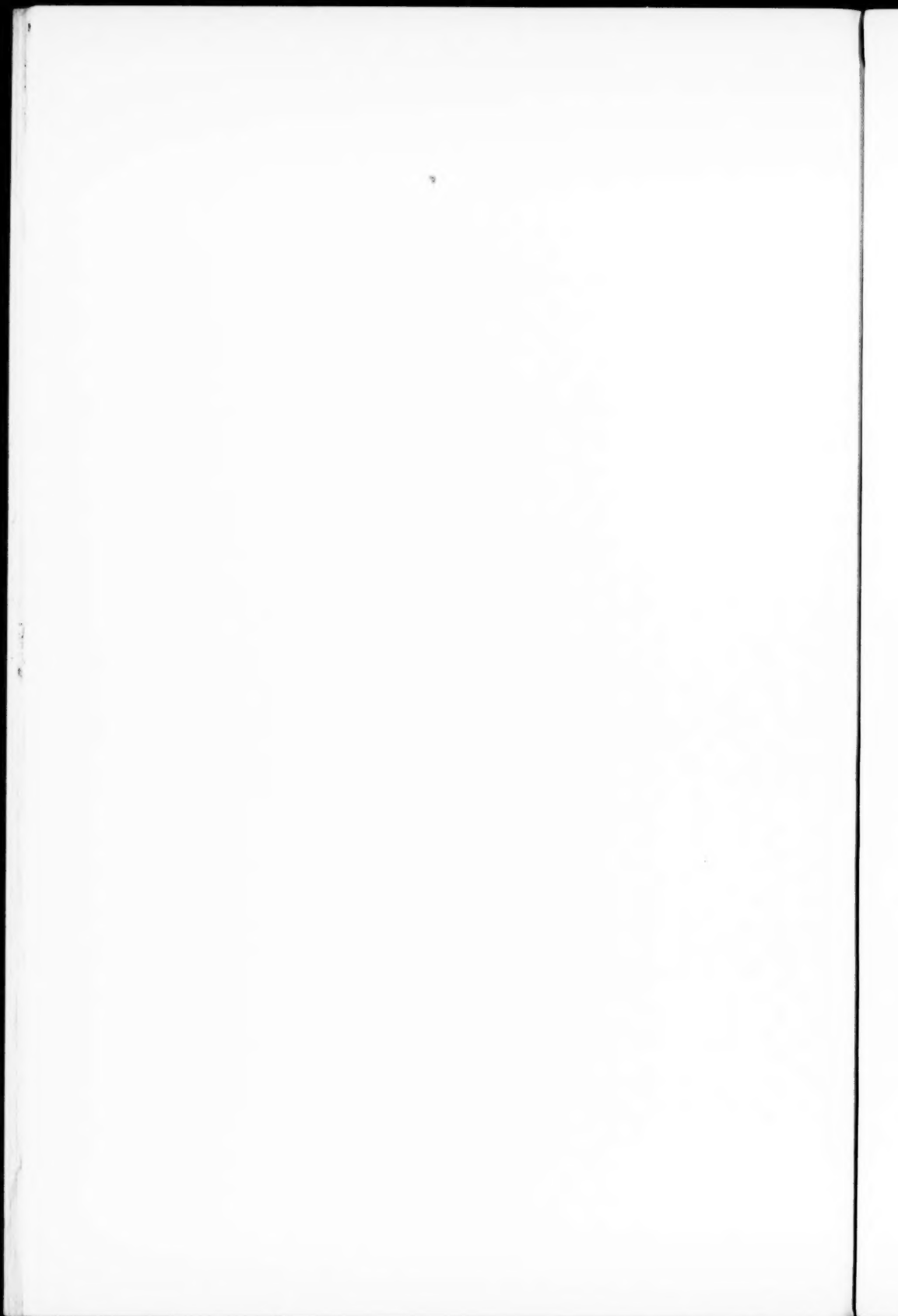
Tuesday, June 28—

1. Community Expenditures for Health and Social Work. Bradley Buell, Field Director, Community Chests and Councils, Inc., New York City. Page 725.
2. Unit Costs in Social Administration. Alexander Ropchan, Executive Secretary, Health Division, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago, Illinois. Page 749.

Discussants: Merrill Krughoff, Director of Research, Los Angeles Council of Social Agencies, Los Angeles, California; Louise Drury, Child Protective Association, Los Angeles, California.



BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS



PART I

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1938

OFFICERS

President, Solomon Lowenstein, New York City
First Vice-President, Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland
Second Vice-President, Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta
Third Vice-President, Ruth FitzSimons, Olympia, Washington
Treasurer, Arch Mandel, Dayton, Ohio
General Secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: Solomon Lowenstein, President; Grace L. Coyle, First Vice-President; Forrester B. Washington, Second Vice-President; Ruth FitzSimons, Third Vice-President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1938*: Frank Bane, Washington, D.C.; Howard S. Braucher, New York City; Josephine C. Brown, Washington, D.C.; Michael M. Davis, Chicago; Jacob Kepecs, Chicago; Elwood Street, Washington, D.C.; Walter M. West, New York City. *Term expiring 1939*: Paul U. Kellogg, New York City; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.; Solomon Lowenstein, New York City; Rose J. McHugh, Washington, D.C.; W. I. Newstetter, Cleveland; Bertha C. Reynolds, New York City; Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans. *Term expiring 1940*: David H. Holbrook, New York City; Florence W. Hutsinpillar, Denver; Betsey Libbey, Philadelphia; Bertha McCall, New York City; Roy Sorenson, Chicago; George S. Stevenson, New York City; Alfred F. Whitman, Boston.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Ex officio: Solomon Lowenstein, New York City, Chairman; Edith Abbott, Chicago; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expiring 1938*: Maurice Taylor, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Elizabeth H. Webster, Chicago. *Term expiring 1939*: Elinor Hixenbaugh, New York City; Robert T. Lansdale, New York City. *Term expiring 1940*: Mary Irene Atkinson, Washington, D.C.; Arlien Johnson, Seattle, Washington. *Section Chairmen*: Clinton W. Areson, New York City; Louis Kraft, New York City; Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio; Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago; David C. Adie, Albany, New York.

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Evelyn K. Davis, New York City, Chairman; Rev. C. Rankin Barnes, San Diego; Helen Beckley, Chicago; Irene Farnham Conrad, Baton Rouge; Louise Cottrell, Port-

land, Oregon; A. A. Heckman, St. Paul; Jane E. Hunter, Cleveland; Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, New York City; Frances Taussig, New York City.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Ruth Emerson, Chicago, Chairman; Ethel R. Feineman, San Francisco; John A. Fitch, New York City.

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

R. Clyde White, Chicago, Chairman; Joseph Beck, Philadelphia; Elizabeth Bissell, Boston; C. H. Bogart, Columbus, Ohio; Marguerite Boylan, Brooklyn; Louise C. Cutter, New York City; George F. Davidson, Vancouver, British Columbia; Arthur Dunham, Detroit; Oliver Friedman, Milwaukee; Lenora Hicks, Denver; Arthur W. James, Richmond; Carmelite Janvier, New Orleans; Helen R. Jeter, Washington, D.C.; Hyman Kaplan, San Francisco; Ellery Kelley, Mitchell, South Dakota; Chester C. Ridge, Grand Rapids; Frieda Romalis, St. Louis; K. J. Scudder, Los Angeles; Florence van Sickler, Atlanta; Herbert Willett, Washington, D.C.

ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

SECTION I. SOCIAL CASE WORK

Chairman: C. W. Areson, New York City

Vice-Chairman: Florence R. Day, Cleveland, Ohio

TERM EXPIRES 1938

Clinton W. Areson.....New York City	Mary A. Howell.....Richmond, Va.
Florence R. Day.....Cleveland, Ohio	Anna D. Ward.....Baltimore
Elizabeth H. Dexter.....New York City	

TERM EXPIRES 1939

Margaret R. Barbee.....Baltimore	Dorothy Hutchinson....New York City
Elizabeth E. Bissell.....Boston	Frederick Moran.....Albany, N.Y.
Marian Y. Frost.....Richmond, Va.	

TERM EXPIRES 1940

Edith M. Baker.....Washington, D.C.	Florence Hollis.....Cleveland
Elizabeth G. Gardiner.....Minneapolis	Margaret S. Moss.....Philadelphia

SECTION II. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Chairman: Louis Kraft, New York City

Vice-Chairman: Charles E. Hendry, Chicago, Illinois

TERM EXPIRES 1938

Henry M. Busch.....Cleveland	W. I. Newstetter.....Cleveland
Hedley S. Dimock.....Chicago	Margaret Williamson....New York City
Bessie A. McClenahan.....Los Angeles	

TERM EXPIRES 1939

Grace L. Coyle.....Cleveland	Lillie M. Peck.....New York City
Tam Deering.....Cincinnati	Leroy A. Ramsdell.....Hartford
Lee F. Hanmer.....New York City	

TERM EXPIRES 1940

R. K. Atkinson.....New York City	James H. Hubert.....New York City
Neva L. Boyd.....Chicago	Roy Sorenson.....Chicago
Ella F. Harris.....Philadelphia	

SECTION III. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Chairman: Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio.

Vice-Chairman: Wayne McMillen, Chicago, Illinois.

TERM EXPIRES 1938

Richard K. Conant.....Boston	John F. Hall.....Seattle
Helen M. Currier.....Minneapolis	Florence L. Sullivan...Washington, D.C.
Kathryn D. Goodwin....Madison, Wis.	

TERM EXPIRES 1939

Bradley Buell.....New York City	Emma O. Lundberg..Washington, D.C.
Louise Cottrell.....Portland, Ore.	Right Rev. Monsignor John O'Grady
Roy M. Cushman.....Boston	Washington, D.C.

TERM EXPIRES 1940

Ewan Clague.....Washington, D.C.	George W. Rabinoff....New York City
Ruth Hill.....New York City	Marietta Stevenson.....Chicago
Russell H. Kurtz.....New York City	

SECTION IV. SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman: Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago, Illinois

Vice-Chairman: Philip Klein, New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1938

John B. Andrews.....New York City	Abraham Epstein.....New York City
J. P. Chamberlain.....New York City	Rev. Francis J. Haas...St. Francis, Wis.
Michael M. Davis.....Chicago	

TERM EXPIRES 1939

George E. Bigge.....Providence	Harry L. Lurie.....New York City
John S. Bradway.....Durham, N.C.	Aubrey Williams.....Washington, D.C.
John A. Kingsbury.....Yonkers, N.Y.	

TERM EXPIRES 1940

Roger N. Baldwin.....New York City	Ralph J. Reed.....Portland, Ore.
Paul H. Douglas.....Chicago	Mary van Kleeck.....New York City
Rhoda Kaufman.....Atlanta	

PART II

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1939

OFFICERS

President, Paul Kellogg, New York City
First Vice-President, Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., Chicago
Second Vice-President, Ida M. Cannon, Boston, Massachusetts
Third Vice-President, Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.
Treasurer, Arch Mandel, New York City
General Secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: Paul Kellogg, President; Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., First Vice-President; Ida M. Cannon, Second Vice-President; Jane M. Hoey, Third Vice-President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1939*: A. L. Foster, Chicago; Paul Kellogg, New York City; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.; Solomon Lowenstein, New York City; Rose J. McHugh, Washington, D.C.; W. I. Newstetter, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Bertha C. Reynolds, New York City; Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans, Louisiana. *Term expiring 1940*: David H. Holbrook, New York City; Florence W. Hutsinpillar, Denver, Colorado; Betsey Libbey, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Bertha McCall, New York City; Roy Sorenson, Chicago; George S. Stevenson, New York City; Alfred F. Whitman, Boston, Massachusetts. *Term expiring 1941*: Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Charles F. Ernst, Olympia, Washington; Harry Greenstein, Baltimore, Maryland; Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago; Cheney C. Jones, Boston, Massachusetts; Clara Paul Paige, Chicago; Mary Stanton, Los Angeles, California.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Ex officio: Paul Kellogg, New York City, Chairman; Solomon Lowenstein, New York City; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expiring 1939*: Elinor Hixenbaugh, New York City; Robert T. Lansdale, New York City. *Term expiring 1940*: Mary Irene Atkinson, Washington, D.C.; Arlien Johnson, Seattle, Washington. *Term expiring 1941*: Frederick J. Moran, Albany, New York; Joseph P. Tufts, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. *Section Chairmen*: Florence R. Day, Cleveland, Ohio; Lucy P. Carner, Chicago; Wayne McMillen, Chicago; Mary Anderson, Washington, D.C.; Charles F. Ernst, Olympia, Washington.

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Martha Chickering, Berkeley, California, Chairman; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis, Missouri; Rev. John C. Carr, Buffalo, New York; H. M. Cassidy, Victoria, B.C.; Samuel A. Goldsmith, Chicago; Marion Schmadel Goodwin, Cincinnati, Ohio; Robert P. Lane, New York City; R. Maurice Moss, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Owen R. Lovejoy, Washington, D.C., Chairman; E. G. Bylander, Little Rock, Arkansas; Evadne M. Laptad, St. Louis, Missouri.

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

*George W. Rabinoff, New York City, Chairman. *Term expiring 1939:* Margaret Bull, Waterbury, Connecticut; John C. Dancy, Detroit, Michigan; George F. Davidson, Vancouver, B.C.; Gladys Gaylord, Cleveland, Ohio; Margaret Leal, New York City; Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Philip L. Seman, Chicago. *Term expiring 1940:* Margaret Barbee, Baltimore, Maryland; Helen Currier, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Henry Feinberg, Detroit, Michigan; Katharine D. Hardwick, Boston, Massachusetts; Audrey M. Hayden, Chicago; J. S. Jackson, Seattle, Washington; Orville Robertson, Seattle, Washington. *Term expiring 1941:* Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Alabama; Florence M. Mason, Cleveland, Ohio; Louise McGuire, Washington, D.C.; George W. Rabinoff, New York City; Reuben B. Resnik, San Francisco, California; C. C. Ridge, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Howard M. Slutes, Clayton, Missouri.

ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

SECTION I. SOCIAL CASE WORK

Chairman: Florence R. Day, Cleveland, Ohio

Vice-Chairman: Elizabeth H. Dexter, Brooklyn, New York

TERM EXPIRES 1939

Margaret Barbee.....	Baltimore	Dorothy Hutchinson....	New York City
Elizabeth E. Bissell.....	Boston	Frederick Moran.....	Albany, N.Y.
Marian Y. Frost.....	Richmond, Va.		

TERM EXPIRES 1940

Edith M. Baker.....	Washington, D.C.	Florence Hollis.....	Cleveland
Elizabeth G. Gardner.....	Minneapolis	Margaret S. Moss.....	Philadelphia

TERM EXPIRES 1941

Catherine Bliss.....	Los Angeles	Gordon Hamilton.....	New York City
Susan Burlingham.....	Philadelphia	Ruth Smalley.....	Northampton, Mass.
Leah Feder.....	St. Louis		

SECTION II. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Chairman: Lucy P. Carner, Chicago, Illinois

Vice-Chairman: Chester L. Bower, Louisville, Kentucky

TERM EXPIRES 1939

Grace L. Coyle.....	Cleveland	Lillie M. Peck.....	New York City
Tam Deering.....	Cincinnati	Leroy A. Ramsdell.....	Hartford
Lee F. Hanmer.....	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1940

R. K. Atkinson.....	New York City	James H. Hubert.....	New York City
Neva L. Boyd.....	Chicago	Roy Sorenson.....	Chicago
Ella F. Harris.....	Philadelphia		

TERM EXPIRES 1941

Joseph P. Anderson.....	Pittsburgh	W. T. McCullough.....	Cleveland
Clara A. Kaiser.....	New York City	Helen Rowe.....	Seattle
Glenford W. Lawrence.....	Chicago		

SECTION III. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Chairman: Wayne McMillen, Chicago, Illinois

Vice-Chairman: Shelby M. Harrison, New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1939

Bradley Buell.....	New York City	Emma O. Lundberg...	Washington, D.C.
Louise Cottrell.....	Portland, Ore.	Right Rev. Monsignor John O'Grady	
Roy M. Cushman.....	Boston		Washington, D.C.

TERM EXPIRES 1940

Ewan Clague.....	Washington, D.C.	George W. Rabinoff....	New York City
Ruth Hill.....	New York City	Marietta Stevenson.....	Chicago
Russell H. Kurtz.....	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1941

C. Raymond Chase.....	Boston	Orville Robertson.....	Seattle
David Liggett.....	Minneapolis	Florence M. Warner.....	Chicago
C. Whit Pfeiffer.....	Kansas City, Mo.		

SECTION IV. SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman: Mary Anderson, Washington, D.C.

Vice-Chairman: Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Detroit, Michigan

TERM EXPIRES 1939

George E. Bigge.....	Providence	Harry L. Lurie.....	New York City
John S. Bradway.....	Durham, N.C.	Aubrey Williams.....	Washington, D.C.
John A. Kingsbury....	Washington, D.C.		

TERM EXPIRES 1940

Roger N. Baldwin.....	New York City	Rhoda Kaufman.....	Atlanta
Paul H. Douglas.....	Chicago	Ralph J. Reed.....	Portland, Ore.

TERM EXPIRES 1941

Charlotte Carr.....	Chicago	Conrad Van Hying...	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Martha A. Chickering.....	Berkeley	Mary van Kleeck	New York City
Lea D. Taylor.....	Chicago		

SECTION V. PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: Charles F. Ernst, Olympia, Washington

Vice-Chairman: Gay B. Shepperson, Atlanta, Georgia

TERM EXPIRES 1939

David C. Adie.....	Albany	Marietta Stevenson.....	Chicago
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge.....	Chicago	Ruth Taylor.....	Valhalla, N.Y.
Jane Hoey.....	Washington, D.C.		

TERM EXPIRES 1940

Frank Bane.....	Washington, D.C.	Katharine F. Lenroot..	Washington, D.C.
Wayne Coy.....	Manila, P.I.	Joseph L. Moss.....	Chicago
William J. Ellis.....	Trenton, N.J.		

TERM EXPIRES 1941

Grace Abbott.....	Chicago	Ruth O. Blakeslee...	Washington, D.C.
Clinton W. Areson.....	New York City	Josephine C. Brown...	Washington, D.C.
Mary Irene Atkinson..	Washington, D.C.		

PART III

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE MINUTES

Monday, June 27, 1938, 8:30 P.M.

The Secretary announced the following committees appointed by the President: Committee on Elections: Marcus Fagg, Florida, Chairman; Alice Rue, Delaware; John Eisenhower, Ohio.

Committee on Tellers: Edwin G. Eklund, New York, Chairman; Frank Bancroft, New York; Harry J. Sapper, California.

In each case the Committee has power to add to its number as needed.

Official notice was given that the polls would be open for election at the registration desk at Conference Headquarters on Wednesday, June 29, from 9:00 A.M. until 1:00 P.M., and on Thursday, June 30, from 8:00 A.M. until 5:00 P.M.

Thursday, June 30, 1938, 4:00 P.M.—Annual Business Meeting

There being a quorum present, the Acting President, Miss Ruth Fitz-Simons, called the meeting to order and asked for the Treasurer's report. It was given as follows by the Assistant Treasurer:

Your Treasurer submits herewith four statements covering the financial status of the Conference as of May 30. At best this can be an interim report as it covers only the first five months of the year and the results of the Seattle meeting will have much to do with the financial results of the year.

The first statement shows the cash transactions from January 1 to May 31. The total cash income from all sources has been \$23,981.65 and the total expenditures for all purposes, \$22,548.47, leaving a cash balance on hand of \$1,433.18.

The second statement shows only 1938 budget items of income and expense. Of our total estimated income of \$47,000, \$22,995.95 have been received. There is a reasonable prospect that our estimates of income will be realized and every effort is being made to keep our expenditures within the allotted budget of \$47,000, of which \$18,653.17 has been expended.

The third statement is a summary and forecast of prospects for the entire year. Due to contributions received through the efforts of the President, our anticipated income from miscellaneous sources has already been practically realized, so that we can add to our estimated income for the balance of the year an item of \$1500.00, which is the probable return from the sales of *Proceedings* from the University of Chicago Press. There

is still an item of \$375.00 due on the 1937 guarantee from Buffalo which has been pledged, but not yet paid. We have, therefore, reasonable expectations of realizing an income of \$49,860.00 without reference to any further results from the membership campaign being so ably conducted by Mr. Street.

Adding to our total expenditures so far this year, which includes the payment of \$3900.00 of the deficit carried over from 1937, our anticipated expenditures for the balance of the year and the balance still remaining of the 1937 deficit, makes a total of \$56,242.00 needed to cover this year's expenditures and wipe out last year's deficit. Again without considering the probable additional income from the membership campaign over our budget expectations, this leaves at the end of this fiscal year, a possible deficit of \$6400.00 as compared with \$7800.00 on December 31, 1937.

We believe that the National membership campaign now organized in more than 90 of the 110 regions which were set up will help to reduce the anticipated deficit. The deficit may also be further reduced by the fact that an application has been made to the United States Internal Revenue Bureau to change the classification of the Conference for income tax purposes and hence for its liability for social security taxation. Without going into the details, we believe that the Conference has been wrongly classified and that it will be reclassified under the present revenue act. If this decision is anticipated, it will mean that approximately \$800.00 paid last year will be refunded and that the \$900.00 in this year's budget will either be refunded in so far as it has been already paid and what remains will not have to be paid. Altogether this will mean a further reduction of approximately \$1700.00 in the deficit.

The fourth statement shows the status of membership as of May 31. The figures are not comparable with last year's because of the late dates of the Seattle meeting. It shows 4123 paid members and 3749 over due for renewal.

The Conference can have a successful year financially, provided: First, that present members of the Conference renew their memberships; and second, that the membership campaign will increase the membership income during the last half of the year as hoped.

Finally, your Treasurer is familiar with the report of the special committee of which Mr. Beisser is Chairman and hopes that the amendment will be adopted. He also believes that the re-arrangement of financial costs for the annual meeting, as implied in that report, are fair and should be adopted; however, this re-arrangement will place added cost on the Conference which, in his judgment, can best be met by the plan of attendance fees that already has been recommended to the Executive Committee and approved by them.

Respectfully submitted,

ARCH MANDEL, *Treasurer*

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
FINANCIAL STATEMENT
(January 1—May 31, 1938)**

Operating Balance, January 1..... \$ 54.03

Receipts (budget):

Memberships.....	\$20,754.72
Contributions.....	2,165.00
Sales, <i>Bulletins</i>	30.75
Sales, <i>Proceedings</i>	18.00
Refunds.....	25.41
Miscellaneous.....	2.07

Total receipts..... 22,995.95

Receipts, 1937 guaranty..... 870.00

Receipts, 1937 bills receivable..... 61.67

Total receipts and balance..... \$23,981.65

*Expenditures (budget):**

Salaries, less tax.....	\$10,377.32
Salaries, employee's tax.....	57.82
Travel.....	2,703.51
Printing.....	3,016.14
Postage.....	1,097.76
Supplies.....	155.17
Telephone and telegraph.....	170.76
Rent.....	400.00
Equipment and repairs.....	89.40
Tax, federal O.A.A.....	111.40
Tax, state unemployment.....	157.60
Refunds.....
Miscellaneous.....	311.04

Total budget expenditures..... \$18,647.92

1937 unpaid bills..... 3,900.55

Total expenditures..... 22,548.77

Balance..... \$ 1,433.18

* Functional distribution of expenditures:

General administration.....	\$ 6,905.52
Membership and publicity.....	1,790.06
Annual meeting.....	2,225.97
<i>Proceedings</i>
<i>Bulletins</i>	2,019.88
Social security tax.....	326.82
Office operation.....	5,117.72
Other.....	261.95

Total budget expenditures..... \$18,647.92

Total 1937 bills paid..... 3,900.55

Total expenditures..... \$22,548.47

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BUDGET STATEMENT
(May 31, 1938)**

<i>Income:</i>	Estimate	Actual	Balance
Memberships.....	\$42,500.00	\$20,729.72	\$21,770.28
Guaranties.....	2,000.00	25.00	1,975.00
Miscellaneous.....	2,500.00	2,241.23	258.77
Total.....	\$47,000.00	\$22,995.95	\$24,004.05

<i>Expenditures:</i>	Allowed	Expended	Balance
Salaries.....	\$23,440.00	\$10,465.80	\$12,974.20
Travel.....	6,750.00	2,678.10	4,071.90
Printing.....	9,850.00	3,016.14	6,833.86
Postage.....	3,000.00	1,097.76	1,902.24
Supplies.....	800.00	155.17	644.83
Telephone and telegraph.....	500.00	170.76	329.24
Rent.....	960.00	400.00	560.00
Equipment and repairs.....	300.00	89.40	210.60
Social security tax.....	900.00	269.00	631.00
Miscellaneous.....	500.00	311.04	188.96
Total.....	\$47,000.00	\$18,653.17	\$28,346.83

Functional Distribution			
General administration.....	\$14,900.00	\$ 6,950.52	\$ 7,949.48
Membership, publicity.....	3,950.00	1,794.78	2,155.22
Annual meeting.....	4,700.00	2,198.26	2,501.74
Proceedings.....	5,650.00	5,650.00
Bulletin.....	4,000.00	2,019.88	1,980.12
Office operation.....	12,400.00	5,158.78	7,241.22
Social security tax.....	900.00	269.00	631.00
Other.....	500.00	261.95	238.05
Total.....	\$47,000.00	\$18,653.17	\$28,346.83

RECAPITULATION AND FORECAST

Total income to May 31.....	\$23,981.65
Budget balance.....	24,004.05
Total.....	\$47,985.70
Excess over budget.....	\$ 1,500.00
1937 guaranties unpaid.....	375.00
Total.....	\$49,860.70
Deficit.....	6,382.09
Total.....	\$56,242.79
Total expenditures to date.....	\$22,548.47
Budget balance.....	28,346.83
Total.....	\$50,895.30
1937 bill.....	5,347.49
Total.....	\$56,242.79

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
STATUS OF MEMBERSHIP REPORTS

(May 31, 1938)

Members	\$3	\$5	\$10	\$25	Total
<i>Active:</i>					
First quarter.....	390	405	235	161	1,191
Second quarter.....	746	1,250	177	111	2,284
Third quarter.....	25	86	24	26	161
Fourth quarter.....	59	162	134	135	490
Total.....	1,220	1,903	570	433	4,126
<i>Delinquent:</i>					
First quarter.....	16	60	33	19	128
Second quarter.....	2,101	1,402	78	40	3,621
Total.....	2,117	1,462	111	59	3,749
Grand total....	3,337	3,365	681	492	7,875
<i>Total advance payments to May 31:</i>					
First quarter.....	2	2	0	2	6
Second quarter.....	0	1	0	0	1
Third quarter.....	0	0	1	0	1
Fourth quarter.....	0	2	2	1	5

After questions were asked for and ample time allowed for discussion, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to accept the report of the Treasurer.

In the absence of the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Street, the Secretary presented the amendment to the By-laws effecting the election procedure. This amendment had been previously published in the *Bulletin* of the Conference and came before the Business Session with the approval of the Executive Committee. Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted to amend section 7, Article XIII of the By-laws . . . so that the said section shall read as follows:

The official ballot shall be sent by mail, to their address of record in the Conference office, to all members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by the renewal of membership or otherwise, not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls.

Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office, but must be received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the announced date of the first session of the annual Conference; or they may be deposited at the registration desk provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period which said registration desk is officially open, but not later than the end of the third day of the Conference. Ballots returned by mail must be signed by the voter, and shall be discarded as invalid if received without such signature.

Amend By-law 3, section 8, by striking out the said By-law and substituting therefor the following:

The President shall appoint a committee of three tellers to whom the General Secretary shall turn over all ballots cast by mail as provided in section 7 of these By-laws. The General Secretary shall at the close of the registration desk at the end of the third day of the Conference, turn over to the Committee of Tellers all ballots that shall have been filed at the registration desk as provided in said section 7. The ballots shall be counted by the tellers and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be by majority of the ballots cast.

Mr. Paul Beisser, Chairman of the Committee to Reconsider the Functions of the Time and Place Committee presented an amendment to the Constitution and By-laws, redefining the organization and functions of that Committee. The report of the Committee had been published in the January issue of the *Bulletin*, and the amendment to put the recommendation into effect had also been published. It came before the Business Session with the approval of the Executive Committee. Mr. Beisser presented briefly the important features of the new procedure and the recommendations of the Committee. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously voted to strike out section 4, paragraph 1(b) of the By-laws and substitute therefor as section 4, paragraph 1(b), the following:

There shall be a committee on Time and Place which shall be composed of twenty-one members to be selected by the Executive Committee, seven each year for a term

of three years. In the year 1938 twenty-one members shall be selected, of whom seven shall be chosen to serve for three years; seven for two years, and seven for one year. Thereafter, the Executive Committee shall select seven members each year, each for a term of three years.

This committee in conjunction with the General Secretary shall stimulate invitations from acceptable cities and shall announce to each annual meeting the acceptable cities from which invitations have been received for the meeting two years from that date. In conjunction with the General Secretary, the committee shall be empowered to conduct inquiry and negotiations leading to the final selection of the place of the meeting.

The committee shall report its findings to the Executive Committee not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the Executive Committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

In the event of a negative vote upon the Executive Committee's recommendation, the question shall be referred back to the Executive Committee with power to act; but no selection shall be made in contravention of the vote of the Conference membership taken at such annual meeting. The criteria used by the Committee on Time and Place in selecting acceptable cities for places of meeting of the annual session shall be established by the Executive Committee.

The report of the Time and Place Committee being called for, Mr. Hyman Kaplan, Acting Chairman, reported as follows:

In accordance with the action the Conference has just taken changing the procedure of the Time and Place Committee, the Time and Place Committee reports that it has received acceptable invitations from St. Paul, Minnesota, St. Louis, Missouri, and Atlantic City, New Jersey and that the incoming Time and Place Committee should conduct further negotiations with each of these three cities and make a definite recommendation for the 1940 meeting a year hence at Buffalo.

After an opportunity having been given for other business to be brought before the annual business session, and there being none, upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted to adjourn.

Friday, July 1, 1938, 8:30 P.M.

At the close of the address, the Acting President called for the report of the Committee on Tellers and in the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Eklund, the report of the Tellers was read by the Secretary as follows, and they were declared elected:

President: Paul Kellogg, New York City; *First Vice-President:* Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., Chicago, Illinois; *Second Vice-President:* Ida M. Cannon, Boston, Massachusetts; *Third Vice-President:* Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.

Those Candidates elected to the Executive Committee for a three-year term are: Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Charles F. Ernst, Olympia, Washing-

ton; Harry Greenstein, Baltimore, Maryland; Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago, Illinois; Cheney C. Jones, Boston, Massachusetts; Clara Paul Paige, Chicago, Illinois; Mary Stanton, Los Angeles, California.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWIN EKLUND, *Chairman*

Committee on Tellers

The report of the Committee on Nominations for election at the annual meeting of 1939 was called for. In the absence of Miss Cottrell, the Acting Chairman, the report was presented by the Secretary as follows:

Your Nominating Committee respectfully submits the nominees for officers of the National Conference of Social Work for 1940.

President: Grace L. Coyle, Associate Professor, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio; *First Vice-President:* Arlien Johnson, Director, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington; *Second Vice-President:* Sidney Hollander, Member of Board, Board of State Aid and Charities, Baltimore, Maryland; *Third Vice-President:* Mrs. DeForest Van Slyck Executive Secretary, Association of the Junior Leagues of America, New York City.

Members of the Executive Committee.—Fourteen names are submitted, seven of whom will be chosen by the membership through ballot.

Helen Cody Baker, Publicity Secretary, Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; Aleta Brownlee, Regional Child Welfare Consultant, U.S. Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C.; Dorothy Deming, General Director, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, New York City; Leah Feder, Associate Professor, Department of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri; Shelby M. Harrison, General Director, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City; Jane Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.; The Right Reverend Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, Executive Director, Catholic Charities, New York City; Robert T. Lansdale, New York School of Social Work, New York City; Edward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Director of Medicine, Department of Institutions and Agencies of New Jersey, Trenton, New Jersey; Reuben B. Resnik, Field Representative, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, San Francisco, California; Elwood Street, Director of Public Welfare, Board of Public Welfare, Washington, D.C.; Jesse O. Thomas, Southern Field Director, National Urban League, Atlanta, Georgia; Moses Winkelstein, Council of Social Agencies, Syracuse Community Chest, Syracuse, New York.

Your Committee recommends that prior to the meeting of next year's Nominating Committee the Conference Office supply the Committee with a history of Conference service of its committee memberships for the last five years.

Your Committee further recommends that the new Nominating Committee circularize and obtain suggestions for offices to be filled from the presidents and executives of affiliated and associate groups and section and committee chairmen of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUISE COTTRELL, *Acting Chairman*

Committee on Nominations

The new President, Mr. Paul Kellogg, was called to the platform and spoke briefly.

The Secretary read the reports of the Section nominations for election a year hence. They were published in the *July Bulletin*.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

Saturday, July 2, 1938, 1:00 P.M.

The President called for the report of the Committee on Resolutions, Mr. John Kingsbury, Chairman. He presented the following resolutions:

The sixty-fifth annual session of the National Conference of Social Work held in the delightful climate and surroundings of this youngest large city in the world, will be remembered for the opportunity it gave for more intimate discussion of the problems which are perplexing social workers throughout the country today.

A high note was struck in the admirable address of the President, Dr. Solomon Lowenstein. It is a matter of profound regret that the President after spending months in preparation for the Conference, should, at the last moment, have been prevented by illness from being present in Seattle. We express our sincere appreciation to Miss Ruth FitzSimons who graciously presided in his absence. We cannot refrain from voicing once more our thanks to Mr. Howard Knight, Miss Jane Chandler, and the other members of the administrative staff for their efficiency in the organization and conduct of the Conference.

We are greatly indebted to the Seattle Committee on Arrangements under the chairmanship of Mr. Reginald H. Parsons, with the able assistance of Mr. Earl Parker and Miss Helen Rowe for their handling of the many details in connection with entertainment, meeting places and hospitality as well as to all other members of the local committees: Darwin Meisnest, Mrs. Robert Jones, Wesley F. Rennie, Charles Wilson, Mrs. Margaret Randall, John Rudd, Nathan Eckstein, Orville Robertson, Wayne Dick, Florence Huber, Miles Higley, A. J. Barash, John F. Hall, Mrs. N. A. Carle.

This Conference has received understanding consideration from the National and Local press associations and radio broadcasting services which are indispensable in interpretation of the work of the Conference.

Grateful appreciation is expressed for the work of the Executive Committee, the general program, the sectional officers and committees of the kindred groups.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN KINGSBURY, *Chairman*

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously voted to adopt the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

The President announced that the final registration at the Sixty-fifth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was 3,348.

The Conference adjourned to meet in Buffalo, June 18-24, 1939.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD R. KNIGHT
General Secretary

PART IV

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION AS REVISED

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents and the Treasurer ex-officio, and twenty-one other members who shall be elected by the Conference, seven each year for a term

of three years. Vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex-officio Chairman. Seven members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this Committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee, and published to the membership of the Conference in a regular issue of the Conference *Bulletin* together with the Executive Committee's action thereon.

BY-LAWS

1. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

1. Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting, the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) There shall be a Committee on Time and Place which shall be composed of twenty-one members to be selected by the Executive Committee, seven each year for a term of three years. In the year 1938 twenty-one members shall be selected, of whom seven shall be chosen to serve for three years, seven for two years, and seven for one year. Thereafter, the Executive Committee shall select seven members each year, each for a term of three years.

This Committee in conjunction with the General Secretary shall stimulate invitations from acceptable cities and shall announce to each annual meeting the acceptable cities from which invitations have been received for the meeting two years from that date. In conjunction with the General Secretary, the Committee shall be empowered to conduct inquiry and negotiations leading to the final selection of the place of the meeting.

The Committee shall report its findings to the Executive Committee not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the Executive Committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

In the event of a negative vote upon the Executive Committee's recommendation, the question shall be referred back to the Executive Committee with power to act; but no selection shall be made in contravention of the vote of the Conference membership taken at such annual meeting. The criteria used by the Committee on Time and Place in selecting acceptable cities for places of meeting of the annual session shall be established by the Executive Committee.

c) A nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. Program Committee. There shall be a Program Committee which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference, for terms of three years, and the chairmen of all continuous sections.

The said Committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various Section, Special Topic, and Associate Group Committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

c) To determine, from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

d) To recommend to Section and Special Topic Committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the Section and Special Topic Committees.

e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the Conference Topic Committees. Where such commitments are made for Section programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the Section involved or with its hearty co-operation and consent, and for not more than one-third of the number of sessions allowed at each annual meeting.

f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of Sections.

g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of Associate Groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions from time to time as may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

l) To establish either upon its own initiation or upon request, such Committees on Special Topics as may be desirable. When establishing such Committees on Special Topics, the Program Committee shall also determine definitely the term of service of the Committee on a Special Topic and such other regulations as to frequency of meeting, number of sessions at any annual meeting and so forth as may be desirable.

5. SECTIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Sections of which the following shall be continuous: (I) Social Case Work; (II) Social Group Work; (III) Community Organization; (IV) Social Action.¹

b) Other Sections may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee. All Sections shall be reconsidered by the Executive Committee at intervals of not more than five years and recommendations for such modifications as may be desirable presented at the annual meeting for action by the Conference membership.

c) Each continuous section shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine members nominated by the section members one year in advance and elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Section Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each. Persons nominated for officers or Section committee members should so far as possible be members

¹ This should be generally defined as covering mobilization of public opinion, legislation, and public administration.

of the Conference or on the staff or board of member agencies. No person shall serve on more than one Section Committee. So far as possible, related professional groups shall have representation on Section Committees.

d) Each other Section not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Section shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Section and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each Section shall annually nominate one year in advance a chairman and vice-chairman to be elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. Their Chairman may be re-elected once. The Section Committee shall each year elect a Section Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Section Committee shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Section Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Section Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

6. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

7. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any Section or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such questions with its recommendation before final adjournment.

8. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) That he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting, and (2) That he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of non-payment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

Any institutional member, or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws, may cast its vote at any annual meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot.

9. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

10. SECTION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except General Sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The Chairmen of Sections shall preside at the meetings of their Sections or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the annual meetings shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Nominating Committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin*

up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1.00 P.M. of the fourth day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the General Session on the evening of the sixth day of the Conference one year in advance of the Conference at which they are to be elected. The list of nominees shall be published in the next succeeding issue of the Conference *Bulletin* following the announcement.

5. Additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee and filed at the Conference office not later than January 1 preceding the Conference at which they are to be elected.

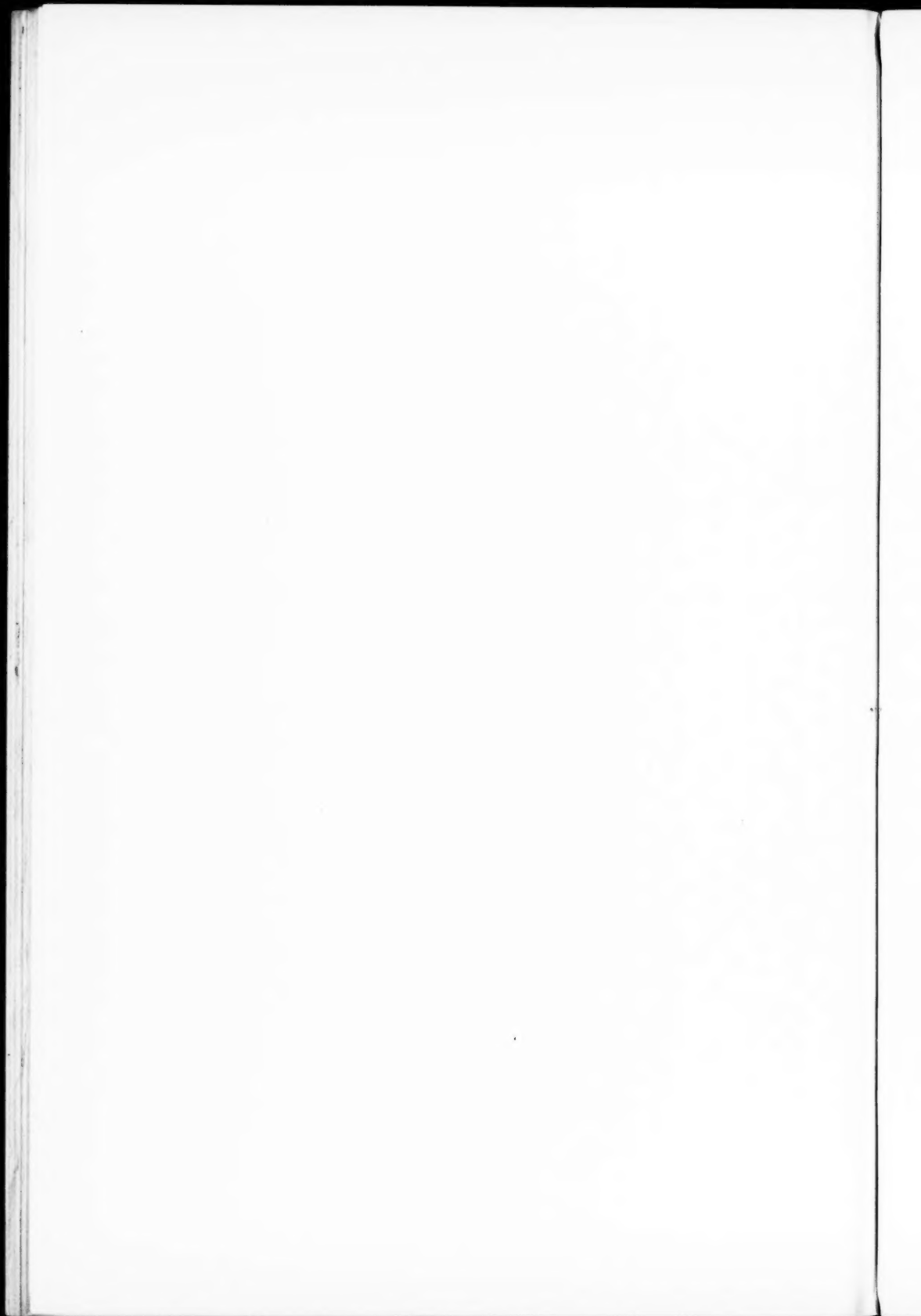
6. A final list of all nominations shall be published in the first issue of the Conference *Bulletin* published after January 1.

7. The official ballot shall be sent by mail, to their address of record in the Conference office, to all members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by the renewal of membership or otherwise, not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls.

Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office but must be received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the announced date of the first session of the annual Conference; or they may be deposited at the registration desk provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period which said registration desk is officially open, but not later than the end of the third day of the Conference. Ballots returned by mail must be signed by the voter, and shall be discarded as invalid if received without such signature.

8. The President shall appoint a committee of three tellers to whom the General Secretary shall turn over all ballots cast by mail as provided in section 7 of By-Law 13. The General Secretary shall at the close of the registration desk at the end of the third day of the Conference turn over to the Committee of Tellers all ballots that shall have been filed at the registration desk as provided in said section 7. The ballots shall be counted by the tellers and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be by a majority of the ballots cast.

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